Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BANGLA DESH

DOCUMENTS

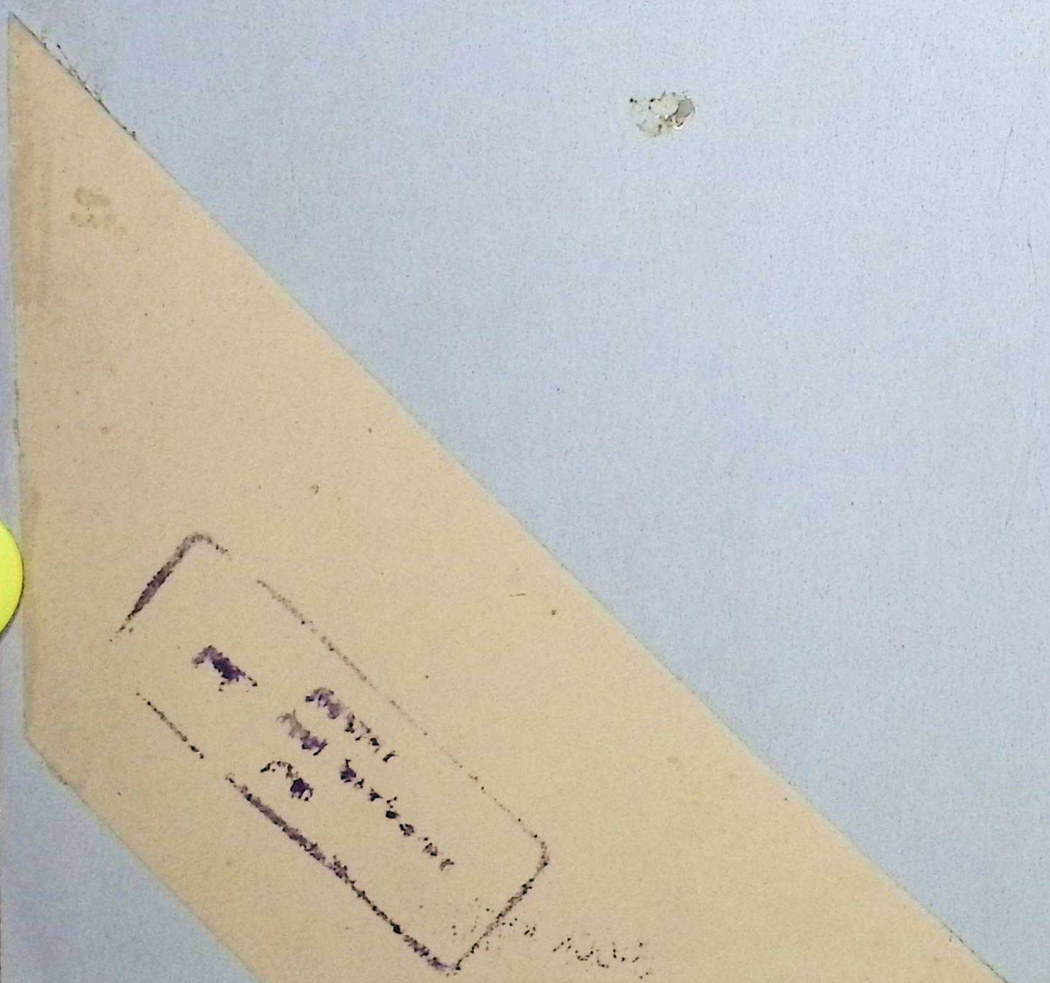
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या R
पुस्तक संख्या 954.145
आगत पंजिका संख्या B 22 B
V.1

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें। 2268 D



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

22682

Stock Verification-2024

R
954.145
B22B
V.I

पुस्तकालय

(विज्ञान विभाग)

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

पुस्तक-वितरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है। इस तिथि सहित १५वें दिन तक यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में वापिस आ जानी चाहिए। अन्यथा ५ पैसे प्रतिदिन के हिसाब से विलम्ब-दण्ड लगेगा। 2268D

Stock Verification-2024

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R954.145, B22B V.1
2268D

BANGLA DESH

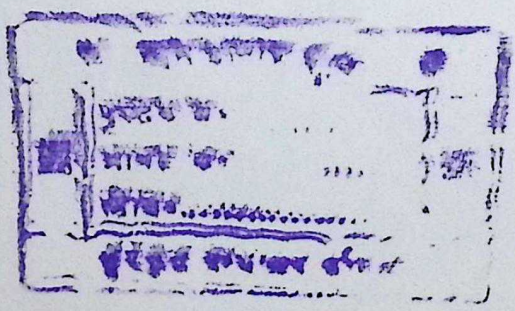
DOCUMENTS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R
954.145
B22B
V.1

PRINTED AT
THE B. N. K. PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
MADRAS - 26.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This collection of documents is intended to provide to the world a primary source of information on developments pertaining to the crisis that overtook East Bengal in March 1971. The crisis involves the destiny of 75 million inhabitants of East Bengal, and also peace and security of this region. Its roots are in the past, and it has implications for future. Response of the international community to this tragedy has been of compassion and concern. All facts bearing on it therefore need be known. This collection, it is hoped, will prove a dependable source of reference on the subject concerned.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

GENESIS OF THE CRISIS

	PAGE
Factual Background	1
"The Underlying Weakness of Pakistan": By Hans. J. Morgenthau ...	4
"History of Economic and Political Domination of East Pakistan": By J. Lee Auspitz, Stephen A. Marglin, and Gustav F. Papenek ...	5
"Conflict in East Pakistan: Background and Prospects": By Edward S. Mason, Robert Dorfman, and Stephen A. Marglin ...	9
"Why Bangla Desh?": By a group of scholars in Vienna	15

CHAPTER II

BEFORE THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

"Six-Point Formula—Our Right to Live": By Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as President of the Awami League on March 23, 1966: ...	23
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Address—Round Table Conference ...	33
Excerpt from President Yahya Khan's Broadcast on March 26, 1969 ...	38
Excerpts from President Yahya Khan's Press Conference on April 10, 1969 ...	*ibid.*
From President Yahya Khan's Address to the Nation on November 28, 1969 ...	39
Demand to re-name East Wing as Bangla Desh Hailed:	42
Majority of Leaders favour peaceful transition of power	43
Bhutto trying to sabotage East Wing interest: Nuruzzaman's charge ...	44
Text of President Yahya Khan's Address to the Nation on March 28, 1970 ...	*ibid.*
Legal Framework Order, 1970	49
No intention to curb People's Sovereignty	65
Authentication is only procedural—President reaffirms People's sovereignty ...	*ibid.*
Awami League's Manifesto	66
Pakistan cannot be destroyed by any power—'Islam in danger' cry a political stunt:	82
Mujib for early transfer of power to people	84
'Suhrawardy's death was not natural'—It could be yet another case 'murder' Says Mujibs	85
President Yahya Khan's Address to the Nation on July 28, 1970 ...	87

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Elections shifted to December—Decision due to floods 92

Shifting of Polls date: Won't affect Awami League: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement near Dacca on August 20, 1970 93

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's reactions to the postponement of elections ... 94

Bhutto conspiring with bureaucrats: Nur Khan's Charge 95

Mujib determined to realise demands of the people ... ... *ibid.*

Elections an opportunity to thwart exploitations: ... 96

No compromise if demands are not accepted: ... 97

Mujib asks people to assert their rights: Speeches in hoar areas of Sylhet, Mymensingh and Comilla districts on October 10, 1970 ... *ibid.*

Ballot battle: My last fight to secure rights of East Bengal: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's speech at Dolaikhal on October 17, 1970 ... 99

Bengalees shall not be allowed to turn slaves: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's speech at Dumni (Tejgoan) on October 20, 1970 100

Polls, a referendum on autonomy 101

Six-Point Programme will not destroy Pakistan or Islam ... 102

Mujib asks people to support six-point Programme 104

Social revolution possible through democratic process: Text of Mujib's speech 105

Bengalees should be master of own resources—Movement, if demands not realised constitutionally 112

Struggle against exploiters but not West Pakistanis 113

Breaking each other's heads—No democracy 114

No power can resist Bengalees from getting rights ... ... *ibid.*

Awami League stands for inter-wing Unity only to fight against exploiters 115

Awami League will resist any attempt to sabotage election 116

Next election—Last chance for Bengalees: 117

Mujib cautions against anti-people forces ... ... *ibid.*

Rally round Awami League 118

Nobody will be allowed to suck Bangla Desh 119

Mujib blames Government failure: Speech at Satkhira (Khulna) on November 18, 1970 120

Mujib deplores apathy towards cyclone victims: Statement issued at Press Conference held in Dacca on November 26, 1970 ... ... *ibid.*

Mujibur Rahman warns against bid to frustrate elections: Remarks made at a Press Conference at Dacca on November 26, 1970 ... 123

Polls on schedule—East Pakistan must have maximum autonomy: President Yahya Khan's remarks at Press Conference in Dacca on November 27, 1970 125

President Yahya Khan's address to the Nation on December 3, 1970 ... 127

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER III

AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

PAGE

Pakistan National Assembly Election Results 130

East Pakistan Provincial Assembly Election Results ... ... *ibid.*

Six-Point Programme will be realised: Mujib Assures People ... 131

Constitution has to be based on six-points—Warning against Manoeuvres to create economic crisis ... ... *ibid.*

"People's Party will not sit in opposition—No constitution without our co-operation": Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Lahore on December 20, 1970 132

Awami League competent to frame Constitution: Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad's rejoinder to Mr. Bhutto's statement of December 20, 1970 ... 133

Quantum of Autonomy by mutual Accord: Force of majority no solution: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement on December 21, 1970 134

Crisis—If Constitution not framed: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Hyderabad on December 24, 1970 135

Consensus of All Units 'Must' for Future Constitution: Mr. Z.A. Bhutto's announcement in Karachi on December 27, 1970 136

Mujib blasts Propaganda of Hindu leanings: Speech in Dacca on January 3, 1971 137

West Pakistan leaders' co-operation to be sought—Constitution based on six and eleven point will be framed: Mujib's confident statement in Dacca on January 3, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Mujib warns against opposition to six points—People's verdict cannot be changed by MNAs: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement in Dacca on January 4, 1971 140

Awami League alone competent to form Central Government—Constitution on six points to ensure people's rights: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement at Patuakhali on January 11, 1971 ... 142

Yahya affirms desire for early transfer of power—Nation congratulated on peaceful polls: President Yahya Khan's remarks at Dacca on January 14, 1971 143

Mujib future Prime Minister: President Yahya Khan's statement at Dacca on January 14, 1971 144

Constitution-Making Main Task—Solidarity all parties concern: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Rawalpindi on January 13, 1971 .. 145

Pakistan People's Party will strive for viable constitution—No deadlock in talks: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Dacca on January 30, 1971, at the conclusion of his three-days talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman 146

Mujib warns vested interests—Bhutto explains legal position: Statements by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Z. A. Bhutto on February 3, 1971, reacting to the blowing up of the hijacked Indian plane at Lahore 148

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Awami League is determined to frame constitution on six, eleven-point plan—Mujib regrets delay in convening National Assembly Session: Statement in Dacca on February 9, 1971 149

National Assembly meets on March 3—Dacca is venue—President's Order: Official announcement, dated February 13, 1971, summoning the National Assembly to meet in Dacca on March 3 150

Constitution to be based on six and eleven points—Reiteration by Awami League Working Committee—Summoning of National Assembly a step forward: A Report on the East Pakistan Awami League Working Committee meeting on February 14, 1971 ... 151

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman cautions against conspiracy—Transfer of power early: Inaugural speech on February 15, 1971, at a joint meeting of the National Assembly and East Pakistan Assembly members elected on Awami League tickets 152

Pakistan People's Party not to attend National Assembly Session, if Awami League not flexible—Wants adjustments in six points—Two subject centre not acceptable: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's declaration in Peshawar on February 15, 1971 155

Decision of Pakistan People's Party alone—I have no right to speak for others: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Lahore on February 15, 1971 ... 159

Awami Leaguers discuss Bhutto's statement: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's comment on Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement of February 15, 1971 ... *ibid.*

Decision is irrevocable: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Karachi on February 16, 1971 160

Attend National Assembly—Nurul Amin urges all—Bhutto's stand deplored: Statements by Mr. Nurul Amin and other Political leaders of the two wings on February 16, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Mushtaq, likely to be National Assembly Speaker—Mujib elected leader: Report on Proceedings of the Awami League Parliamentary Party in Dacca on February 16, 1971 161

Bhutto's pre-condition threat to East Pakistan: Maulana Bhashani's statement at Cox's Bazaar on February 16, 1971 163

Pakistan Democratic Party leaders surprised—Bhutto's decision unfortunate: Statements of Nawabzada Nasurallah Khan and Mr. Salahuddin Khan on Bhutto's decision to boycott the National Assembly ... *ibid.*

No room left for negotiation with Awami League — Pakistan People's Party not going to endorse a 'Dictated' Constitution: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Karachi on February 17, 1971 164

No power can any longer enslave Bengalees: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Statement in Dacca on February 17, 1971 165

Mujib wants to ensure rights of all provinces: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's interview to a correspondent of the Tehran Daily "Keyhan". 166

"The Enigma of a Political Priest": Commentary by *Holiday* (Dacca Weekly) of February 21, 1971, on Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's refusal to attend the National Assembly 168

Mujib offers to explain six points: Statement in Dacca on February 21, 1971 170

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement issued to the Press on February 24, 1971, regarding his Party's Programme, emphasising that six points won't be imposed on the Western Wing 170

" Six-Points Federal Scheme ": A just and national solution to Pakistans Constitutional Problems 177

Awami League's Draft Constitution incorporate six points—Alternative for West Wing Units on Autonomy 179

Mujib; willing to accept any good word or suggestion—West Wing MNAs invited to join in Constitution-making task—No imposition of six points. 181

" Waive 120-day limit or put off National Assembly Session—Only two ways 184

CHAPTER IV

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Yahya puts off National Assembly Session—Text of President Yahya Khan's statement on March 1, 1971 188

Mujib's call for emancipation of Bengalees: Talk with Pressmen after the Parliamentary Party meeting at Hotel Purbani on March 1, 1971 ... 189

Mujib strongly condemns firing—Bangla Desh cannot be suppressed as Colony any more: Press Statement issued on March 2, 1971 ... 191

EPAL reaction disproportionate—PPP has never rejected six points: Text of the statement issued by Mr. Bhutto at a Press Conference at Karachi on March 2, 1971 193

Withdraw Forces and transfer Power: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's speech in a Public Meeting at Dacca on March 3, 1971 195

Mujib rejects invitation 197

Punjab Pakistan Front's plea to disown Bhutto: Report of PPF's meeting at Lahore on March 3, 1971. 198

Transfer of power to Awami League now—Only solution of crisis: Report of the Press Conference at Karachi Press Club on March 4, 1971, by Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan 199

RTC: Hazarvi backs Mujib's decision—Bhutto criticised: Speech by Maulana Hazarvi at Jabees Hotel on March 4, 1971 202

'Postponement undemocratic'—NAP hartal call: Meeting of Baluchistan Provincial Nation Awami Party (Wali Group) at Quetta on March 4, 1971 203

Immediate transfer of power urged: Meeting of the workers of the Bangla National League at Dacca on March 4, 1971 204

Nation on verge of disaster due to Bhutto's Power Politics: Press statement by Malik Ghulam Jilani, Convener of the PPP on March 4, 1971 205

Mujib congratulates people for stirring response to his call: Directive to Banks, Offices to disburse salaries. Text of the Statement on March 4, 1971 at Dacca 207

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Army withdrawn to barracks—East Wing protest continues—Firing in Tongi, Rajshahi: Announcement by Martial Law Authorities on March 5, 1971 208

Casualty figures: conflicting reports in Dacca: Report regarding death tolls in demostrations in Dacca 211

Dacca back to normal: 5-day hartal ends: Press report regarding five-day hartal to protest against the postponement of the National Assembly Session 212

Tikka Khan, Governor of East Pakistan: Announcement on March 6, 1971 by Chief Martial Law Administrator 214

Text of President Yahya Khan's Broadcast on March 6, 1971 ... *ibid.*

Awami League to attend National Assembly Session if 4-point demand is accepted: Announcement of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's decision at a public meeting on March 7, 1971 216

Minority group obstructing Transfer of Power: Statement issued by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 7, 1971 at Dacca 218

Mujib gives 10-point Programme: Statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 7, 1971 223

Mujib asks people to obey his companions during his absence: Meeting at Ramna Race Course on March 7, 1971, Special prayers held for Martyrs 224

Many leaders support Mujib's Four Demands—Bhutto's intransigence held responsible for crisis: Statement issued on March 7, 1971 by Mian Nizamuddin Haider, MNA—Elect and a leader of the Bahawalpur United Front, etc. ... ... *ibid.*

Majority party alone can frame Constitution, says Maulana Bhashani: NAP Chief's announcement at a public meeting on March 9, 1971 ... 226

Mujib's directive-exemptions and clarifications: Announcement by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League on March 9, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Dacca situation returning to normalcy: Press report on March 10, 1971 ... 227

Keep economy in full gear in the name of Bangla Desh: Tajuddin: Statement issued on March 11, 1971 228

National Assembly minority groups back Awami League's four-point Demand—Plea for Interim Government's at Centre and Provinces: Report of the meeting held on March 13, 1971, at Lahore by minority groups the National Assembly Delegation to Chief President Yahya and Sheik Mujib 230

Mujib's Demands reasonable, says Daultana: Statement by Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Chief of the Council Muslim League on March 13, 1971 at Lahore 233

Jamaat Leader blames Bhutto for present crisis: Press statement by Syed Siddiqul Hasan Gilani, Chief of the Parliamentary affairs of the Jamaat-i-Islami, on March 13, 1971 at Lahore ... ... *ibid.*

Civilian staff of Defence in East Wing ordered to join duty: Martial Law Orders issued on March 13, 1971 234

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Transfer of power to Awami League and PPP in the two Wings—Bhutto's demand in case of pre-constitution changes: Speech by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto on March 14, 1971, at Nishtar Park, Karachi ... 234

President urged to visit East Wing: Report of Press Conference by Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, The Baluch Political Leader, on March 14, 1971, Bugti Slates Bhutto 236

Majority rule for interim period under M.L. cover: Sarfraz: Press statement on March 14, 1971, at Lahore 238

Early transfer of power urged—Bhutto blamed for crisis: History will never forgive Bhutto Report of Begum Tahira Masood's speech on March 14, 1971 239

Rule of majority does not apply to Pakistan—PPP cannot be ignored in country's governance: Report of a Press Conference by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto on March 15, 1971, Pakistan People's Party cannot be ignored in countries governance ... ... *ibid.*

Minority Parties Leaders Criticise Bhutto's speech: Press report on March 16, 1971 241

Bhutto's stand contradictory, says Asghar: Statement by Air Marshal Asghar Khan on March 15, 1971, at Peshawar 244

Wali urges transfer of Power to Sovereign CA—West Wing no longer one political entity: Leaders Slate Bhutto; Press report on March 16, 1971 245

Yahya urged to end deadlock—Bhutto's provocative attitude slated: Report of a joint meeting of the various Political Parties on March 15, 1971 246

Non-co-operation movement to go on—People's determination commended: Fresh action Programme as struggle enters 3rd week: Announcement of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 15, 1971 ... 247

All eyes riveted on Dacca—No question of 2 majority parties in one country: Statement by Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, President, Council Muslim League on March 16, 1971, at Lahore ... 249

Mujib declines to accept probe body: No usuful purpose would be served: Text of the statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 18, 1971, at Dacca 250

Clash near Dacca—Curfew clamped in Joydevpur: Press report on March 20, 1971 251

Mujib condemns firing: Statement on March 19, 1971, at Dacca ... 252

Dacca talks at crucial stage—Advisers, meeting follows Yahya Mujib talks: Awami League Chief ready to meet any West Wing Leader: Sheikh Mujib's Press Conference on March 19, 1971, at Dacca ... 253

Daultana calls for early solution: Meets Mujib, Wali: Interview with Associated Press of Pakistan on March 20, 1971 255

No more subjugation of Bangla Desh: Report of Public Address of Sheikh Mujibur on March 21, 1971, at Dacca 257

Victory is ours, says Mujib: Message on March 22, 1971, at Dacca ... *ibid.*

National Assembly Session put off again—Announcement by President Yahya Khan on March 29, 1971, in Dacca 258

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Daultana, Wali, Mufti resent postponement: Statements by three Parliamentary Group leaders on March 22, 1971 258

Agreement subject to 'Our Understanding': Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's Press Conference on March 22, 1971, at Dacca 259

Political crisis will be resolved: Text of the message of the President Yahya Khan on March 22, 1971 260

I alone have right to govern: Report of Sheikh Mujib's public address on March 22, 1971, in Dacca 261

Hectic Parleys: Qayyum hints at a decision: Press report of meetings of various leaders on March 24, 1971 263

We are making some progress: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's talk with newsmen on March 24, 1971, at Dacca ... ... *ibid.*

Wali, Mufti, Bizenjo oppose bid to revive One Unit: Text of the joint statement on March 24, 1971, at Dacca 264

Tajuddin's call for vigilance: Press statement on March 24, 1971, at Dacca ... 266

Mujib warns against bid to impose decision: Report of Public Address on March 24, 1971, at Dacca ... ... *ibid.*

PPP—A.L. direct talks vital: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's Press Conference in Dacca on March 25, 1971 267

CML opposed to N.A. being split in two: Announcement by Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, President of the Council Muslim League, in Lahore on March 20, 1971 269

Atmosphere being vitiated: Statement by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed on March 24, 1971 at Dacca 270

Mujib orders resumption of Jute Trade: Tele-com. links to function via Manila Report of the directives released to the Press on March 25, 1971 271

Only way out is to accept Awami League demands in toto: Statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 25, 1971, at Dacca ... 272

Mujib calls for strike on 27th—Protest against army operations: Statement on March 25, 1971, at Dacca 273

Mujib regrets delay in political solution: Attempts to divide Bengalees and Mohajirs condemned: Statement to Press on March 25, 1971, at Dacca ... *ibid.*

Text of Yahya's Broadcast on March 26, 1971 275

"Prelude to an Order for Genocide" by Prof. Rahiman Sabham in Guardian, Manchester, June 5, 1971 277

CHAPTER V

EMERGENCE OF BANGLA DESH

Bangla Desh declares freedom—Rahman's step follows army crackdown—Civil war erupts in East Pakistan—Awami League leaders go underground—Press report on March 27, 1971... 280

Proclamation of Independence Order, dated April 10, 1971: Text of Proclamation: Press report on April 18, 1971 281

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

To the people of Bangla Desh—English translation of an address by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government of Bangla Desh headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, broadcast by Swadhin Bangla Desh Betar Kendra, April 11, 1971 282

Mujib is Head of War Cabinet for Bangla Desh – Press report on April 13, 1971 286

Bangla Mission on way to Delhi—Appeal to India for recognition—Bangla Desh Government formally proclaimed—Press report on April 14, 1971 287

Directives issued—Text of the Directives issued by Bangla Desh Government on April 13, 1971 288

Tajuddin Calls for arms aid—Text of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's broadcast on April 14, 1971 289

Bangla Desh becomes a Republic—Thousands see birth of a new State—Appeal to World Leaders for Positive Help—Report of declaration by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed on April 17, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Press Statement of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, on April 17, 1971 291

Full support to Bangla Desh Government – Press Statement issued by Professor Muzaffar Ahamed, President of National Awami Party, Bangla Desh, on April 20, 1971 298

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani's – Appeal to World Leaders, dated April 21, 1971 299

Press Statement of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, President, National Awami Party, Bangla Desh, April 22, 1971 303

Tajuddin's plea for arms aid—Press report of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed 's appeal on April 28, 1971 306

On the situation in Bangla Desh—Text of the Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh), to Fraternal Communist and Workers Parties, dated May 3, 1971 .. 307

Every Man at His Post, says Tajuddin Ahmed – Text of Mr. Tajuddin's 18-point directive on May 14, 1971 318

Army action 'an attack' on right to live – Interview report of Bangla Desh Home Minister, Mr. A.H.M. Kamaruzzaman, on May 20, 1971 .. 319

Bangla PM assails nations aiding Pak.: Inverview of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed broadcast by the Swadhin Bangla Kendra: Report dated May 29, 1971 320

Yahya called biggest betrayer: Text of comments of Mr. A. H. M. Kamaruzzaman, Bangla Desh Home Minister, on Yahyas statement on May 30, 1971 321

Freedom only way out: Bhashani: Report of Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, National Awami Party leader's talk with newsmen on current movement in Bangla Desh on May 31, 1971 322

Bhashani: No political settlement: Report of Maulana Bhashani's talk with some local and foreign correspondents somewhere in a liberated area of Bangla Desh on June 2, 1971 323

Freedom at all costs: Tajuddin: Report of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's interview with All India Radio on June 2, 1971 324

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Bangla Desh PM's plea for aid, recognition: Bangla Desh Prime Minister Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's appeal to nations, dated June 13, 1971 ... 325

Malik warns India against Pak. lies: Report of an address by Vice-Chancellor of Chittagong University, Mr. A. R. Malik, on June 21, 1971 328

Bangla Minister hails Consortium decision: Comments of Home Minister Mr. A. H. M. Kamruzzaman, on June 23, 1971 329

Islam: Don't contribute to genocide: Appeal by Bangla Desh Acting President Mr. Syed Nazrul Islam to U.S. on June 23, 1971 ... *ibid.*

Genocide in the name of Islam: Press report of the telegram sent to various members of the Islamic Conference at Jaddah by Acting President of Bangla Desh on June 24, 1971 330

No compromise with Yahya on Independence—Bhasani: Press Statement on June 29, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Bangla Desh Minister assails Yahya Plan: Press report of comments by Home Minister of Bangla Desh Mr. K. A. H. M. Kamaruzzaman, on June 29, 1971 331

Yahya will get a reply on the battlefield: Syed Nazrul Islam, Bangla Desh Acting President's radio broadcast on June 30, 1971 ... 332

Pakistan will meet her Waterloo in Bangla Desh : Statement of Mr. Amjadul Huq. Bangla Desh Press attack, made to foreign and Indian journalists on July 3, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Awami M.P.s' all-out war pledge: Declaration by the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, on July 15, 1971 ... 336

Talk of War—Yahya trying to distract World: Statement by Bangla Desh Prime Minister on July 22, 1971 337

Bangla Desh opposition: Bangla Desh Foreign Minister Mr. Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed's comments on July 23, 1971, on the proposal to post U.N. observers in Bangla Desh 338

Sovereign Bangla Desh is the aim: Press Statement by Maluna Bhashani on July 26, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Bangla FM warns: Comments of Bangla Desh Foreign Minister Khandaker Moghtaque Ahmed, on July 31, 1971, regarding the UN move to station observers on either side of the Bangla Desh border with India ... *ibid.*

UN told to put off attempt to aid DPs: Appeal by Bangla Desh Foreign Minister Mr. Ahmed July 31, 1971 339

Yahya told Hindu vote was 15 per cent Comments of Bangla Desh Foreign Office Spokesman on August 4, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Bangla Desh Govt. hails U.S. House decision: Comments of Bangla Desh Government spokesman on House of Representatives decision, on August 5, 1971 340

White Paper called bunch of white lies: Comments of Foreign Office spokesman of the Bangla Desh Government on the Pakistan Government Paper on August 7, 1971 341

Nazrul Islam warns Yahya Khan: Warning by Acting President of Bangla Desh against any attempt on Mujib's life, August 9, 1971 ... 342

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Bangla Desh people want justice: Press report of exclusive interview to a "New Wave" correspondent at Mujibnagar by Mr. Kamaruzzaman, Home Minister of Bangla Desh, dated August 12, 1971 ... 342

Bangla P.M's warning on fake Mujib trial: Press report of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's interview with a correspondent of the Bangla Desh Radio on August 13, 1971 343

CHAPTER VI

GENOCIDE IN BANGLA DESH

I. Some Eye-witness Accounts

"How Dacca paid for a 'United' Pakistan": report by Simon Dring of Daily Telegraph, London 345

Recent events in East Pakistan: Extract from Record of the U.S. Senate containing letter, dated April 17, 1971, from Dr. John E. Rohde, a physician evacuated from East Pakistan to Senator William B. Saxbe ... 349

A first hand experience of turmoil in East Pakistan: extract from Record of the U.S. Senate containing letter, dated April 19, 1971, from Mr. James F. Ragin, an American citizen evacuated from Dacca, to Senator Gordon Allott 351

Fact sheet on incidents and information collected by Americans in Dacca: Attack on unarmed civilian inhabitants in Dacca ... 353

A letter written by an American family evacuated from East Pakistan: Extract from Record of the U.S. House containing letter, dated April 18, 1971, from Mrs. Edward "Pat" Sammel to Denver Post ... 356

An eye witness account: Mr. A. Hossain of the Pakistan Observer speaking to Mr. Peter Hazelhurst of the Times, London ... 357

"Genocide": An account by Anthony Mascarenhas, former Assistant Editor, Morning News, Karachi 358

"A Regime of Thugs and Bigots": An account by Murray Sayle ... 373

II. World Press

In Dacca, Troops use Artillery to halt revolt: Sydney H. Schanberg in New York Times, March 28, 1971 380

26-hour chronicle of the Dacca Drama: U.P.I. report, Hongkong, March 29, 1971 382

Plunge into chaos: Editorial, the Sydney Morning Herald, March 29, 1971 ... 385

Pakistan Tragedy: Editorial, The Age, Canberra, March 29, 1971 ... 386

East Pakistan: Editorial, The New Herald, Kathmandu, March 30, 1971 ... 387

A Massacre in Pakistan: Editorial, The Guardian, London, March 31, 1971 ... *ibid.*

In the Name of Pakistan: Editorial, New York Times, March 31, 1971 ... 388

Weep for Bengal: Mervyin Jones in New Statesman, London, April 2, 1971 ... 389

The Slaughter in East Pakistan: Editorial, The Times, London, April 3, 1971 ... 391

The Holocaust in East Pakistan must be Ended: Editorial, The New Nation, Singapore, April 6, 1971 393

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Foreign Evacuees from East Pakistan Tell of Grim Fight: Sydney H. Schanberg, in New York Times, April 7, 1971 393
Mass Murders in Bengal: Expressen, Stockholm, April 12, 1971 ... 395
Rhetoric and Reality: Editorial, Guardian, London, April 14, 1971 ... 396
Blood of Bangla Desh: New Statesman, London, April 16, 1971 ... 397
Death in East Pakistan: Editorial, The Evening Star, April 17, 1971 ... 399
The Pakistan Story: Editorial, The Baltimore Sun, May 14, 1971 ... 400
Genocide in East Pakistan: Editorial, The Saturday Review, U.S.A. May 22, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*
East Bengal Tragedy: The Guardian, London, May 27, 1971 ... 403
Tragedy in Bengal: Commentary Broadcast in the Afro-Asian Service of Radio Prague, Czechoslovakia, on June 14, 1971 404
Appalling situation in Bengal: Editorial, The Sunday Times, Wellington, June 20, 1971 406
Another Genghis: Editorial, The Hongkong Standard, June 25, 1971 ... *ibid.*
To stop Violence: Editorial, The Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm, June 27, 1971 ... *ibid.*
Helping to kill more Bengalis; Washington Daily News, June 30, 1971 ... 407
Guilt and Disaster Over Pakistan: Peter Hazelhurst in the Manila Chronicle, July 5, 1971 408
East Pakistanis cry for help: Editorial, the Palaver Weekly, Aera, July 8, 1971 411
Normalcy—With Bayonets?: Vecernje Novosti, Yugoslavia, July 8, 1971 ... 412
Pakistan Condemned: Editorial, The New York Times, July 14, 1971 ... 413
West Pakistan pursues subjugation of Bengalis: Sydney H. Schanberg, in New York Times, July 14, 1971 414
A Nation Divided: Peter R. Kann in Wall Street Journal, New York, July 23, 1971 418
The Agony and the Danger: Editorial, The Christian Science Monitor, July 31, 1971 423
Pakistan Army Attack on Christian Community: Clare Hollingworth, in Sunday Telegraph, London, August 1, 1971 425
Obligations in Pakistan: Editorial, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, August 1, 1971 ... 426
Bengal: The Murder of a People: Newsweek, August 2, 1971 ... 427
The Ravaged People of East Pakistan: Alvin Toffler in New York Times, August 5, 1971 431
Pakistan using U.S. Jetliners to help move men to Bengal: Lewis M. Simons in The Washington Post, August 19, 1971 432
III. EXTRACTS FROM WORLD PRESS: CRUDE VIDECE, ETC. 434

CHAPTER VII

REFUGEES FROM BANGLA DESH

I. Facts of the Refugee Problem ... 446

II. Some Eyewitness Accounts

Statements by Mr. Michael Barnes, British Labour M.P., and Mr. Donald Chesworth, Chairman of the War on Want: Indian Express, New Delhi, June 2, 1971 447

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Statement by Dr. Slavko Komar, Yugoslav Ambassador in New Delhi: National Herald, June 21, 1971 448

Statement by Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees: The Times of India, New Delhi, July 1, 1971 ... 449

Statement by Dr. Prinz Zu Sain-Wingestein, West German M.P.: The Times of India, New Delhi, July 5, 1971 450

Statements by Mr. Arthur Bottomley and Mr. Toby Jessel, British M.P.s: Statesman, New Delhi, July 5, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Statement by Mr. K. Nishimura, Japanese M.P.: The Times of India, New Delhi, July 26, 1971 451

Statement by Mr. Angier B. Duke, a former U.S. Ambassador: The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, July 30 1971 452

Statement by Mr. Reginald Prentice, a British M.P.: The Times of India, New Delhi, August 7, 1971 453

Statement by Mr. Donald Chesworth, Chairman of the War on Want: The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, August 7, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Statement by Dr. Hans Edgar Jahn, West German M.P.: The Times of India, New Delhi, August 9, 1971 454

Statement by Mr. Charles Percy, U.S. Senator: The Times of India, New Delhi, August 9, 1971 455

Statement by Mr. Edward Kennedy, U.S Senator; The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, August 14, 1971 456

Statement by Mr. Edward Kennedy, U.S. Senator: The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, August 15, 1971 457

Statement by Mr. Edward Kennedy, U.S. Senator: The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, August 17, 1971 458

Statement by Mr. Ali Hafeez, former Deputy Minister of U.A.R.: The Times of India, New Delhi, August 23, 1971 459

"Escape from Terror" a report of the International Rescue Committee Emergency Mission to India for Pakistan Refugees, submitted on July 28, 1971, by its Chairman, Mr. Angier Biddle Duke, to Mr. F.L. Kellogg, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Refugee Affairs, Government of U.S.A 460

III. World Press

The Refngee Problem must be met: Editorial, The Bangkok World, April 24, 1971 467

The World's Latest Refugees: Editorial, The Guardian, London, May 7, 1971 ... 468

Million Homeless Refugees add to India's Woes: Editorial, The Ottawa Citizen, May 10, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Help India Solve Refugee Problem: Editorial, The Palaver, Accra, May 20, 1971 469

The World Hangs Back: Editorial, The Bangkok Post, May 24, 1971 ... 470

Challenge to the U.N.: Editorial, The Age, Canberra, May 26, 1971 ... *ibid.*

Relief: Editorial, The New Herald, Kathmandu, May 26, 1971 ... 471

Bengal's Suffering Millions: Editorial, The Times, London, June 1, 1971 ... 472

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

A Humanitarian Point: Editorial, The Commoner, Kathamndu, June 1, 1971 ... 472

Bengal: Agony and Response: Editorial, The Sunday Australian, June 6, 1971 ... 473

East Bengal Refugees: Editorial, The Straits Times, Malaysia, June 8, 1971 ... 474

A World Problem: Editorial, The Straits Echo, Malaysia, June 10, 1971 ... 475

Pakistan's future: Editorial, The Sydney Morning Herald, June 14, 1971 ... 476

Slaughter in East Pakistan: Editorial, The Washington Daily News, June 15, 1971 477

India Needs More Help: Editorial, Evening News, Trinidad and Tobago, June 16, 1971 478

Guyanese Concern over Refugees: Editorial, The Guyana Evening Post, June 17, 1971 479

Letter to the Editor: The Times, London, July 3, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Refugee Workers Bitter Over U.N. 'Pittance' in India: Peter Gill in Daily Telegraph, London, July 5, 1971 480

Heavy Burden for Indian Economy : Za Rubezhom (A Russian Language Weekly), July 16–22, 1971 481

Another 150,000 flee from Pakistan; Morning Star, July 21, 1971 ... 482

Huge new exodus from Bangla Desh; Morning Star, July 24, 1971 ... *ibid.*

Still no end to Bengal flight: Peter Gill in Sunday Telegraph, London, July 25, 1971 483

A Proposal on Pakistan: Editorial, Washington Post, July 30, 1971 ... 484

Time is running out in Bengal: The Economist, London, July 31, 1971 ... 485

Pakistan: The Ravaging of Golden Bengal: Time, New York, August 2, 1971 ... 487

IV. Extracts from World Press: Cruelties, etc. ... 495

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE AND INVOLVEMENT

I. International Response (Official)

Statement by Mr. William McMohan, Prime Minister of Australia in the House of Representatives, Canberra on April 22, 1971 ... 502

Extracts from statement by Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada, in the House of Commons on June 16, 1971... *ibid.*

Statement made by Acting Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Canada, Mr. Mitchell Sharp, in the House of Commons on June 16, 1971 after his talks with the Foreign Minister 503

Letter to the Editor by Mr. Mitchell Sharp, dated July 10, 1971 ... *ibid.*

Chilean President's letter to U.N Secretary General, released on June 26, 1971. 504

Statement made on June 12, 1971, by Spokesman of the French Foreign Ministry after Franco-Indian talks 505

Statement on East Pakistan by the Acting Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Marshall on April 14, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Statement by Prime Minister of New Zealand, on May 24, 1971 ... 506

Statement by Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Phillipines on June 15, 1971 507

Extracts from statement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Government of the United Kingdom, in the House of Commons on May 14, 1971 ... *ibid.*

Agreed Statement after the meeting of the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, U.K. with Mr. Swaran Singh on June 21, 1971 508

Extracts from Statement by Sir Alec Doughlas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Government of the United Kingdom, in the House of Commons on June 23, 1971 ... *ibid.*

U.S. State Department Spokesman 's Statement issued on June 17, 1971 ... 510

President Nikaloi Podgorny 's letter to President Yahya Khan, dated April 2, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Text of Indo-Soviet Statement on the conclusion of the Foreign Minister's visit to Moscow, issued on June 8, 1971 511

Extracts from Prime Minister Kosygin's Election Speech (delivered on the eve of Elections to the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R.) ... 512

The Holy Father's Appeal for East Pakistan on June 2, 1971 ... 513

Extracts from Speech of Mr. Tallert, Member of the Ruling Social Democratic Party, in Bundestag, on April 28, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Text of Statement by Federal Republic of Germany on the conclusion of Foreign Minister's visit to Bonn, dated June 14, 1971 514

Federal Chanceller Willy Brandt's Statement at a Press Conference, on July 23, 1971 515

World Bank Report prepared by an I.B.R.D. Mission after a visit to East Bengal between May 30 and June 11, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Yugoslav Official Spokesman's Statement on influx of refugees from East Pakistan on June 17, 1971 519

II. International Response: Non-Official (Individuals)

Statement by Mr. Russel Johnston, Member, House of Commons, U.K. on March 31, 1971 520

Statement by Senator Edward M. Kennedy in the U.S. Senate on April 1, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Statement by Senator Harris in U.S. Senate on April 1, 1971 ... 521

Speech made by Lord Fenner Brockwaz, Member of House of Lords, U.K., at a public meeting on April 4, 1971 522

An Appeal to the President of Pakistan by 'American Friends of Pakistan', published on April 12, 1971 523

"Pakistan's Made-in-U.S.A. Arms" by Mr. Chester Bowles, New York Times on April 18, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

A report to the World Conference of Religion for Peace 525

John Stonehouse's Interview with BBC on April 27, 1971 533

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Statement by Senator Edward M. Kennedy in the U.S. Senate on May 3, 1971 533

Statement by Senator Walter F. Mondale in the U. S. Senate on May 6, 1971 ... 534

Statement by Senator Edward Kennedy on May 11, 1971 ... 536

Statement by Senator in the U.S. Senate on May 11, 1971 ... 538

Statement by Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher in the U.S. House of Representatives on May 12, 1971 541

Statement by Senator Church in the U.S Senate on May 18, 1971 ... 543

Death in "Golden Bangla Desh"—By Homer A. Jack, New York Times, May 20, 1971 545

Adjournment Motion moved by Mr. Heath Macquarrie M.P. (Progressive Conservative) in the House of Commons, Canada, on May 31, 1971, regarding East Pakistan conflict. 546

Statement by Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher in the U.S. House of Representatives on June 10, 1971 547

Senator Edward M. Kennedy's Statement in the U.S. Senate on June 18, 1971 553

Text of letter sent to Secretary Rogers by Senator Kennedy on flow of East Pakistani Refugees into India 555

Statement by Senator Edward M. Kennedy in the U.S. Senate on June 22, 1971 556

Statement by Senator William B. Saxbe in the U.S. Senate on June 22, 1971 ... 557

"Pathetic Drama of India and Pakistan", By Fortes Gil (Translation of an article by Mr. Gil, Ex-President of Mexico and Ambassador of Mexico to India, which appeared in EL HERALDO on June 24, 1971) 558

Statement by Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher, in the U.S. House of Representatives, on July 1, 1971 559

Reginald Prentice calls for pressure on Yahya Khan: Statement on July 4, 1971 561

Refugees in West Bengal—Letter to editor 562

Statement by Senator Frank Church in the U.S. Senate on July 7, 1971 ... *ibid.*

"The Repression of Bengal" By Reginald Prentice, a Member of the British Parliamentary Delegation which visited Pakistan and India. In Sunday Times, London, dated July 11, 1971 564

Statement by Senator William B. Saxbe in the U.S. Senate on July 12, 1971 ... 567

"Both Sides of the Disaster": By Mr. Reginald Prentice, a Member of the British Parliamentary delegation which visited Pakistan and India. in New Statesman, London, dated July 16, 1971 569

Reports of the Canadian Parliamentary Delegation: Text of agreed report released to Press by Members of Canadian Parliamentary Delegation, M/s. Lachance, Macquarrie and Brewin, in Ottawa, after their return on July 19, 1971 571

"Let the World know: Who share the guilt". By Rev. J. D. Claphan, Talk on All-India Radio, New Delhi on July 24, 1971 575

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Statement by Senator Proxmire in the U.S. Senate on July 27, 1971 ... 577

Hindus are Targets of Army Terror in an East Pakistani Town: By Sydney H. Schanberg 578

Statement by Senator William B. Saxbe in the U.S. Senate on July 27, 1971 579

Statement by Senator J. W. Fulbright in the U.S. Senate on July 28, 1971 ... 580

Statement by Senator Proxmire in the U.S. Senate on July 29, 1971 ... 582

Statement by Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher, in the U.S. House of Representatives on August 3, 1971 583

"U.S Arms to Pakistan", by Mr. Chester Bowles, The Washington Post on August 15, 1971 588

Extracts from the transcript of the Television Interview given by Pakistani Ambassador Mr. Agha Hilaly, to the ABC Television network in Washington on August 15, 1971 591

Address by Senator Edward M. Kennedy to the National Press Club. Washington on August 26, 1971 596

III. International Response: Non-official—(Organisations)

Text of the Statement issued by the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples on April 13, 1971 ... 601

Statement by International Committee on the University Emergency ... 602

Resolution on Colonialism and Racial Discrimination adopted by the Assembly of the World Peace Council in Budapest on May 10, 1971 ... 603

Text of the Resolution passed by Americans for Democratic Action ... 604

Resolution passed by Socialist International Council Conference in Helsinki on May 27, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

International Islamic Organisation calls upon Muslim Countries to help East Bengal Refugees: Statement, dated June 9, 1971 ... 605

Argentine Intelectuals urge Government to rush aid to East Bengal Refugees: Memorandum, dated June 11, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

League of Red Cross Societies expresses grave concern for Health of Refugees in West Bengal: News Release, dated June 18, 1971 ... 606

French Episcopate calls for Political solution in East Bengals on June 22, 1971 607

Resolution on East Pakistan adopted by Tenth Executive Committee Session of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation held in Damascus (Syria) on June 23-24, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Demand to end Genocide in East Pakistan by Venezuelan Council for World Peace and Human Rights: Statement, dated June 24, 1971 ... 608

International Social Welfare Council expresses shock at Refugees plight ... *ibid.*

Statement on Pakistan by Commission of the Churches on International Affairs—Approved by Executive Committee meeting on July 9-12, 1971 ... *ibid.*

Human Tragedy of East Pakistan must concern humanity: Appeal by 29 intellectuals and artists of Venezuela, published on July 14, 1971. ... 610

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Philippines Catholics Appeal for Restoration of Peace in East Bengal: Statement released on July 16, 1971 611

IV. International Involvement

Copy of Press Release of International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, dated April 14, 1971 regarding ICJ's opposition to Special Tribunals in Pakistan 612

Statement by U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, about Refugees from East Pakistan, at a Press Conference in Geneva on May 5, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Statement by Ambassador S. Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, in the Social Committee of the Economic and Social Council on Agenda item 5 (a): Report of the Commission on Human Rights on May 12, 1971. 618

Statement by Ambassador S. Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations at the Social Committee of the ECOSC on Agenda Item 5 (a): Report of the Commission on Human Rights, on May 17, 1971 623

Statement by Mr. J. B. Scot, New Zealand Delegate, In the Social Committee of Economic and Social Council on May 17, 1971 625

U.N. Secretary-General's Appeal for emergency help to refugees from East Bengal on May 19, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

U.N. Secretary-General's appeal for assistance to East Bengal on June 17, 1971 626

Record of Press Conference of U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees held at U.N. on June 23, 1971 628

Record of U.N. High Commissioner's Press Conference held in London on June 30, 1971 633

U.N. Secretary-General's Statement at 51st Session of the Economic and Social Council on July 5, 1971 642

Text of the Statement of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Economic and Social Council, 51st Session on July 5, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Record of Press Conference of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in Paris on July 9, 1971 643

Extracts from the Statement by Ambassador N. Krishan, Leader of the Indian Observer Delegation to the 51st Session of the Economic and Social Council on July 9, 1971 650

Statement made by Mr. Ismat T. Kittani, Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs at the fifty-first Session of the Economic and Social Council, on July 16, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Statement by Mr. L Mojsov, Yugoslov Delegate, at the 51st Session of the Economic and Social Council on July 16, 1971 653

Statement by Mr. J. V. Scott, New Zealand Delegate, in the 51st Session of the Economic and Social Council on July 16, 1971 655

U.N. Secretary-General's Aid Memoire of July 19, 1971, to Governments of India and Pakistan 657

Secretary-General's Memorandum to the President of the Security Council, dated July 20, 1971 658

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Non-Governmental World Bodies Appeal to U.N. Sub-Commission on July 20, 1971 660

India's reply to U.N. Secretary-General's Aide Memoirie, delivered on August 2, 1971. ... ... *ibid.*

Copy of a Telegram, dated August 10, 1971 from International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, to President Yahya Khan 663

Statement by Mr. John Salzberg, Representative for the International Commission of Jurists to the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, dated August 16, 1971 664

CHAPTER IX

INDIA'S RESPONSE

Text of the Prime Minister's intervention during the Debate in Lok Sabha on March 27, 1971 669

Text of the Prime Minister's intervention during the Debate in Rajya Sabha on March 27, 1971 670

Statement by the Minister of External Affairs in Parliament on March 27, 1971 regarding recent developments in Pakistan 671

Text of the Resolution moved by the Prime Minister of India in the Parliament on March 31, 1971 672

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha on situation in Bangla Desh, on May 24, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Statement made by the Shram Aur Punarvas Mantri (Labour and Rehabilitation Minister) on May 24, 1971, in the Rajya Sabha in response to the calling attention notice, by Shri D. D. Puri and others regarding the grave situation arising out of the heavy influx of Refugees from East Bengal to India 675

Foreign Minister's reply to the short duration discussion regarding Demand for Recognition of Bangla Desh in Rajya Sabha on May 25, 1971 ... 676

Prime Minister's reply to the discussion regarding situation arising out of arrival of Refugees from East Bengal in Lok Sabha on May 26, 1971 680

Statement by the Minister of External Affairs (Videsh Mantri) in Rajya Sabha on June 1, 1971 regarding the refusal by the Government of U.K. to suspend Aid to Pakistan on a suggestion reported to have been made by the Government of India in view of the present situation in Bangla Desh 683

Prime Minister's reply to the discussion under Rule 176 on the situation arising out of the influx of millions of Refugees from Bangla Desh into India in Rajya Sabha on June 15, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

India's Foreign Minister's Address to the National Press Club, Washington on June 17, 1971 686

Statement by the Minister of External Affairs in Lok/Rajya Sabha on June 24, 1971, regarding the shipment of American arms to Pakistan ... 696

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAGE

Statement in the Lok/Rajya Sabha on June 25, 1971, by the Foreign Minister on his return from visits to Moscow, Bonn, Paris, Ottawa, New York, Washington D.C. and London from 6th June to 22nd June 1971 697

Statement by the Minister of External Affairs in Lok Sabha on July 6, 1971, regarding the reported supply of arms to Pakistan by the U.S.S.R and France and the reaction of the Government thereto ... 698

Statement by the Minister of External Affairs in Lok Sabha on July 12, 1971, regarding the reported decision of U.S.A. to supply arms worth 35 million dollars to Pakistan under personal orders of President Nixon. 699

Defence Minister Shri Jagjivan Ram's Statement on July 12, 1971 ... 699

Statement by the Minister of External Affairs in Rajya Sabha on July 19, 1971, regarding the continued arms supply by the Government of U.S.A. to Pakistan and the implications thereof 702

Reply by Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs, to the ebate on Budget Demands on July 20, 1971 703

Statement by the Minister of External Affairs in Rajya Sabha on July 21, 1971, regarding the reported threat of the President of Pakistan to declare War on India and the reaction of the Government thereto ... 711

Statement by the Minister of External Affairs in Lok Sabha on August 9, 1971, regarding the reported statement by President Yahya Khan of Pakistan that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman may be executed ... *ibid.*

Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Message to Heads of Government on August 10, 1971 712

Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh's message to U.N. Secretary-General, U-Thant on August 10, 1971 ... ... *ibid.*

Statement by Deputy Minister of External Affairs in Rajya Sabha on August 12, 1971, regarding the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman by the Military Authorities of Pakistan, and the threat given by President Yahya Khan that the Sheikh may be executed ... 713

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION 714

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER I

GENESIS OF THE CRISIS

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

Pakistan was a geographical incongruity. The two halves of Pakistan were around 1,200 miles apart and had little in common. Islamic fervour was the only cementing factor in Pakistan, but its utility proved shortlived.

The compulsions of economic development were too strong to be side-tracked by the slogan of Islamic solidarity and brotherhood. It would have been unfair to think that the people of East Bengal would regard the bonds of Islam so strong that they would be expected to forget their economic exploitation and backwardness. It became increasingly clear that the uppermost consideration in the minds of West Pakistani rulers was the development of West Pakistan and prosperity of the Punjabis.

Apart from the economic and other disparities, the fact that concerned the people of East Bengal most was that despite their majority they had to suffer the humiliation of being dominated politically by West Pakistan's bureaucracy and military oligarchy. They demanded that injustice against them should cease forthwith and their genuine and legitimate political, cultural and economic aspirations should be respected and fulfilled. The Bengalis were forced by Pakistani bureaucracy and military junta to feel alienated in the country with which they had cast their lot in 1947.

The East Bengali leaders raised their voice against the injustice meted out to their people. They also wanted the Bengali language and culture should retain its identity and Bengali language should be declared the official language of Pakistan. In November 1950, 13 Bengali members belonging to Muslim League Assembly Party demanded the acceptance of Bengali as official language of Pakistan, and also demanded internal autonomy for East Bengal.

The people of East Bengal dealt a death blow to the Muslim League in 1954 when it was completely routed in the provincial election. The United Front led by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy of the Awami League and Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq of the Krishak Sramik Party came in power and formed Government.

The West Pakistani ruling clique could not digest the victory of the people of East Bengal and proclaimed Governor's rule after dismissing the popular Ministry and the Assembly. It was a great setback to democracy in Pakistan. Democratic institutions through which popular grievances could have been effectively channelized were denied to the people of Pakistan in general and to the people of East Bengal in particular.

Then came the Martial Law regime in 1958 which was a powerful attempt of military Generals to perpetuate West Pakistani political and economic domination on the majority of the people living in East Bengal. The Bengali leaders, who were demanding maximum regional autonomy and wanted to establish a new balance of political and economic power between the Centre and the provinces, became suspects in the eyes of military rulers. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, then General Secretary of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Awami League, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, along with many other prominent political leaders, were arrested.

Ayub promised to remove disparities existing between East and West Pakistan but his words remained mere palliatives, and the situation worsened during his regime.

The students in Dacca, Chittagong, Bogra, Rajshahi and other places rose against the regimentation imposed by Ayub's dictatorship. They held demonstrations and demanded the restoration of parliamentary democracy. The political arrogance of the Military Junta was incompatible with the popular demand for the restoration of democratic institutions. Hundreds of demonstrating students were put behind bars.

Ayub tried to bring changes piecemeal, and in 1962 he gave Pakistan a Constitution which was totally unacceptable to the people of Pakistan because it failed to reflect their feelings. Ayub's military regime, supported by West Pakistani bureaucracy, widened the gulf between the two regions of the country. The people of East Bengal wanted their political and economic rights, and thought no sacrifice too great for their achievement. They rose as one man against the military dictatorship, and Ayub resorted to ruthless brutal force to crush the democratic movement in East Bengal.

A region of terror was unleashed. All popular leaders were arrested. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, demanded maximum regional autonomy based on his six points. He was arrested and implicated in the false Agartala Conspiracy Case in January 1968 on charges of conspiring to topple the Government and to turn East Bengal into an independent country with the active help of India. It was a nefarious design to discredit Sheikh Mujib and his followers.

The people protested and a wave of resentment and anger spread to all corners of East Bengal. Widespread unrest rocked the country, and the police resorted to firing in Dacca on December 7, 1968, killing two persons and wounding several others. The army was called out to maintain law and order, but the people did not yield to military brutalities and continued their struggle for democratization and economic development. There were complete strikes and bandhs in Dacca and other towns of East Bengal. About 1,000 were arrested throughout East Bengal on December 14, 1968.

In Dacca, Narainganj and elsewhere about 25 persons were killed in police firing. The people urged Ayub to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and launched an agitation to achieve the objective. Ayub, confronted with a mighty agitation, had to yield and bow before the people. He freed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and withdrew the Agartala Conspiracy Case. A Round Table Conference was called in March 1969, where Sheikh Mujib was also invited. Sheikh Mujib demanded full regional autonomy for both wings of Pakistan but the Military rulers and Punjabi politicians did not agree to the demand of autonomy which meant to them the end of their hegemony.

Ayub could not face the onslaught of popular anger and on March 25, 1969, he passed on the power to General Mohammad Yahya Khan who reimposed Martial Law and dissolved National and Provincial Assemblies. He promised General Elections in December 1970. The Awami Lague led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman secured a clear mandate from the people of East Bengal in the elections held on December 7, 1970. Sheikh Mujib fought the elections on his six-point programme of regional autonomy. His six points were:

(1) The Constitution should provide for a federation of Pakistan in the true sense on the basis of the Lahore resolution and for a Parliamentary form of Government based on the supremacy of a duly elected legislature on the basis of universal adult franchise.

(2) The Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects—defence and foreign affairs—with all residuary subjects vested in the federating states.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(3) There should be either two separate freely convertible currencies for the two wings or one currency with two separate Reserve Banks to prevent inter-wing flight of capital.

(4) The power of taxation and revenue collection shall be vested in the federating units. The Federal Government will receive a share to meet its financial obligations.

(5) Economic disparities between the two wings shall disappear through a series of economic, fiscal and legal reforms.

(6) A militia or para-military force must be created in East Pakistan, which at present has no defence of its own.

The Awami League secured 167 out of 169 seats allotted to East Bengal in the National Assembly, whose total strength is 313. Thus it got an absolute majority of seats in the National Assembly, and also established itself as the unchallenged representative of the people of Eastern Wing. The National Assembly was scheduled to meet and draft a Constitution within 120 days of the first meeting. The Awami League was the largest single party in the National Assembly and its first session was scheduled on March 3, 1971.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman made it very clear that Pakistan's future Constitution would be based on the six points of regional autonomy. Serious deadlock arose mainly because West Pakistani Punjabi politicians led by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto of Pakistan's Peoples' Party found it impossible to come to terms with Sheikh Mujib's programme. Yahya Khan moved in and acted in the interest of the ruling Military Junta and bureaucracy of West Pakistan. He postponed the session of the National Assembly indefinitely on the pretext that there were serious differences between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Z. A. Bhutto on the question of draft constitution of Pakistan.

The postponement of the National Assembly was a denial to the people of East Bengal of their legitimate democratic rights to rule according to their own wishes. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman gave a call for non-cooperation and civil disobedience to paralyse the Government in East Bengal. The people responded to his call and refused to obey the orders from Rawalpindi. There were clashes between the people and the police. The situation worsened and the army was called to quell the demonstrators. The army resorted to indiscriminate firing and killed more than 350 persons and injured about 1,000 persons in East Bengal.

The edge of the people's resistance got sharpened and they resolved to fight and die for the restoration of their basic rights. Yahya announced that the Assembly would meet on March 25, 1971, but Sheikh Mujibur Rahman put four conditions for participating in the National Assembly's deliberations. He asked for (1) Immediate end of Martial Law regime, (2) Withdrawal of troops from East Pakistan, (3) An inquiry into the killings of the strikers and (4) Immediate handing over of power to the people's representatives.

The people of East Bengal were fully behind Sheikh Mujib who, along with his party, was in effective control of the situation when Yahya arrived in Dacca and initiated a series of meetings with Mujib. While the talks were on, the Martial Law Administration let loose a reign of terror and repression and shot down 30 demonstrators in Joydevpur on March 19, 1971.

Bhutto and other West Pakistani leaders were summoned to Dacca by Yahya Khan. The meetings were on and the impression was deliberately created that a compromise had been reached under which Yahya agreed to accept "Sovereign Independent Bengal" as a unit of Confederation of Pakistan. "Sovereign Independent Bengal" or "Bangla Desh" was in keeping with the spirit of the Muslim League's Lahore Resolution of 1940 which unambiguously envisaged sovereign autonomous units in Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On March 25, serious deadlock arose. Yahya, Bhutto and other West Pakistani leaders flew back to Rawalpindi. West Pakistani troops had arrived by then and a reign of terror and repression was unleashed. The Awami League Party workers and sympathisers were brutally gunned down in Dacca streets. Brutal military force was used to kill unarmed people. Houses were demolished. Women were raped and killed and children were mercilessly butchered. It was not merely indiscriminate killing, it was genocide which paled even Hitler's and Salaazar's records.

Denial of democracy to majority of the people of Pakistan (living in East Bengal) by West Pakistani vested interests could no longer be tolerated. This was the end of Pakistan, as far as the people of East Bengal were concerned. They declared themselves independent on March 26.

THE UNDERLYING WEAKNESS OF PAKISTAN*

Our policies in Asia are irrelevant to the political problems confronting us. At best, they are ineffective, as are our propaganda and economic policies. At worst, the political damage they do is out of all proportion to whatever intrinsic merits they may have; this is true of our military policies. A few words, however, need to be said about Pakistan, which is the strongest ally the United States has on the continent of Asia.

The military power of Pakistan is the measure of America's military power on that continent. Pakistan has a good army of more than 200,000 men and a population close to 100 million. As a member of both the Baghdad Pact and SEATO she is the connecting link between the two defence organizations. Her government is as reliable and co-operative as that of any of our Asian allies.

But beneath these appearances of strength there is enormous and, so it seems, irremediable weakness. Pakistan is not a nation and hardly a state. It has no justification in history, ethnic origin, language, civilization, or the consciousness of those who make up its population. They have no interest in common save one: fear of Hindu domination. It is to that fear, and to nothing else, that Pakistan owes its existence, and thus for its survival, as an independent state.

When India gained her independence and the civil war between Hindus and Moslems ended, two regions, the western and easternmost parts of India, remained with a predominantly Moslem population. These two regions, West Pakistan with the capital Karachi, and East Bengal, form the state of Pakistan. It is as if after the Civil War, Louisiana and Maryland had decided to form a state of their own with the capital in Baton Rouge. In fact, it is worse than that.

The two parts of Pakistan are separated not only by 1,200 miles of Indian territory, but even more by language, ethnic composition, civilization and outlook. West Pakistan belongs essentially to Middle East and has more in common with Iran or Iraq than with East Bengal. East Bengal, in turn, with a population which is one third Hindu is hardly distinguishable from West Bengal which belongs to India, and gravitates towards the latter's capital, Calcutta; the major labour unions in East Bengal, for instance, are run from Calcutta. The man in the street in West Pakistan speaks any one of four languages—none of which enables him to communicate with the Bengali-speaking inhabitants of East Bengal. A politician in Karachi who is able to address an East Bengal

---

*Extracts from Hans J. Morgenthau, "Military Illus ons", *The New Republic* (Washington D.C.), March 19, 1956, pp. 14—16. This was the second of four articles in the series: "The Immaturity of Our Asian Policy". Professor Morgenthau was then Director of the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy at the University of Chicago.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

audience in its own tongue has a rare political asset. While 84 percent of the total population of Pakistan are illeterate, the literacy rate is much higher in East Bengal, which is also much more politically conscious and active than its western counterpart.

Even Jinnah, the creator of this strange state, did not orginally believe in its viability, and there are few politicians in Karachi today who really believe in it. If there are solutions which could assure the future of Pakistan, only extraordinary wisdom and political skill will find them and put them into effect. If there is such wisdom and skill in Pakistan, it is not to be found among the politicians of Karachi. Thus it is hard to see how anything but a miracle, or else a revival of religious fanaticism, will assure Pakistan's future.

Against whom and how is an army likely to fight, which is built upon so tenuous a political foundation? Aside from the fact that the Karachi Government may well need its army to maintain its rule over the two disparate territories of Pakistan, geography allows of military operations only against two countries: Afghanistan and India. While the Pakistani army could easily take care of Afghanistan and might perhaps be able to defend West Pakistan against India at the price of the surrender of East Bengal, such capabilities are obviously meaningless in view of the over-all political and strategic situation on the continent of Asia as it appears from the vantage point of the United States. A local war between Pakistan and one or the other of its neighbours would not necessarily affect the interests of the United States to the point of requiring its intervention. A general war into which Pakistan would be drawn should see the United States on the side where her interests lie, which might or might not be the side of Pakistan.

In such a general war it is not very likely that the main issue would be joined where the Pakistani army happens to be. Geography makes it impossible for that army in case of war to give effective assistance to any of its allies either under the Baghdad Pact or SEATO or receive such assistance from them. The SEATO treaty appears to take that impossibility into account by stipulating in case of military attack against a member state not automatic military assistance (as NATO does), but only consultation, which would likely to occur even without a formal legal commitment.

HISTORY OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DOMINATION OF EAST PAKISTAN*

I

In many ways East and West Pakistan have never been one country. Even at its strongest, the bond between East and West Pakistan was somewhat tenuous. They are physically more than 1,000 miles apart, the people speak different languages, have different cultures and different economies. They have in common religion, a short history, and the same Central Government.

Since the formation of the state of Pakistan 24 years back, the East Bengalis have derived little benefit from the association other than a limited sense of security that the Hindu landlords would not be able to return and repossess the land.

It has become increasingly apparent that the economic and political interests of the East Pakistanis have been systematically subordinated to those of West Pakistan. Even the Central Government's highest planning authority was forced to take official notice of the widening economic disparities between the two regions. A recent report by a panel of experts to the Planning Commission of the Government of Pakistan showed

---

*Paper Reviewed for The Ripon Society by J. Lee Auspitz, President, Ripon Society; Stephen A. Marglin, Professor of Economics, Harvard University; and Gustav F. Papenek, Lecturer on Economics and former Director, Development Advisory Service, Harvard University.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that, while average (per capita) income in the West was 32% higher than in the East in 1959–60, the disparity had almost doubled to 61% ten years later in 1969–70.

The Central Government's instruments of tariffs, import controls, industrial licensing, foreign aid budgeting, and investment allocation have been used to direct investment and imports to develop high-cost industries in West Pakistan whose profitability is guaranteed by an East Pakistan market held captive behind tariff walls and import quotas. Though 60% of all Pakistanis live in the East, its share of Central Government development expenditure has fluctuated between a low of 20% during 1950/51–1954/55 and a high of 36% in the period 1965/66–1969/70. East Pakistan's share of private investment has averaged less than 25%. Historically, 50% to 70% of Pakistan's export earnings have been earned by East Pakistan's products, mainly jute, hides and skin. Yet its share of foreign imports (which are financed by export earnings and foreign aid) has remained between 25% and 30%. Basically, the East's balance of payments surplus has been used to help finance the West's deficit on foreign account leading to a net transfer of resources, estimated by an official report to be approximately 2.6 billion over the period 1948/49 to 1968/69.

The subordination of the East's economic interests has been accomplished by the overwhelming concentration of governmental authority in the hands of West Pakistanis.

After the military regime of Ayub Khan took power in 1958, the East has had little political representation in the Centre. Only cooperative Bengalis were appointed to political office, and in the powerful Civil Service, Bengalis held only a small fraction of the positions. Under-representation of Bengalis in the army was even more severe, believed to be 10% or less. Ayub Khan, against whom the Bengalis had voted heavily in 1965, was forced to resign because of widespread unrest in both East and West culminating in demonstrations and strikes in 1969. Since taking power in the spring of 1969, Yahya Khan's martial law regime has always spoken of itself as an interim government to be replaced after popular elections. In the economic and social spheres, the army made no innovations. However, the military did take one positive step: they held free and fair elections in December of 1970, both for a Constituent Assembly and for Provincial Assemblies.

These elections were based on "one man, one vote"; this meant that in the Constituent Assembly the East was allotted roughly 55% of the seats. Two parties dominated the elections. In the East, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's party, the Awami League, won 167 out of 169 seats for the Constituent Assembly; in the West, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's party won approximately 80 out of 140 seats. The Awami League actually had sufficient seats to be a *majority* in the Constituent Assembly.

The Awami League ran on a single issue, autonomy for East Pakistan. Until the shooting began on March 25, they did not seek independence but a loose union with the West. While on paper they had the votes to dominate a strong central government they presumably felt they could not, in fact, dominate, given that the military, the civil service, and the large businesses were all in the hands of West Pakistanis. Therefore, they opted for a form of government which would give them control over what they considered their essential interests. The established interest groups in the West, particularly the military whose budget was threatened and large businesses who stood both to lose markets and the foreign exchange earnings of the East, opposed autonomy for the East.

When it was clear that the East would not compromise on its demand for autonomy, President Yahya Khan postponed the Constituent Assembly scheduled for March 3, resulting in demonstrations in which hundreds of people died in army firing on March 1. Despite this provocation, Sheikh Mujib kept the door for negotiations open. General Yahya Khan appeared to respond by holding talks for two weeks with the Awami League leadership. In retrospect, this appears to have been a ploy to buy time for reinforcing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the West Pakistani armed forces in the East. On March 25, the military authority outlawed the Awami League, arrested its leaders, and opened fire with tanks, artillery, and automatic weapons (much of it supplied by the U.S.) on the defenceless and unarmed civilians.

The military's approach appears to be to intimidate the urban population through a reign of terror. Killing and destruction apparently have been indiscriminate. Reports on the number killed in the first three days ranged from 15,000 up.

In the short run the army can intimidate the people of the major cities. But it cannot even now control any substantial part of the countryside. In the long run the military position is untenable. In a hostile environment and given the logistical problems, maintaining even the 60,000 West Pakistani troops now in the East, will be difficult. Moreover, the military cannot possibly guard the borders or prevent the Bengalis from acquiring arms with which to resist.

The Bengalis have now declared themselves independent and have the will to fight. In the end, they will win; the only question is time, how many deaths, and how much destruction must take place before they achieve their independence.

The recent elections provided East Pakistan with a political party capable of governing. Rather than a civil war, the present action is more of an invasion of one state by the military of another, with the aim of overthrowing a duly elected government and subjugating the people.

II

AN INDEPENDENT EAST PAKISTAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Bangla Desh, the name chosen by East Pakistanis for their desired nation, is bound to establish good relations with India. Apart from the cultural bonds of a common language—Bengali—between East Pakistan and the State of West Bengal in India, interest in strong economic ties coincides. The industrialization of East Pakistan would be greatly facilitated by the nearby supply of coal and iron ore in West Bengal. Even for agriculutral growth, much of the investment to improve water control would have to be undertaken in India, presumably as cooperative ventures, likely with World Bank support. India would benefit not only from water control but also from direct access to the East Pakistan market, and incidentally the improvement of access to Assam. Historically, in spite of evident mutual interest in regularizing cultural and trade relationship between India and East Pakistan, such a development was consistently discouraged and resisted by the West Pakistani-dominated Government. Specifically, the West Pakistanis believed that, short of war and victory, they have no other lever to force a settlement of the Kashmir claim but the economic interest of India in resuming trade in the East.

An independent Bangla Desh may set up minor economic ties with China, but these are likely to be much less than the current scale of trade and aid between China and Pakistan. The chance of international links between China and Bangla Desh are likely to increase the longer the independence struggle takes to achieve its goal, since its control may, over time, slip from moderate Awami League leadership to more militant and leftist elements such as the National Awami Party (which did not contest the December elections.)

In recent years, the U.S.S.R. has competed with China for influence over the West Pakistani-dominated Central Government, using the levers of economic and military aid. In its newly established relationship, the Soviet Union's contacts have been confined to the military regime in West Pakistan. Though it is hard to predict the Soviet attitude towards an independent Bangla Desh, ties with the Soviet Union are unlikely to be any stronger than with China.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

III

UNITED STATES POLICY: PAST AND FUTURE

The likely pattern of United States relations with Bangla Desh depends crucially on U.S. policy in the current crisis—particularly with regard to the decisions on economic and arms aid to the Central Government in West Pakistan. To appreciate possibilities for U.S. policy, a little history is helpful.

Since the early 1950's, when Pakistan joined mutual security pacts of SEATO and CENTO, she has received massive economic and military aid from the United States. By 1969, economic aid amounted to about $ 3 billion and military aid, a classified number, has been estimated to have been between $ 1.5 and $ 2 billion. This assistance has included F–104 Starfighters, F–84 Sabre jets, C–130 transports, Patton tanks, armoured personnel carriers, heavy artillery, and automatic weapons. This arsenal of sophisticated equipment was explicitly intended for defence, and in terms of the context in which they were provided, the Communist Bloc was seen as the potential aggressor. After the 1965 Indo–Pakistan border war, when the U.S. imposed an arms embargo on both countries, the Pakistan Government turned for support to another adversary of India, i.e., the People's Republic of China.

The Pakistani initiative was sympathetically received by China, presumably not so much because of the Sino–Indian conflcit, but because it represented a breach in *SEATO* and *CENTO*. The growth of Chinese military and economic aid spurred similar offers from the Soviet Union, anxious to get into the act of weaning Pakistan away from its military alliances with the Western powers. Perhaps because the United States still believed it could compete for influence with Pakistan through arms sales, or perhaps due to the sheer momentum of long and close ties between the Pentagon and the military superstructure in Pakistan, attempts to circumvent the arms embargo gathered strength in 1967. Attempts were made to persuade "third countries"—West Germany and Turkey-to sell arms previously provided by the U.S. to Pakistan for nominal prices, with the assurances that the U.S. would replace these weapons with newer equipment. Though this particular move of the Johnson Administration was frustrated by the unwillingness of any suitably equipped third country to go along with the arrangements, in October 1970, the Nixon Adminstration offered to sell Pakistan certain items including a squadron of F–104 Strafighters, a squadron of B–57 bombers, and about 300 armored personnel carriers.

Viewed from the United States, the emergence of an independent Bangla Desh, friendly to India, is likely to aid the long-term U.S. foreign policy goal of reducing conflict and tension on the Indian sub–continent. The issue of Kashmir, a matter on which East Pakistan has never been aroused, will continue to divide India and West Pakistan. But as a separate entity, West Pakistan is unlikely to have the capacity to continue the long and costly confrontation with India, which has sapped the scarce resources of both these poor countries.

An independent East Pakistan will probably follow a moderately pro–Western policy, which may be consolidated with the provision of aid by U.S. and multilateral agencies. But if the struggle for independence is prolonged by the continuation of U.S. aid to the Pakistan Government, the damage to the United States' image and the rise to power of leftist elements in the independence movement will both frustrate the development of friendly relations with the U.S. Eyewitness reports in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* confirm that American arms are now being used, along with Russian and Chinese, to establish a reign of terror in East Pakistan. The American Government must not be party to the killing of defenceless civilians or the forcible represssion of the struggle by East Pakistanis for control over their own lives. Since the agreements under which the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

arms were given, limit their use for defensive purposes, the U.S. certainly has a basis to protest their use for massacring unarmed civilians.

Continuing military and economic aid is not neutrality in this matter. In the current situation, all aid is bound to flow to the Government in West Pakistan. At the very least, the United States should prevent deliveries under the October 1970 arms offer, avoid all further arms deals, and cut off economic aid to Pakistan. Such action, together with moral and diplomatic pressure, could bring an end to hostilities and lead to early institution of democratic government.

CONFLICT IN EAST PAKISTAN: BACKGROUND AND PROSPECTS

I

SUMMARY

The independence of East Pakistan is inevitable. What started as a movement for economic autonomy within the framework of a United Pakistan, has been irrevocably transformed by the wholesale slaughter of East Pakistani civilians into a movement that sooner or later will produce an indpendent East Pakistan—"Bangla Desh" is a matter of time. A complete discussion of the Pakistani question would include an analysis of cultural, linguistic, and social issues, which along with economics and politics, are at the heart of the present conflict. This paper has a more limited goal: to assess the economic and political bases of disaffection in East Pakistan and to suggest the likely implications for international relations of the break-up of Pakistan.

In brief, the fact of a large and widening gap in the average standard of living between the two regions of the country is incontestable. Even the West Pakistani-dominated Government admits that the average East Pakistani must make do with barely two-thirds the average income in the West, and he faces higher prices too. The East Pakistanis argue that income disparity is largely the result of a systematic subordination of the interests of the Eastern region to those of the West; specifically, the East Pakistanis charge that allocation of foreign exchange—both that earned by the export of East Pakistani jute and that provided by foreign aid—disproportionately favours West Pakistan; that allocation of domestic investment reinforces the income disparity; and that high tariffs and import quotas raise prices to East Pakistanis in order to provide profits and jobs in West Pakistan.

We believe that in the main the facts support these charges. Pakistan Government policies have at the very least exacerbated the inequalities that arise from an uneven distribution of natural resources between the two regions, and a disproportionate share of the benefits of economic development have accrued to West Pakistan.

The political program of Sheikh Mujib's Awami League, overwhelmingly endorsed by the people of East Pakistan in the recent elections, sought to correct these disparities by transferring control over economic policy from the Central Government to the provinces. The response of the Yahya Khan's Government has been to unleash a reign of terror whose full dimensions are only gradually becoming known.

The West Pakistani Army can delay independence, but terrain and logistics, coupled with the implacable hostility of the East Pakistanis to what has become foreign domination, are on the side of "Bangla Desh". Apart from the elementary and overwhelming humanitarian interest in an end to further bloodshed, American interest lies with a quick

---

* By Edward S. Mason, a Lamont University Professor Emeritus at Harvard University, and a former Dean of the Graduate School of Public Administration; Robert Dorfman, a Professor of Economics at Harvard University; and Stephen A Marglin, also a Professor of Economics at Harvard University.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rather than a slow realization of independence. Most important, tensions in South Asia will be reduced. Bangla Desh and India will develop mutually advantageous, economic and cultural relations, a move long desired by both sides but frustrated by West Pakistanis who have refused to countenance any normalization of relations in the East as long as the Kashmir issue remains outstanding. The Kashmir issue too is likely to subside in importance, not because of any reduction in tension in the West—the Kashmir issue has never aroused much interest in the East—but because West Pakistan, without the economic support of the East, will be unable to sustain the level of pressure it has been able to mount until now. In short, Bangla Desh will be a truly independent state, ready and able to maintain normal relations with its neighbours and the powerful nations of both blocs, but a statellite or pawn of no one.

The independence of Bangla Desh will be inimical to American interests only insofar as American aid is used to delay the inevitable. Economic aid to the Pakistan Government should be immediately suspended. The "one-time" exception made last year to the embargo of arms sales and military aid (imposed after the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965) should be rescinded. American arms must not be supplied to a government that makes war on helpless civilians.

II

U.S. ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN

Since 1951, Pakistan has been a major recipient of U.S. economic aid amounting to approximately $3 billion[1] by 1969. Except for food aid donated under Public Law 480, the bulk of this assistance has been used to support industrialization in West Pakistan, with only a handful of projects undertaken in East Pakistan.

The quantum of U.S. military aid to Pakistan is a classified figure but two estimates[2] put it between $1.5 to $2 billion for the period between 1954 and 1965. The assistance has included F-104 Starfighters, Patton tanks, armoured personnel carriers, automatic and recoilless infantry weapons. This impressive array of modern weaponry was given expressly[3] for defensive purposes. With Pakistan an early member of SEATO and CENTO this military aid was intended to bolster the armed containment of the Communist Bloc in the Dulles era of U.S. foreign policy, but apart from the brief border war with India of 1965 the only active use of these sophisticated weapons has occured against the unarmed and defenseless civilian population of East Pakistan.[4]

The growth and maintenance of the superstructure of the armed forces which was built up with massive U.S. military aid continued even after 1965 when the United States decided to put an embargo on the delivery of arms to both Pakistan and India. This was made possible by diverting resources from the much needed development projects. East Pakistan, poorer and less powerful politically than the West, suffered more by this irrational policy.

Surprisingly, the United States has just recently (October 1970) made an exception

---

1. Stern, J. J. and Falcon, W. P., *Growth amd Development in Pakistan 1955-69,* Occaional Paper No. 23, Harvard Center for International Affairs, April 1970; M. A. Sattar, *United States Aid and Pakistan's Economic Development,* unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Tufts University, 1969.

2. *New York Times,* September 28, 1964; Frank N. Trager, "United States and Pakistan," *Orbis* Vol. IX, Fall 1965, No. 3.

3. Formal agreement signed May 1954, reported in Department of State Press release, *Department of State Bulletin,* May 31, 1954, pp. 850-851.

4. *Washington Post,* March 30; *New York Times,* March 29 and March 30. These contain eyewitness accounts by correspondents of use of U. S. supplied tanks.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to its embargo on military sales to Pakistan. According to the information available, the United States has offered to supply Pakistan the following items:

(a) Armoured personnel carriers (approximately 300)

(b) Maritime reconnaissance aircraft (4)

(c) F–104 jet fighters (6)

(d) B–57 bombers (7)

Fortunately, no sales or deliveries have yet been made. It is not too late to rescind the offer, a move that would be of practical as well as symbolic value.

III

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DOMINATION OF EAST AND WEST

The basic facts seem to support the East Pakistan charge of economic domination by the West. The economic disparities between East and West Pakistan have been so serious for so long that the Pakistan government's highest planning authority has been forced to take official note of them.

A recent report[1] by a panel of experts to the Planning Commisssion of the Government of Pakistan provides authoritative documentation of the widening of economic disparities in the two regions. The most striking fact in this report is the widening gap between the income of the average West Pakistani and his Eastern counterpart. In 1959–60, the per capita income in West Pakistan was 32% higher than in the East.[2] Over the next ten years, the annual rate of growth of income of West Pakistan was 6.2% while it was only 4.2% in East Pakistan. As a result, by 1969–70 the per capita income of the West was 61% higher than in the East. Thus, in ten years the income gap doubled in percentage terms; it increased even more in absolute terms.

East Pakistanis blame three instruments of Central Government policy for their plight:

1. Pakistan's scant investible resources, plus foreign aid, are directed unduly to the development of West Pakistan—to the comparative neglect of East Pakistan.

2. In particular, East Pakistan's foreign trade earnings are diverted to finance imports for West Pakistan.

3. Economic policy favours West Pakistan at the expense of the East. Specifically, tariffs, import controls, and industrial licensing compel East Pakistan to purchase commodities from West Pakistan which, but for the controls, they could obtain more cheaply in world markets.

We believe the East Pakistani claims to be largely justified. First, it is indisputable that the bulk of public investment has been in West Pakistan, though the majority of the population lies in the East. With 60% of the population, East Pakistan's share of Central Government development expenditure has been as low as 20% during 1950/51—1954/55, attaining a peak of 36% during the Third Five Year Plan period 1965/66—1969/70. East Pakistan has received an even smaller share of private investment, less than 25%.[3]

---

1. *Reports of the Advisory Panels for Fourth Five Year Plan 1970-75*, Vol. I; Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, July, 1970.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 2, Table 1. As the report notes, these estimates of disparity are understatements because of a lack of adjustment in the basic official data for the generally higher prices which prevail in East compared to West.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 6, table 2.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It may be true, as defenders of Pakistan Government policy claim, that the great bulk of worthwhile investment opportunities have been in the West, though the relative attractiveness of the West may be more the effect of overall government policy than a cause. In any event, the fact remains that investments in the West have done little or nothing for the people in the East.

As for the second point, it is clear that foreign exchange has been allocated to the detriment of East Pakistan. Over the last two decades, East Pakistan's share of total Pakistan export earnings has varied between 50% and 70%, while its share of imports has been in the range of 25% to 30%.[1] Until 1962/63, East Pakistan has shown significant surpluses on foreign account, which has changed in recent years to small deficits. By contrast, the West's foreign trade has shown a substantial and chronic deficit that has absorbed virtually all foreign exchange made available through foreign aid.

With respect to the third point, general economic policy has clearly favoured West Pakistan. The West's preponderant share of imports and investments might have provided inexpensive necessities for all of Pakistan's people. In fact, it has allowed the development of inefficient[2] industries, which, ironically, have prospered largely because of tariffs and quotas that have made East Pakistan a captive market. 40% of all exports of West Pakistan are sold to East Pakistan; in 1968/69, the West sold 50% more to the East than it bought from the East.

An analysis of foreign trade data reveals that a net transfer of resources has taken place from East to West Pakistan. According to the official report referred to above, East Pakistan has transferred approximately $ 2.6 billion to West Pakistan over the period 1948–49 to 1968–69.[3]

In short, Pakistan's economic policies are harmful to East Pakistan. "Exploitation" may be a strong word, but it seems clear, all in all, that East Pakistan's economic interests have been subordinated to those of the West, and that the East Pakistanis have had good cause to resent that fact.

The economic domination of East Pakistan has been facilitated by West Pakistani dominance of the Central Government. The military regime in Pakistan has existed, with modifications, since 1958, and decision-making authority rests with a well-entrenched civil service and their military bosses. All senior military members of the administration have been West Pakistani, and of the senior officers in the central civil services, 87% were West Pakistani in 1960,[4] and the proportion has not changed much since. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the central Finance Minister, key individuals in resource allocation, have always been West Pakistanis.

The location of the Central Government in West Pakistan has encouraged the concentration of industry and the entrepreneurial class in West Pakistan.[5] Such a concentration is to be expected in an economic system where direct allocational control of resources by the government makes direct access to government authorities a prime business asset.

---

1. Total foreign exchange available for imports is made up of export earnings and foreign aid. All data on trade are compiled from official statistics issued by the Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan.

2. Lewis, Stephen R., *Pakistan: Industrialization and Trade Policies*, O.E.C.D., Oxford University Press, 1970.

3. Planning Commission, *op. cit*,, appendix 3.

4. Rahman, A., *East and West Pakistan: A Problem in Political Economy of Regional Planning* Occasional Paper No. 20, Harvard University Center for International Affairs, 1968. By 1966, among all Class I officers in the Central Government East Pakistan's share was only 20 per cent.

5. Papanek, G. F., *Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Inventives*, Harvard University Press, 1967.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IV

BACKGROUND TO THE BREAK-UP OF PAKISTAN

The history of economic and political domination of East Pakistan by the West led naturally to increasing demands for provincial autonomy, spearheaded by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League. Its 6-point platform for autonomy sought to transfer control over foreign trade, foreign aid allocation, and taxation powers to the provinces so that no province could be dominated through disproportionate control of the Central Government's powers over resource allocation.[1]

At the polls last December, this Awami League platform swept 167 of the 169 seats in the National Constitutional Assembly that were allotted to East Pakistan. The Awami League's 167 seats constituted an absolute majority in a chamber of 313. The political and military powers of West Pakistan tried to pressure Sheikh Mujib into compromising on his 6-point autonomy mandate. In particular, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the West Pakistani People's Party which had won 80-odd seats in the elections, demanded that control of trade and aid should remain with the Central Government. When Sheikh Mujib refused to compromise on these instruments of past economic domination, Bhutto announced a boycott of the Constitutional Assembly scheduled to meet on March 3. General Yayha Khan used this pretext to postpone the Assembly indefinitely. This arbitary postponement provoked deomonstrations in Dacca and other cities on March 1, which the military decided to control by force. The military authorities conceded 172 deaths in the disturbances (the Dacca correspondent to the *London Observer* put the figure nearer 2000). Despite this bloody provocation, the Awami League refrained from declaring independence. Instead, they launched a campaign of civil disobedience to demand a return of troops to barracks and an enquiry into the firings. The campaign of non-cooperation effectively transferred civilian authority to Sheikh Mujib, but even in the massive rally of March 7, Sheikh Mujib still spoke of a united Pakistan with autonomy for each province. His preparedness for negotiation and commitment to the unity of Pakistan was demonstrated by his continuation of talks for the next two weeks despite the well-advertised influx of West Pakistani troops. Indeed, in retrospect, it would appear that the West Pakistani officials were never negotiating

---

1. The Six Points are :

(1) Establishment of a federation "on the basis of the Lahore Resolution and the Parliamentary framework of government with supremacy of legislature directly elected on the basis of adult franchise."

(2) Federal government shall deal with only two subjects, that is, defence and foreign affairs, and all other residuary subjects should rest in the federating states.

(3) There should be either two separate but freely convertible currencies for the two wings or one currency for the whole country provided that effective constitutional provisions were made to stop the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. There should be separate banking reserves and a separate fiscal and monetary policy for East Pakistan.

(4) Denial to the Central Government of the right of taxation; vesting of tax provisions in the hands of the federating states with the Central Government receiving a fixed share.

(5) Foreign trade; Five steps shall be taken :

(a) There shall be two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings.

(b) Earnings of East Pakistan shall be under the control of East Pakistan and the same for West Pakistan.

(c) Foreign exchange requirements of the federal government shall be met by the two wings either equally or in a ratio to be fixed.

(d) Indigenous products shall move free of duty within the two wings.

(e) The constitution shall empower the unit government to establish trade and commercial relations with, set up trade missions in and enter into agreements with foreign countries.

(6) Set up a militia or para military force by East Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in good faith; negotiations were a way to forestall an open break until sufficient numbers of West Pakistani troops could be brought on the scene to unleash a terror whose full dimensions are only now becoming known. The Awami League's commitment to a peaceful political settlement was convincingly demonstrated by the complete lack of preparation of the civilian population to the onslaught of military arms which was unleashed on them on the night of Thursday March 25.[1]

V

INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF AN INDEPENDENT "BANGLA DESH"

From news reports now available it would appear that the use of massive military fire power has broken the Awami League and its supporters in most urban centers. But control of urban centers at gunpoint in a country where 90% of the population lives in rural areas hardly constitutes a framework for any effective government, let alone a popular one. The immediate prospect is for ruthless military rule in urban centers, with tenuous control over a countryside which is likely to become increasingly the base for armed guerilla resistance.

The base for such a movement clearly exists. The overwhelming support for the Awami League's demand for autonomy was clearly shown in the election results of December when 167 out of 169 seats allotted to East Pakistan were won by the League. As reports of military massacres[2] are carried by urban refugees to the rural areas, the democratically expressed sentiment for autonomy is likely to be converted to a militant desire for independence. It is possible that a West Pakistani army of occupation can suppress the Bengali nation for two months, six months, or a year, but the American experience in Vietnam illustrates only too painfully the impossibility of holding an entire population captive by force of alien arms alone.

The emergence of an independent Bangla Desh appears to be inevitable in the long run. What remains in question is how much blood will flow before it occurs. Politically it is clear that the longer it takes to achieve independence, the more likely it is that control of the independence movement will slip away from the moderate leadership of the Awami League to the more leftist National Awami Party (which did not contest the December elections).

Assuming that the independence movement succeeds while under Awami League control, certain predictions may be made about its relations with neighbors and super-powers. As expressed in public statements of Sheikh Mujib, an independent Bangla Desh will establish friendly relations with India and set up economic trade to their mutual advantage. Up to now such trade—and all cultural ties—have been frustrated by the West Pakistanis who dominate the Central Government. They believe that, short of war, their only lever to force a settlement of their Kashmir claim is the economic interest of India in trade with East Pakistan. By contrast, East Pakistan has never been aroused by Kashmir, and in the 1965 war no military activity took place within its borders. Strong linguistic and cultural ties with the state of West Bengal in India are likely to help cement durable good relations between the two countries and reduce tension in the area. Unable to share the burden of military expenditures with the East, West Pakistan is bound to tone down its policy of confrontation with India, a confrontation which for the

---

1. Preplanned according to reports by foreign correspondents, e. g. Sydney Schanberg in *New York Times*, March 26-29.

2. The eyewitness account of a British correspondent in *Washington Post*, March 30, leaves no doubt about the appropriateness of the word "massacre".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

past 24 years has diverted scarce resources of both these poor, populous countries from much needed economic development to defence.

As an independent nation, Bangla Desh might conceivably establish marginal economic contacts with Communist China. But these are unlikely to be any greater than the current scale of trade and aid between China and Pakistan, and will certainly be less than the likely range and depth of East Bengal's economic ties to neighboring India. As long as India is the main trading partner (and both pronouncements of Awami League leaders and the economic geography of the region support this possibility), it is unlikely that Bangal Desh will become a satellite of Communist China.

The U.S.S.R. has in the past three years become an active patron of the military clique that controls Pakistan. Soviet aid has included considerable economic aid (including agreements for a steel mill in West Pakistan) and some military aid. The Soviet initiative has been largely a response to growing Communist Chinese ties with Pakistan. This competition between rival giants has redounded to the benefit of West Pakistan where the central government and military establishment are based. The U.S.S.R. has not been sensitive to the aspirations of East Pakistanis in the past, and is unlikely to make a new Bangla Desh an arena for super-power competition for influence.

A major goal of U.S. foreign policy in this area has been the reduction of the debilitating confrontation between India and Pakistan. This goal will surely be advanced by the existence of an independent Bangla Desh friendly to India. Most observers believe that the Awami League leadership will follow a neutral foreign policy, particularly if the U.S. and multilateral aid agencies like the World Bank are the major aid donors.

Bengali independence will be inimical to American interests only if by following short-sighted policies we drive East Pakistan into the arms of another power—the U.S.S.R. or China. To the extent that Bengali independence is delayed by means of American arms, the image of the United States will suffer, and rightly so. The offer of arms to Pakistan by the United States Government in October 1970, whatever its ostensible purpose, will, if implemented, oil a Pakistani military machine that is making war on its own citizens. The United States Government must rescind this offer forthwith. No further military aid, or economic aid—which directly or indirectly provides foreign exchange that makes it possible to buy weapons abroad—should be given to West Pakistan until it withdraws its occupation force from East Bengal and recognizes the independence of the Bengali nation.

April 1, 1971.

WHY BANGLA DESH*

The Bengalis' demand for independence had been forced upon the people of East Pakistan by the savage and atrocious action of the West Pakistani army government. What the Bengalis had really been wanting were regional autonomy and social and economic justice. Recent events have conclusively proved that there was no plan for secession and there was no armed preparation on the part of the Bengalis to achieve that. They were confidently expecting a good result from President Yahya Khan's democratic gesture. But the West Pakistani army, through its systematic butchery of unarmed civilians, forced the Bengalis to take the ultimate decision—to become a completely independent sovereign state. A clear cut line has

* By a group of Scholars in Vienna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been drawn decisively, separating the Bengali speaking people of the East and the people of West Pakistan. The decision was inevitable because of the continuous exploitation of the East by the West. To the world it naturally did not come as a surprise. On the other hand many voices had been predicting it for a long time. Besides religion, there was nothing common between these two people. Ethnically, culturally, in their thought, language, way of life—in everyway they were two nations. There was no attempt towards reconciliation but only economic exploitation and social injustice. East Pakistan existed only for the benefit of the West Pakistani capitalist merchants, industrialists and contractors, for the militarists and civil bureaucrats. For the last 24 years the Pakistan Government, manned mostly by West Pakistanis, dominated the state policy aiming to develop the barren deserts of West Pakistan by a deliberate policy which impoverished East Pakistan. Cleverly enough, Pakistan Government tried its best not to reveal the figures separately to show the gross disparity. Nevertheless, from available figures, mostly official, the truth could not be kept concealed.

AVERAGE ANNUAL BUDGET

		Rs. 6,000 million	W.P.	E.P.
Total Revenue				
Expenditure on Defence	Total	60%	50%	10%
Civil Expenditure	Total	40%	25%	15%

While E.P. provides 60% of the total revenue, it receives only about 25% for its expenditure and West Pakistan providing 40% in the central exchequer receives 75% of the remaining.

FOREIGN TRADE & EXCHANGE EARNINGS

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	Export	Import	Export	Import
During 10 year period 1958-68	£820 m	£2,315 m	£1,153 m	£1,000 m
	41%	70%	59%	30%

In foreign trade East Pakistan exports constitute 59% of the total but imports only 30% of the imports which consists of consumer goods and food, very little is left for development projects. During the same period West Pakistan earned 41% of the total foreign exchange and was allowed 70% of the foreign exchange earnings. Major portion of this was spent on various development projects in West Pakistan.

INTER ZONAL TRADE

1964–1969	Exports from West to East Pakistan Rs. 5,292 million	Exports from East to West Pakistan Rs. 3,174 million

This is an example of continuous drain of East Pakistani capital to West Pakistan. It has been estimated that total transfer of resources from East Pakistan to West Pakistan since 1947 had been £3,000 million.

Let us look at typical Export items for the year 1964–65:

Jute and jute products (all from East Pakistan):	Rs. 124,580 m
Cotton & cotton manufactures (many from W.P.):	,, 51,880 m
Hides & Skins (mainly from East Pakistan):	,, 6,130 m
Tea (all from East Pakistan):	,, 1,000 m
Wool (all from West Pakistan):	,, 7,300 m
Others (East & West together):	,, 56,200 m

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PERCENTAGE OF ALLOCATION OF FUNDS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Item	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Foreign Exchange for various developments:	80%	20%
Foreign Aid (excluding U.S. AID):	96%	4%
U.S. Aid:	66%	34%
Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation:	58%	42%
Pakistan Industrial Credit & Investment Corporation:	80%	20%
Industrial Development Bank:	76%	24%
House Building:	88%	12%
	77%	23%

Above figures are clearly indicative for the tremendous industrial growth in West Pakistan which received 77% of the total development expenditure for its 40% of the total population.

FOREIGN AID TO PAKISTAN

Chinese loan to Pakistan U.S. $ 60 m in 1965 mostly spent in West Pakistan including a Heavy Machinery Complex costing U.S. $ 9 m, but only U.S. $ 125,000 for East Pakistan Water & Power Development. But the loan is to be repaid by exporting jute and jute products.

World Bank credits in 1954 $ 14 m and in 1965 $ 15 m for Sui Gas Project in West Pakistan. Same source supplied $ 17 m in 1964 for Karachi Port Development and $ 30 m to Pakistan Investment and Credit Corporation to finance mostly projects in West Pakistan. International Development Association (U.N. Agency) gave a credit of $ 8.5 m to West Pakistan and $ 4.5 m to East Pakistan in 1964 for educational projects.

Russian Aid of £ 11 m to £ 18 m was given to West Pakistan in 1965 for oil prospecting.

U.K. Loan during the period 1947-1965 amounted to £ 64 m has been spent mostly in West Pakistan.

U.S. Aid of $ 3.6 billion—$ 2.7 billion spent for Mangla Dam & Tarbela Dam in West Pakistan and only $ 0.9 billion for control of flood in East Pakistan. These loans no doubt converted the barren lands of West Pakistan into fertile ones whereas very little was done to tackle effectively the flood problem of East Pakistan—the most fertile land in the world. The people of East Pakistan had been allowed to suffer from recurring cyclones and flood disasters since 1953.

COMPARATIVE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
Established Industries in both wings	1947–48	1966–67	1947–48	1966–67
Cotton Textile production in million yards	350	6,836	508	550
	1,853% increase		8.26% increase	
Sugar production in '000 tons	10	304	25	112
	2,940% increase		348% increase	
Cement production in '000 tons	305	1,934	46	75
	534% increase		63% increase	

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Above tables clearly show how the established industries in East Pakistan had been allowed to grow extremely slowly in comparison with the extremely fast growing industries in the West. With the influx of capitalists from Bombay the picture began to change rapidly.

In the field of new industries, the percentage of investments in West and East Pakistan is roughly 75% and 25% respectively. Moreover, East Pakistani industries are mainly owned and controlled by the West Pakistanis whose main interest is to transfer the profits to West Pakistan instead of helping East Pakistan's prosperity. It has been calculated that since 1947 the real transfer of resources from East to West has been to the tune of £ 3,000 million. There was no state control over private investment and as such the flow had been completely unchecked.

Steel—the basic item required for any development—is now being produced in two mills in West & East Pakistan. Funds provided for these mills were £ 56 million for West Pakistan and £ 11 million for East Pakistan.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Fertiliser distribution during 1964–68, in '000 nutrient tons	739 66%	371 33%
Improved seed distribution during 1964–69, in '000 tons	342 89%	40 11%
	1951–52 1966–67	1951–52 1966–67
Increase in fish production in '000 metric tons	56 153	175 259
	273% increase	48% increase
Distribution of tractors		
Wheel type (numbers,	20,069	1,825
Other large (numbers)	2,000	350
	91%	9%

Needless to mention that the agricultural land in East Pakistan has more acreage and most lands produce 2 to 3 crops a year, whereas in the West the acreage is less and the productivity per acre is much smaller. One fails to understand the logic in these state of affairs.

In agriculture finance, the Pakistan Agricultural Development Bank has lent over Rs. 600 million, but most of these went to West Pakistani farmers. Most of the large irrigation projects have been treated as federal projects and financed by the Central Government and has been completed in West Pakistan. This was a deliberate attempt to keep the 75 million Bengalis at starvation level. In the federal army of 500,000 only 20,000 are Bengalis. Those 480,000 West Pakistanis spend their income in the West which indirectly help the economy of that part of the country. Economic experts have evidence that in 1959 an average East Pakistani was 20% worse off than another in the West. In 1968, he was 40% worse off than his brother in Islam in West Pakistan.

POWER DEVELOPMENT

Another criterion to measure progress is the consumption of electric power per head of the population. In Pakistan growth in power production has grown

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

considerably. West Pakistan generates by hydel, thermal and other means a total of 838,000 KW (83% of the total) whereas East Pakistan generates 179,500 KW (17% of the total). A great share of foreign aid had been spent on various power development projects. Two giant irrigation and power development projects in Indus Basin cost $ 1800 million and WAPDA spent Rs. 1453 m in 5 years 1959-64.

EDUCATION: Progress in 20 years

Area	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	1947–48	1968–69	1947–48	1968–69
Primary Schools	8,413	39,418	29,663	28,308
	Number increase 4½ times		Number decreases in spite of increased children	
	1947–48	1965–66	1947–48	1965–66
Secondary Schools	2,598	4,472	3,481	3,964
	176% increase		114% increase	
	1947–48	1968–69	1947–48	1968–69
Colleges—various Types	40	271	50	162
	675% increase		320% increase	
Medical/Engineering/ Agricultural colleges	4	17	3	9
	425% increase		300% increase	
Universities	2 (654 scholars)		1 (1620 scholars)	
	6 (18,708 scholars)		4 (8,831 scholars)	
Increase in scholars	30 times		5 times	

It is interesting to note that although the school going population increased in East Pakistan the number of schools decreased through deliberate policy of neglect, whereas during the same period the Pakistan government spent vast sums of money and increased the number of schools in West Pakistan by 4½ times. Was not that a systematic plan for giving the West Pakistani children a better academic start so that their future career was firmly assured? The natural result was the vast increase in the number of colleges of all kinds and universities. This is a clear evidence of Government policy aiming at keeping the East Pakistani children intellectually inferior by not providing the facilities they deserve. The end product that we see is in the number of University scholars. In East Pakistan, which had double the number of scholars in 1947, the number only increased by five times in 20 years and in West Pakistan the corresponding increase is thirty times. In the field of research and development centres established for agricultural, medical, scientific, industrial research, out of 16 centres 13 are located in West Pakistan. As far as the scholarships and training grants for studies abroad under Colombo Plan, Ford Foundation, Commonwealth Aid and many others the bulk of these go to the West Pakistanis. Some of these are not even advertised in the East Pakistani press and many of these are awarded directly from West Pakistan.

If we consider the question of employment, we can see the repetition of the same injustice. While the state policy on education had kept the East Pakistanis less developed, in the case of recruitment in civil, military and other services the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

same policy of depriving the Bengalis had been effectively carried out. Having most of the recruitment centres, they have the most advantage. Headquarters of the army, navy, air force and all central government services as well as private employees of all kind are located in West Pakistan. Most of the vacancies are either not advertised in the East Pakistani press or the practical difficulty of being interviewed is present. Moreover, the various recruitment boards consisting mostly of West Pakistanis are not so well disposed to accept an East Pakistani. In the armed forces, by making a physical standard far too high for an average Bengali, the system of eliminating the Bengali candidates had been very easy and successful. The following figures show some examples of disparity in this field:

		West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Central Civil Service		84%	16%
Foreign Service		85%	15%
Foreign Head of Missions (numbers)		60	9
Army		95%	5%
Army: Officers of General Rank (Numbers)		16	1
Navy Technical		81%	19%
Navy-non technical		91%	9%
Air Force Pilots		89%	11%
Armed Forces	(Numbers)	500,000	20,000
Pakistan Airlines	,,	7,000	280
P.I.A. Directors	,,	9	1
P.I.A. Area Managers	,,	5	none
Railway Board Directors	,,	7	1

ORGANISATIONAL IMBALANCE

The selection of the capital of Pakistan in Karachi in 1947 gave the West a boost to growth in all spheres. Rs. 200 million was spent on its development and when it was fully developed it was handed over to the West Pakistan provincial government. All incomes derived as a result went to the provincial government. Thereafter another Rs. 200 million was allocated for the capital development at Islamabad. A sum of only Rs. 20 million was provided for a second capital at Dacca, in East Pakistan.

All the offices of the central government are located in the West including the headquarters of the army, navy and airforce and all the military academies. It is important to note that 60% of Pakistan's budget is spent on defence and 80% of that goes to the military contractors, armed personnel who are West Pakistanis.

Head offices of all the public and private establishments, e.g., State Bank of Pakistan, Pakistan International Airlines, National Bank of Pakistan and other banks, Insurance companies, Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, National Shipping Corporation, Foreign Missions and hundred other Pakistani and foreign agencies have their head offices in West Pakistan and with their West Pakistani bosses and West Pakistani connections made sure that the policies of those organisations favour West Pakistanis.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
954.145
B 22B
V.1
2268

SOCIAL WELFARE

In the field of social welfare, the same pattern is reflected. Let us look at some of the statistics comparing the two wings.

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Population	55 million	75 million
Total number of doctors	12,400	7,600
Total number of Hospital beds	26,000	6,000
Rural Health Centres	325	88
Urban Community Development Centres	81	52

East Pakistan has been described as one of the poorest country in the world. Even the economists, impartial and foreign, admitted that. How does the average East Pakistani compare with his compatriat in West Pakistan?

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Employment of civil labour force	59%	41%	86%	14%

In West Pakistan the industrial development provided 41% of the total labour force, employment and a better standard of life. In East Pakistan, the poor development in industrial sphere made only 14% of the total employment available in the cities. The result is reflected in the figures for per capita income and gross domestic product.

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
Per Capita income in Pakistan Rupees	355	492	269	308

The difference in per capita income between East and West Pakistan had been 86 in 1960. Ten years later the difference sored to 184. In other words while the standard of living had been increasing in the West it had been declining in East Pakistan.

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	1959–60	1964–65	1959–60	1964–65
Gross domestic product per capital	312	391	242	297

Staple food of East Pakistani is rice and of West Pakistani is wheat. Let us compare the *market price of the two.*

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Rice per mound (82 lbs)	Rs. 18	Rs. 50
Wheat per mound (82 lbs)	Rs. 10	Rs. 35

How could one expect a better health standard when the East Pakistani has to pay a far higher price for his food when his income is far below that of his compatriot in the West? The picture becomes clearer when we compare the average calories intake in rural areas.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Calorie intake in rural areas in 1960–65 per head per day	1,625	1,556

In the urban areas the disparity is even greater. (Calorie intake in U.K. is 3,250).

These facts and figures, backed by current available statistics, prove that East Pakistan is economically viable. The necessary resources vital for the development of a country are present, though undeveloped. Given substantial foreign aid, and opportunities to develop its natural resources, there is no reason why Bangla Desh should not be self-sufficient in course of time. World powers must realise that since Bangla Desh is fully capable of attaining economic stability, the right of self-determination, vital to her very existence, can no longer be denied.

Above all, the injustice meted out to her, the social and economic neglect that was her share over the past two decades, justifies in all fairness that she be given the right to govern herself.

* * * *

***All these statistics have been taken from official and other reliable sources which include: National Planning Commission, 20 Years of Pakistan, Central Bureau of Education, Department of Investment Promotion, Central Board of Revenue, Central Statistical Office, Pakistan Year Book, 1970, Marine Fisheries Department, Pakistan Economic Survey, Government of Pakistan Budgets, Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Financial Times, The Economist, Development Prospects of Pakistan (by a Norwegian Economist).**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER II

BEFORE THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

6-POINT FORMULA—OUR RIGHT TO LIVE

by

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

I have placed before the country a 6-point programme as basic principles of a firm solution of the country's inter-wing political and economics problems. I expected and in fact was ready to welcome criticism. But instead of criticizing the programme and pointing out its defects, if there be any, a class of people has started hurling abuses at and ascribing disruptionist motive to me. Normally I would have ignored these vilifications, firstly because these abusive voices are too familiar, these grimacing faces are too well-known, and these sallying patterns are too old to deserve anything but such ignoration; secondly because I have no manner of doubt that my 6-point programme has truly reflected the mind and correctly represented the demands of fifty five million East Pakistanis of their right to live. Neither have I any doubt that all right-thinking patriotic elements of West Pakistan agree with me on these points. This has been amply demonstrated by the newspaper writings and reports, statements and speeches by all sections of the intelligentsia, students and workers. This country-wide tremendous support to the 6-point programme is spontaneous. It is spontaneous because these demands are no new points invented afresh by me or any individual, but are in reality long-standing demands of the people and pledges of their leaders awaiting fulfilment for decades.

This being the case, I am confident that the mischievous propaganda and motivated campaign carried on by the vested interests through their agents and protectors will fail to mislead our people. They will surely not forget that whenever in the past any demand was made by East Pakistanis, however small, simple and reasonable it might be, these beneficiaries and agents of vested interests kicked up the self-same dust by raising the well-known cries of 'Islam in danger', 'disruption of Pakistan' and 'Sovereign Bengal' etc. It was the same set of people who discovered 'hidden hand of India' in our simplest demand for inclusion of Bengali as a State Language along with Urdu. These are the people who brazenly dubbed our Shere-e-Bangal as a traitor and incarcerated our beloved leader Suhrawardy on a fantastic charge of wrecking Pakistan with the help of foreign money. Nothing is too mean for them to achieve their selfish objective which is perpetuation of their exploitation of the people of East Pakistan. I know, our people is quite aware of these events not of very distant past.

But I also know that the mischief-making potentialities of these enemies of the people are inexhaustible; that their resources are unlimited; that they are a multi-colour variety of human species with sub-human conscience. It is this variety who will be found in large number in the camp of the ruling coterie in the name

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of 'unity, faith and discipline'; they will be found in larger number in the opposition camp for the sake of 'Islam and democracy'. But wherever they may be, in whatever colour, under whichever garb, they actually belong to one and the same camp, that is, the camp of the enemies of the people. They are thus solidly united in their attitude of denial towards East Pakistan. So, naturally they will leave no stone unturned to achieve their objective as they have done in the past. Whenever it suited their purpose to think that the people of East Pakistan were secretly inclined towards communism, they turned the stone of American aid and assistance by signing military pacts to fight communism and thereby save East Pakistan from secessionist design engineered by the communists. If, on the other hand, it suited their convenience to imagine that East Pakistan was too much wedded to Western democracy and too much attached to U.S.A., they hastened to turn the stone of aid and assistance of communist China to save East Pakistan from falling a prey to dollar imperialism. So on this occasion also they will come to the field to fight 6-point programme just as they did to fight 21-point programme in the past. They have, in fact, already taken the field with varieties of weapons brandished by different heroes of numerous battle fields. The target is the same; it is the 6-point. Therefore, it is quite in the fitness of things that President Ayub, Choudhury Mohammad Ali and Moulana Maududi, outwardly three avowed mutual enemies, weilding their respective weapons from three antipodal horizons, are aiming poisoned arrows on the same target of the 6-point.

I, therefore, deem it my duty to issue this booklet as an explanatory note to the 6-point programme and fervently appeal to the democratic forces in general, and the Awami Leaguers in particular, to spread out in the country and carry the message of the 6-point to every hearth and home. Now that the 6-point programme has been formally adopted by the Awami League, it has undoubtedly become the national demand of the people, particularly the people of East Pakistan. I hope they will find this booklet useful in their confrontations with the agents of the vested interests who are likely to be lying in ambush everywhere.

Point 1

In this point I have recommended as follows:

The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan in its true sense on the basis of the Lahore Resolution, and Parliamentary form of Government with supermacy of Legislature directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

It will be seen that this point consists in the following seven ingredients, viz: (*a*) Pakistan shall be a Federation, (*b*) it shall be based on Lahore Resolution, (*c*) its Government shall be of Parlimentary form, (*d*) it must be responsible to the Legislature, (*e*) the Legislature must be supreme, (*f*) it must be directly elected and (*g*) election must be on the basis of universal adult franchise.

Let the opponents of 6-point programme speak out. Which of these seven ingredients are they opposed to? Let the people know who are federalists and who are unitarists. Those who are unitarists are definitely against Lahore Resolution. Conversely, those who are opposed to Lahore Resolution are definitely unitarists. So let it be decided once for all who own and who do not own the Lahore Resolution by which Pakistan was created and is rightly called the Pakistan Resolution. The people who disown Lahore Resolution disown Pakistan itself. It is evidently those people who did not raise their little finger in the struggle for Pakistan but subsequently jumped on it to grab power after it was created with the blood and tears of the people. These opportunists and job-hunters cannot naturally have any regard for or attachment to the sanctity of such an historic Resolution which brought about a revolution in the sub-continent and created Pakistan. Even amongst those who swear by the Pakistan Resolution, there are some pseudo-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

federalists. They pay lip-service to the Lahore Resolution but disregard it by speaking against the very fundamental principle of Federation and by introducing extra-political controversies. This confusion has been further confounded by the power that be by forcible addition of political aberrations like basically controlled democracy. It was against such future personal likes and dislikes, whims and caprices, hunger and thirst for power of individuals, that the Lahore Resolution was pledged as a guarantee by the creators of Pakistan under the able guidance of Qaid-i-Azam. It will be sheer political dishonesty to deviate from Lahore Resolution after Pakistan was created by people's votes obtained on the basis of that Resolution. If it is now found necessary to so deviate for the sake of stability and integrity of Pakistan itself, the people will certainly agree to such changes or even complete reversal. But in any event it is the people who will decide and not any body else. As far as the people of East Pakistan are concerned they in the 1954 general election overwhelmingly voted for a constitution based on the Lahore Resolution. If, however, any body has any doubt about their present attitude due to lapse of long twelve years, we are prepared to face another referendum on the issue. Until that is done by a specific referendum on universal adult suffrage the Lahore Resolution and all its corollaries remain the Magna Carta of the people of Pakistan, and the rulers and the leaders are bound to give them a Constitution based on the Resolution.

Point 2

This point recommends as follows:

Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects, viz: Defence and Foreign Affairs, and all other residuary subjects shall vest in the Federating States.

Let us dispassionately discuss whether a two-subject Centre will be sufficiently strong to be a respectable Federation. It should be borne in mind that what makes a Federation strong is not heaps of subjects under it. A Federation becomes strong by the loyalty and affection in which it is held by the people in peace and the allegience they owe and obedience they show it in war. The happy and strong people represented through efficient and strong units that make the Federation, are the real source of its strength irrespective of the number of subjects dealt with by it. Indeed, a State which serves the base rather than the apex is really the strongest. It is now an well established principle of political science that decentralization rather than centralization makes the work of a State efficient both in the administrative and in the developmental spheres. It is also a well recognised principle of Federation that only those subjects should be in the Federal list which can be jointly managed more efficiently and profitably. It is the same principle that is underlying the system of Local Self-Government like District Councils and Municipalities. The very concept of Federation is based on the maxim of unity in diversity and union without over-centralization.

It was on this principle that in 1946 the Cabinet Mission proposed an Indian Federation with only three subjects, viz: Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communication. Both the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the Cabinet Plan. The fact that ultimately it did not materialize due to a hitch elsewhere is a different matter and quite irrelevant to the issue now before us. Now, the British Government by proposing the Plan and the Congress and the Muslim League by accepting it have all demonstrated their agreement on the feasibility of a Federation with only three subjects. The only difference between the Cabinet Plan and my proposal is that I have given two subjects instead of three given in the Cabinet Plan. Even that difference is only apparent and not real as will be seen in my explanation to the Point 3 given later on. That explanation will show that I too have given three subjects to the Centre and not two. Only I have recommended Currency in place

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Communication as had been earlier done in the famous 21-point programme. I have omitted Communication for obvious reasons. The basic principle on which subjects are handed over to a Federation, as has been said earlier, is the oneness and indivisibility of the interest of the federating units in the subjects concerned. In the case of an undivided Indian Federation, Communication was really such a subject. In it, all the federating units would have been commonly interested and could have been more efficiently and profitably run if jointly managed by the Federation. An unbroken railway line and a non-stop through railway train could have run from Khybar to Chittagong. This would have been so because of the geographical contiguity. Not so Pakistan. Pakistan being comprised of two geographical units separated by over a thousand miles of foreign territory, cannot possibly have any unbroken line of communication between the two wings. The two wings being themselves two compact geographical areas, must have their own system of communication separately organized and managed. It can, therefore, never be a Federal subject. By transferring the railways to the Provinces though after prolonged procrastination the present regime has reluctantly admitted the hard fact of geography. The same will have to be done also in the case of Post and Telegraphs and all other branches of communication.

In this connection another point need be clarified. Here I have recommended designation of the federating units as 'states' instead of 'provinces' as is now done. This very mention of the word 'state' is liable to be mischievously misinterpreted by the unitarist and pseudo-federalists. They will tell the unwary public: "Look, Mujib is wanting independent States". This would be viciously wrong. Everywhere in different Federations of the world federating units are called 'states' and not 'provinces'. U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Federal Germany, Federation of Malaysia, and last of all our neighbour India, all have designated their units as 'states' instead of 'provinces'. Our next door neighbours like West Bengal and Assam are 'states' of Indian Union and not 'provinces'. That designation of Indian provinces has not rendered their Union loose or their Central Government weak. If Assam and West Bengal can have the dignity and honour of being called 'states' without impairing the solidarity of Bharati Union, why can't we have the same dignity and honour without impairing the solidarity of Pakistan Federation? Why are our rulers so allergic to our dignity?

Point 3

In this point, I have recommended either of the following two measures with regard to our Currency, viz:

A. Two separate but freely convertible currencies for two wings may be introduced, or

B. One currency for the whole country may be maintained. In this case, effective constitutional provisions are to be made to stop flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. Separate Banking Reserve is to be made and separate fiscal and monetary policy to be adopted for East Pakistan.

From the above it will be seen that I have not recommended the straightway taking of Currency out of the Federal list. If my recommendation contained in B above is accepted, Currency remains a Central subject. In this case, the only difference is that I have recommended the creation of separate Reserve Banks for two wings in a Federal Reserve System as obtains in U.S.A. According to this arrangement, the State Bank of Pakistan will have two Reserve Banks for two wings. The currency for East Pakistan shall be issued through the East Pakistan Reserve Bank and shall be marked 'East Pakistan' or simply 'Dacca'. Similarly, West Pakistan currency shall be issued through West Pakistan Reserve Bank and shall be marked 'West Pakistan' or simply 'Lahore'.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This is the only way by which we can save East Pakistan from sure economic ruination by effectively stopping flight of capital from this wing to the other. The geographical separateness has made the two wings *ipso facto* two economic units. An economic convulsion, either for the better or for the worse, in one wing has no corresponding convulsion in the other wing. So progress and development in the one does not in the least benefit the other. These economic incidents are quite independent of each other in the two wings. Expenditure in one cannot create employment in the other. This economic independence and separateness of the two wings is correctly reflected in their respective price and wage structures including the price of gold. This is what is known as the absence of mobility of labour and capital. This immobility of capital, however, does not prevent flight of capital. This is how it happens under the present dispensation:

We are supposed to belong to one indivisible economy. We have one currency. There is no distinguishing mark to show the currency circulation wingwise. We are under only one Finance Ministry situated in and operating from West Pakistan presided over always by a West Pakistani Minister formulating financial, fiscal and monetary policies through one single Central Bank, that is, the State Bank of Pakistan, also located in West Pakistan, issuing money minted, coined and printed in West Pakistan. This money after travelling and meandering in circulation throughout the country journeys back to and rests in accumulation in West Pakistan. Along with the head office of the Government Central Bank the head offices of all the joint-stock Banks, except one or two small ones of very recent origin, are also located in West Pakistan. The seat of the Government being located in West Pakistan, head offices of the three Armed Forces, all Foreign Missions and almost all foreign and national trades and industries organizations are situated in that wing. As a result, all money transactions done in East Pakistan are instantaneously transferred to West Pakistan. All share money of joint-stock companies, all deposits of Banks, their security money, all Government reserves, all earnings, profits and savings of trade and industry operating in East Pakistan move in a matter of seconds to West Pakistan. Any one conversant with banking operation knows well that only barely ten per cent of the entire deposit need be kept ready for payment and the rest can be and generally is invested. Savings when invested become capital. This investment is naturally done in West Pakistan as West Pakistan's capital. This is how capital formation in West Pakistan has been so rapid. This again is how there has been total absence of capital formation in East Pakistan. As investment means employment, this incident has meant the employment in West Pakistan only. As capital formation is followed by rapid industrialization, this has meant industrialization of West Pakistan alone. This process will continue unless and until the prevailing one-way traffic of finance is effectively checked by stopping this flight of capital. This can be done and capital investment can be generated in East Pakistan only by creating a Reserve Bank for East Pakistan as suggested by me. It is the only way to save East Pakistan from economic extinction. This reform in our currency system while saving East Pakistan from economic collapse will keep currency a Central subject as a symbol of our unity and oneness.

If, however, our West Pakistani brothers think otherwise, then my other alternative may be adopted. Under that arrangement Currency will, no doubt, be a provincial subject, but that will not weaken our Centre. Neither will it affect the oneness of Pakistan. For even then we can have the same currency symbol by mutual discussion and agreement. And for the other, a federation can effectively work and be strong and stable without Currency as its subject. The Cabinet Mission recommended an Indian Federal Centre without Currency in the Federal list. Had it been thought unworkable, British Government would not have recommended it, nor would the Congress and the Muslim League have accepted it.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Point 4

In this point, I have recommended that the power of taxation and revenue collection shall vest in the federating units and that the Federal Centre will have no such power. The Federation will have a share in the state taxes for meeting their required expenditure. The Consolidated Federal Fund shall come out of a levy of certain percentage of all state taxes.

It is this proposal that seems to have most annoyed the unitarists and pseudo-federalists. They are making a lot of noises and kicking up dust of confusion such as distintegration and disruption. These are old bogeys and shibboleths used by the vested interests against all reforms in all ages. They need not worry any Pakistani. The fact is that a strong Federation can successfully work and is actually working without the power of taxation. It makes the Federation rather stronger. This is so because taxation is a duty and necessity rather than a right and power. Levying taxes and collecting them is a responsibility and a botheration. It is just like manually earning one's own livelihood. In our daily life we find people wanting to better employ themselves in finer and nobler work, lease out their properties to others at fixed rent leaving to them the arduous task of collecting small amounts from individual tenants and earning petty sums from day-to-day transactions. The monarchs of the past used to, and land-lords of the present do, lease out their realms in *ijara* for tax collection. The Central authorities in all ages have tried to be spared the botheration of tax collection for their own maintenance. It is only the *banya* mentality of the present day rulers that impels them to handle all money matters themselves. A little reflection will show that the right and power concerned do not rest in the act of tax collection but in the money so collected. If a Central Government is constitutionally assured of the required amount, why should it bother about the actual collection? In the case of a Federation it is only the fiscal taxation in which it is interested. The rest of the purposes of taxation, viz: protective, social, commercial and moral, are the responsibility of the federating units. This is what is done in U.S.A. and some other Federations. In the U.S.S.R. even the fiscal taxation is not done by the Union. There is no Finance Minister and Finance Ministry in the Union Government of the Soviet Union. The Finance Ministries and Ministers are all with the Federating Republics. They meet the requirements and serve the purposes of the Union Government. Have these arrangements weakened the Central authorities of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.? It was with this knowledge and experience of the working of a Federation that Cabinet Mission offered an Indian Federation without the power of taxation and it was for the same reason that the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the offer. It will, therefore, be seen that a Federation can be firmly provided with its fiscal finances without being burdened with the duty of tax collection. My proposal is precisely to this effect. According to my recommendation, the Constitution will provide that a certain percentage of the Revenue collections on all heads shall automatically be credited to the Federal Fund by the Reserve Banks, on which amount the unit Governments shall have no control. Constitutional provisions may also be made empowering the Federation to raise funds to meet the increased Defence expenditure at the time of war including expansion of Federal jurisdiction in such emergencies. It is, therefore, sheer bunkum to call the autonomists the disruptors of Pakistan. On the contrary, relieving the Federation of the burden of tax collection will have the following salutary effect, viz:

(*a*) the Federation will have more time to devote in matters of Defence and External Relations and to act as a unifying force;

(*b*) wastage due to overlapping, duplication and litigation etc. will be saved and money thus saved and officials thus relieved will be available for better and nobler utilization;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(*c*) the tax and revenue collection will be cheaper and easier;

(*d*) economy of having a single authority for tax collection will have been achieved;

(*e*) it will pave the way for introducing and adopting the most modern taxation method, viz. single taxation.

Point 5

In this point, I have recommended that:

(1) there shall be two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings of the two wings,

(2) earnings of East Pakistan shall be under the control of East Pakistan Government and that of West Pakistan under the control of West Pakistan Government,

(3) foreign exchange requirement of the Federal Government shall be met by the two wings either equally or in a ratio to be fixed,

(4) indigenous products shall move free of duty between two wings,

(5) the Constitution shall empower the unit Governments to establish trade and commercial relations with, set up trade missions in and enter into agreements with foreign countries.

Now, a panoramic glance at the economic history of Pakistan since its creation will show the following consistent incidents:

(a) East Pakistan has earned bulk of the annual foreign exchange of Pakistan.

(b) East Pakistan's earnings have been spent in West Pakistan in industrializing that wing and earnings from those industries have been reinvested in West Pakistan as the earnings of that wing.

(c) East Pakistan's earnings are not being spent in East Pakistan on the plea of its inability to absorb them due to absence of capital formation.

(d) Import to East Pakistan is less than her export, whereas import to West Pakistan is more than her export.

(e) Two thirds of Pakistan's foreign exchange is earned by jute; but that earning is utilized neither for the benefit of the jute-growers nor for East Pakistan.

(f) Almost all foreign aids and loans are secured against foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan; but they are spent in West Pakistan on the same plea of non-absorbing capacity of East Pakistan. The irony is that interest on these loans and their instalments are being borne by East Pakistan.

Now, the cumulative effects of these economic incidents, all of which are artificial, are the following consequences, viz.

(i) East Pakistan has not been industrialized sufficiently,

(ii) the little industrialization that has been done has been done by West Pakistanis or by people other than East Pakistanis with all the characteristics of foreign investments both in the matter of employment and profit earning,

(iii) there is chrnoic inflation causing soaring high prices of commodities with all its concomitants like blackmarketing and profiteering bringing untold miseries to the life of the people,

(iv) jute-growers are not only not getting fair economic price of their produce but even the cost of production is denied to them resulting in their perpetual indebtedness and progressive impoverishment.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

These are man-made iniquities and are, therefore, remediable. The obvious remedies are, firstly, to industrialize East Pakistan to produce wealth among and provide employment for East Pakistanis; secondly, to check inflation by equalizing import and export and thereby supplying commodities to the people at reasonable prices; thirdly, to nationalize jute trade and thereby give fair price to the growers and ensure the state's earnings in foreign exchange. It was with this last object in view that Awami League Government set up Jute Marketing Corporation in 1957. It was subsequently reduced to nothing by the vested interests with the help of the Central Government.

Each and every one of these steps presupposes acceptance of the above proposals recommended by me.

Point 6

In this point, I have recommended setting up of a militia or a para-military force for East Pakistan. This is neither unreasonable nor new. We had pledged in the famous 21-point programme in 1954 that we would give arms and uniforms to our Ansars.

Neither is the proposal unprecedented and impracticable. There are instances where such para-military territorial forces are maintained in outlying regions. We ourselves had one such regiment from before Independence. It was the Eastern Rifles. After Pakistan, it became East Pakistan Rifles. The present regime has taken this away from the hand of East Pakistan Government.

East Pakistan is the home of the majority of Pakistanis. To defend it is the political obligation as well as moral duty of the Government of Pakistan. Why then should it be necessary for East Pakistanis to demand it? Why do they not do it on their own initiative? How and with what conscience do they say that defence of East Pakistan lies in West Pakistan? Does it not tantamount to saying that the mouth, the belly and the stomach of East Pakistan lie in West Pakistan? How will the arms, ammunitions and wealth in West Pakistan help East Pakistan when transport between the wings can be snapped in a matter of seconds? Has not the recent 17-days war proved our utter helplessness? How can one brag that some event in Warsaw saved East Pakistan? It is the defence policy of our Government that has reduced us to this position. Inspite of all this we want a united Defence of the country and to retain it as a Central subject. But at the same time we want that East Pakistan be made self-sufficient in the matter of Defence; that an Ordnance Factory, a Military Academy and the Navy Headquarter must be set up in East Pakistan. These things were actually demanded in 1954. Nothing, however, has been done in the course of long twelve years. We do not yet know when these will be done.

So in the meantime we want to make our own Defence arrangement in a small way with unsophisticated weapons suited to our own field craft within easy reach of our limited resources. What is the objection? Where does it lie? It is not easy to comprehend. Neither is it easy to understand why a Fund separately raised for East Pakistan war purposes is promptly taken over by the Centre.

AN APPEAL

Now, before concluding, I want to submit a few words to my West Pakistani brethren:

Firstly, they should not run away with the idea that whatever I have stated above I have done in the interest of East Pakistan only. It is not so. In each of my 6-point programme is inherent a corresponding benefit to my West Pakistani bretheren. They are sure to derive equal benefit out of their implementation.

Secondly, when I speak of East Pakistan's wealth being flown to and concentrated in West Pakistan I on y mean regional concentration. I do not, thereby, mean that this

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wealth has reached the masses of West Pakistan. No, I do not and cannot mean that. I know there are millions like us in West Pakistan who also are unfortunate victims of this economic exploitation. I also know that the entire wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of a few families. This will continue till the capitalistic pattern of our society is not changed. But before that, this regional exploitation must cease. I, however, do not blame West Pakistanis for this regional exploitation.

Thirdly, it is the geographical situation and the unnatural system that is being pursued which are responsible for this injustice. Take only one instance:

Had the Capital of Pakistan been located in East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan this regional exploitation would have occurred in the reverse way. 62% of our Revenue that is being spent on our Defence forces, and 32% of our Revenue that is being spent on our Central Administration would have all been spent in East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan. The well-known Public Finance maxim that "the expenditure of the Government is the income of the people and the income of Government is the expenditure of the people" would have worked in favour of East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan. This 94% of our total Revenue which has been annually spent in West Pakistan, and thus formed the income of West Pakistan, would have in that case been spent in and enriched East Pakistan. The seat of the Government being in West Pakistan, all the three Headquarters of the Armed Forces and all Central institutions and Foreign Missions have got their head offices in West Pakistan as a matter of course. Consequently, all their spendings are done in that wing. All these spendings would have been in East Pakistan had the seat of the Government been here. East Pakistan would have been enriched and West Pakistan impoverished to that extent and in that proportion.

In that event, you, the West Pakistanis, would have made the same demands for regional justice for which you are condemning us, the East Pakistanis, and ascribing all sorts of evil motives. In that case you would have realized that there was no other motive than the motive of self-preservation. In that context, when West Pakistanis would have made such demands of regional justice, do you know what would have been our attitude? We, East Pakistanis, would have straightway accepted your demands instead of calling you bad names like provincial, narrow-minded and disruptionist. We would have at once conceded that it was your right to demand justice and equality and it was your duty to do so. Nay, we would have gone further. We would not have waited for you to make these demands. Instead, we would have met your requirements before you would have demanded them. We really believe in justice, equality and fairplay amongst brothers. A State is nothing if not a big family. Even in a family, eating by one member does not fill the stomach of another. So, how and with what conscience do you call us selfish for demanding our share? What will others call you who are not only enjoying your own share but devouring the share of your brothers also? We are, however, demanding our share only, not yours too. We want to live with you as equal partners, not exploiters.

Fourthly, if we happen to have more than enough, we can even sacrifice something for you from out of our share. We did so in the past. Do not you remember? Please recall:

(1) In the first Constituent Assembly we had 44 and you had 28 representatives. If we wanted we could most democratically have brought the Capital and Headquarters of the three Armed Forces to East Pakistan. We did not.

(2) Out of sheer brotherly feeling and sense of equality we elected 6 West Pakistanis to Constituent Assembly from East Pakistan by East Pakistani votes.

(3) By our majority we could have made Bengali our only State Language. We, however, demanded and got both Urdu and Bengali.

(4) By majority of votes we could have framed a Constitution favourable to East Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(5) To remove any possible complex of domination we sacrificed our majority and accepted parity on your assurance that you would concede parity in all respects.

Fifthly, the above should be enough to convince West Pakistani brothers that we East Pakistanis are really consumed with a sense of brotherly equality towards you by which we want to live in honour and dignity. That we are capable of makingisacrifices for you, if you need it, has also been proved in the past. Had the Capital been in East Pakistan we would have on our own initiative set up a real Second Capital in West Pakistan, not merely a hoax of a Capital. We would never have taken advantage of that vantage position and would not have grabbed all the important offices ourselves. We would not have captured all the high and lucrative posts of West Pakistan like chairmanships of Cotton Board, P.I.D.C., Railway Board, P.C.S., Port Trust and WAPDA etc. We would not have thought of capturing the Governorship of your wing. On the contrary, we would have equitably distributed the high offices between the people of the two wings, we would have made effective arrangements for spending Central Revenues equitably between East and West Pakistan, we would have extended regional and provincial autonomy instead of curtailing them. We would never have allowed any disparity to grow between two wings either political, administrative or economic. We would never have done anything to create any feeling that because we East Pakistanis are in a majority, because the seat of the Government is here, we are, therefore, the masters of Pakistan. We would rather have done everything to make you feel that this country belongs to you as well as to us, both in thought and in action. We would have shared State powers equally with you.

We believe that this feeling of absolute equality, sense of inter-wing justice and impartiality is the very basis of Pakistani patriotism. Only he is fit to be a leader of Pakistan who is imbued with and consumed by such patriotism. A leader who sincrely believes that the two wings of Pakistan are really two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, two rows of teeth, two hands and two legs of the body-politic of Pakistan, a leader who feels that to make Pakistan healthy and strong one must make each one of these pairs equally healthy and storng, a leader who earnestly believes that to weaken any one of these limbs is to weaken Pakistan as a whole, a leader who zealously holds that any one who deliberately or knowingly weakens any limb of Pakistan is an enemy of the country and a leader who is ready to take strong measures against such enemies, is the only person entitled to claim the national leadership of Pakistan. Pakistan is a magnificent country with an uncommonly wide horizon. To be fit to become its leader one must possess a similarly magnificent heart with an uncommon breadth of vision.

Sixthly, let me humbly remind my West Pakistani brothers and sisters that when we demanded Bengali to be made one of the two State Languages of Pakistan you condemned it as a move to undo Pakistan. When again we demanded joint electorate particularly in the context of parity in representation demanded by you, you condemned our demand to have been inspired from across the border. Both of these two demands have now been accepted; but there has been no undoing of Pakistan due to their acceptance. Does it not put you to shame that every bit of reasonable demand of East Pakistan has got to be secured from you at tremendous cost and after bitter struggle as if snatched from unwilling foreign rulers as a reluctant concession? Does it do you any credit? Please put a stop to such attitude once for all. Please be brothers instead of rulers.

In conclusion, I fervently appeal to my countrymen to deeply ponder over the formula put forward by me. They will find that none of the items in my 6–point programme is either unjust, impractical or disruptive of the country's integrity. I hope I have succeeded, in the short space of this booklet, in showing that the acceptance of these points will not only weaken Pakistan but will on the contrary make it stronger.

But the vested interests for obvious reasons will not agree. They have got their own way of judging things. To them, only the continuation and the perpetuation of their exploi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tation mean stability of a Society and a State. To them, any body who disturbs or threatens to disturb this process of exploitation is a traitor and a disruptor. This is neither new nor surprising. Our great forebears like Fazlul Huq and Suhrawardy had to fall victims to such vitriolics. In taking up the cause of the exploited masses one must, therefore, be ready and prepared for such vilifications and incarcerations. To my lot have fallen many such trials and tribulations in the past. Through the blessings of my superiors, comradeship of my colleagues and affectionate support of my countrymen, God in His infinite mercy gave me courage and fortitude enough to withstand those oppressions. With this boundless affection of my countrymen as my asset, I am fully prepared to make any sacrifice in their service. The life of any individual like myself is nothing compared to the salvation of the people of my country. I know of no nobler battle than to fight for the rights of the exploited millions. This is the lesson I have learnt at the feet of my political master Suhrawardy. He is no longer in our midst to guide us. But I am determined to live upto that lesson and keep his flag flying. The country is passing through the darkest hour of her life. At such a difficult time, Awami League Council has placed the heavy responsiblity of its Presidentship on my already overburdened shoulder. But through Allah's mercy I am no shirker. I am not afraid of work. So I have with all humility accepted the great responsibility. I have great faith in my people. I also know that the darkest hour of night is just a harbinger of dawn. My beloved countrymen will only pray to Allah so that He may continue to give me mental strength and physical fitness to devote the rest of my life in fighting for restoration of their rights which have been forcibly snatched away.

(Issued by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as President of the Awami League on March 23, 1966.)

SHEIKH MUJIBAR RAHMAN'S ADDRESS TO THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

Mr. President and Gentlemen.

The nation today is experiencing a crisis which has shaken its very foundations. For all of us who love the nation and recall the sacrifices which were made to create Pakistan, this is a time of grave anxiety. On order to resolve the crisis, it is imperative that its nature should be understood and its causes identified. Nothing would be more catastrophic than the failure to come to grips with the basic issues which underlie the upheaval which has taken place in the country. These issues have been evaded for twenty one years. The moment has arrived for us to face them squarely. I am convinced that a comprehensive solution must be found for our problems, for clearly the situation is too grave for palliatives and half measures. What is at stake is our survival.

BASIC ISSUES

It is this conviction that obliges me to expound a comprehensive solution to our basic problems. If the demands that have been expressed by different sections of the people are carefully examined, it will be seen that there are three basic issues which underlie them.

The first is that of deprivation of political rights and civil liberties.

The second is the economic injustice suffered by vast majority of the people, comprising workers, peasants, low and middle income groups, who have had to bear the burden of the costs of development in the form of increasing inflation, while the benefits of such development are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few families, who in their turn are concentrated in one region.

The third is the sense of injustice felt by the people of East Pakistan who find that under the existing constitutional arrangements their basic interests have consistently suffered in the absence of effective political power being conferred upon them. The former minority

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

provinces of West Pakistan feel similarly aggrieved by the present constitutional arrangement.

POLITICAL RIGHTS

The issue of deprivation of political rights finds expression in the 11-points Programme of the students of East Pakistan, as also in the 6–points Programme of the Awami League, as a demand for the establishment of a parliamentary democracy, based on the principle of the supremacy of the Legislature, in which there is representation of all units on the basis of population, and to which representatives are directly elected by the people on the basis of universal adult franchise.

The issue of economic injustice is reflected in the 11–points Programme in the form of clearly formulated demands for re-organisation of the economic and education system of the country. The 6–points Programme of my party clearly recognises the need for radical economic re-organisation, and the demand for regional autonomy, as outlined in it, is insisted upon as an essential pre-condition for economic re-organisation and the implementation of effective economic programmes.

REGIONAL AUTONOMY

The issue of justice for the different regions and units of Pakistan is the basis of the demand for the establishment of a Federation providing for full regional autonomy, as embodied in the 6–points Programme as also in the 11–points Programme. This is also the basis of the demand for dismemberment of One Unit and the establishment of a sub-federation in West Pakistan.

The Democratic Action Committee has held detailed deliberations regarding these grave and challenging national issues. There has always been complete unanimity in the Democratic Action Committee on the imperative necessity of effecting the following constitutional changes.

(A) The establishment of a Federal Parliamentary Democracy.

(B) The introduction of a system of direct elections based on universal adult franchise.

A consensus has also been apparent among the members of the Committee on the following matters.

(A) The dismemberment of One Unit and the establishment of a sub-federation in West Pakistan.

(B) Full regional autonomy being granted to the region.

ESSENTIALS

The Committee further agreed that its members should be at liberty to present further proposals, which in their view were essential for achieving an effective and lasting solution of the problems that are at the root of the present crisis.

Since we are here for the very purpose of seeking to find such an effective and lasting solution,—I have felt it my bounden duty to press before this Conference with all earnestness that everyone sitting at this table should realise that constitutional changes to provide for representation on the basis of population in the Federal Legislature as well as for the granting of full regional autonomy, as outlined in the 6–points Programme, are essential for achieving a strong, united and vigorous Pakistan.

ONE MAN ONE VOTE

I would like to state that the Awami League is a party of the freedom-fighters for Pakistan. Its founder, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, is indeed one of the founders of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pakistan. I recall with some pride that, under his leadership, my colleagues and I were in the vanguard of the struggle for Pakistan. Such proposals as I am presenting before the conference are based on the conviction that they are absolutely essential in order to preserve and indeed to strengthen Pakistan.

The demand for representation in the Federal Legislature to be on basis of population stems from the first principle of democracy viz. one man one vote. In the national forum, as envisaged in the six-point scheme, only national issues would arise for consideration. The representatives would, therefore, be called upon to deal with matters from a national point of view, and hence the voting would not be on a regional basis. Further, national political parties would be represented in the Federal Legislature, which would ensure that voting would be on a party, and not on regional, basis. Indeed, the experience of the last twenty-one years bears out the fact that voting in the National Assembly has invariably been on Party basis.

FALSE PREMISES

It is the principle of parity in representation of each Wing which is based on the false premise that representatives in the Federal Legislature are likely to vote on a regional basis. It is thus the parity principle that places an unjustified emphasis on regionalism as a factor in national politics. The entire historical experience of the last 21 years fully bears out the fact that East Pakistan has always subordinated its regional interest to the overriding national interest, notwithstanding the fact that it had the majority of the population.

It should not be necessary to recall that in the first Constituent Assembly, East Pakistan had 44 representatives as against 28 from West Pakistan, yet this majority was never used to promote any regional interest. Indeed, six West Pakistanis were elected to the Constituent Assembly from East Pakistan.

SACRIFICES

Despite being a majority, East Pakistan accepted the principle of parity not only in representation in the Legislature but also in other organs of the State. It is painful to record that parity so far as representation in the legislature was concerned this was promptly implemented, but the benefit of parity in representation in the other organs of the State, including the Civil, Foreign and Defence Services, was never extended to East Pakistan.

East Pakistan had even acquiesced in the Federal Capital as well as all the Defence Headquarters being located in West Pakistan. This meant that the bulk of the expenditure on Defence and Civil administration, amounting to about Rs. 270 crores or over 70 per cent of the Central Budget is made in West Pakistan. Should our West Pakistani brethren persist in refusing us representation on a population basis in the Federal Legislature, East Pakistani will feel constrained to insist on the shifting of the Federal Capital and the Defence Headquarters to East Pakistan.

POSITIVE STEP

It would be a positive step toward cementing the relations between the two Wings of Pakistan if our West Pakistani brethren were to affirm their confidence in their East Pakistani brethren by not opposing the demand for representation in the Federal Legislature on the basis of population. Such a step would pay rich dividend by way of building up mutual confidence and trust between the people of East and West Pakistan.

The adoption of the Federal scheme presented in the 6–points Programme is an essential pre-requisite for the achievement of a political solution for the problems of the country. I would reiterate that the spirit underlying the 6–point Programme is that Pakistan should present itself to the community of the nations as one single united nation of one hundred and twenty million people. This object is served by the Federal Government being en-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

trusted with the three subjects of defence, foreign affars and currency. It is the same objective of having a strong and vigorous Pakistan that requires that due regard be paid to the facts of geography by granting full regional autonomy to the regions in order to enable them to have complete control in all matters relating to economic management.

I cannot too strongly emphasise the imperative necessity of removing economic njustices, if we are to put our society back on an even keel. The 11-points Programme of the students for which I have expressed support contains proposals regarding the re-ordering of the economic and education system. These demands stem from the basic urge for the attainment of economic justice.

I would, however, like at this time to confine myself to outlining the constitutional changes which are necessary for the attainment of economic justice between man and man, and between region and region.

ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

The centralisation of economic management has steadily aggravated the existing economic injustices to the point of crisis. I need hardly dilate on the subject of the 22 families, who have already achieved considerable notoriety both at home and abroad on account of the concentration of wealth in their hands resulting from their ready access to the corridors of power. Monopolies and cartels have been created and a capitalist system has been promoted, in which the gulf between the privileged few and the suffering multitude of workers and peasants has been greatly widened. Gross injustices have also been inflicted on East Pakistan and the minority provinces of West Pakistan.

The existence of per capita income diparity between East and West Pakistan is known to all. As early as 1960, the Chief Economist of the Planning Commission estimated that the real per capita income disparity between East and West Pakistan was 60.

GROSS INJUSTICE

The mid-plan review made by the Planning Commission and other recent documents show that the disparity in real per capita income has been steadily increasing and therefore would be much higher than 60 per cent today. Underlying such disparity, is the disparity in general economic structure and infrastructure of the two regions in the rates of employment, in facilities for education, in medical and welfare services. To give just a few examples, power genarating capacity in West Pakistan is 5 to 6 times higher than in East Pakistan, the number of hospital beds in 1966 in West Pakistan was estimated to be 26,200 while that in East Pakistan was estimated to be 6,900 beween 1961–1966, only 18 polytechnic institutes were established in East Pakistan as against 48 in West Pakistan. Further, the disparity in the total availability of resources has been even higher. More than 80 per cent of all foreign aid has been utilized in West Pakistan in addition to the transfer of East Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings to West Pakistan. This made it possible for West Pakistan over 20 years to import Rs 3,109 crores worth of goods against the total export earnings of Rs 1,337 crores, while during the same period East Pakistan imported Rs 1,210 crore worth of goods as aginst its total export earnings of Rs 1,650 crores. All these facts underline the gross economic injustice which has been done to East Pakistan. There has been a failure to discharge the constitutional obligation to remove disparity between the provinces in the shortest possible time. The annual report on disparity for the year 1968 places before the National Assembly records that disparity has continued to increase.

A BOLD PLAN

The centralisation of economic management has thus failed miserably to meet the objective of attaining economic justice. It has failed to meet the constitutional obligation to remove economic disparity between region and region. Instead, therefore, of persisting

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in centralized economic management which has failed to deliver the goods, we should adopt a bold and imaginative solution to this challenging problem. The federal scheme of the 6–point Programme, is, in my view, such a bold and imaginative solution.

It is quintissence a scheme for the responsibility for economic management to the regions. This proposal is born of the conviction that this alone can effecively meet the problems, which centralised economic management has failed to overcome. The unique geography of the country, resulting in lack of labour mobility, as well as the different levels of development obtaining in the different regions, require that economic mangement should not be centralised.

The specific proposals embodied in the 6–point Programme with regard to currency, foreign trade, foreign exchange earnings and taxation are all designed to give full responsibility for economic management to the regional government. The proposals with regard to currency are designed to prevent flight of capital and to secure control over monetary policy. The proposal regarding foreign trade and foreign exchange are demanded to eusure that the resources of a region are available to that region and to ensure it to obtain the maximum amount of foreign exchange resources for development purposes. The proposals regarding taxation is designed to ensure control by the regional governments over fiscal policy, without in any way depriving the Federal Government of its revenue requirements.

SUBSTANCE

The substance of these proposals are as follows:

(a) With regard to currency, measures should be adopted to prevent flight of capital from one region to another and to secure control over monetary policy by the regional government. This can be done by adopting of two currencies or by having one currency with a separate Reserve Bank being set up in each region, to control monetary policy, with the State Bank retaining control over certain defined matters. Subject to the above arrangements, currency would be a Federal subject.

(b) With regard to foreign trade and aid, the regional governments should have power to negotiate trade and aid, within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be the responsiblity of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

(c) The foreign exchange earnings of each region should be maintained in account in each regional Reserve Bank and be under the control of the regional governments, the Federal requirements of foreign exchange would be met by appropriations from the two regional accounts on the basis of an agreed ratio.

(d) With regard to taxation, it is proposed that the power of tax levy and collection should be left to the regional governments, but the Federal Government should be empowered to realise its revenue requirements from levies on the regional governments. It should be clearly understood that it is not at all contemplated that the Federal Government be left at the mercy of the regional governments for its revenue needs.

ENORMOUS PROMISE

I would emphasize that there would be no difficulty in devising appropriate constitutional provisions whereby the Federal Government's revenue requirements could be met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over fiscal policy by the regional governments. The scheme also envisages that there would be just representation on a population basis of persons from each part of Pakistan in all Federal services, including Defence services.

If these principles are accepted, the detailed provisions can be worked out by a committee consisting of experts to be designated by both parties.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This scheme holds enormous promise of removing the canker of economic injustice from the body politic of Pakistan, while at the same time removing the mistrust and frustration which centralised economic management has fostered over the years.

I am confident that the people of West Pakistan would give their wholehearted support to this scheme.

APPEAL

I urge the participants in this conference to come forward with open minds and with large hearts, in a spirit of fraternity and national solidarity, to adopt the Federal scheme presented above as the only means of overcoming what has been one of the most formidable problems confronting the country, i.e. that of the attainment of economic justice. No source has fed the current crisis more than the sense of economic injustice. Let us remove it, let us tackle problems at their source. Any attempt to avoid coming to grips with these basic problems will jeopardise our very survival.

Neither Almighty Allah nor history will forgive us if at this time of national crisis we fail to rise to the occasion and to adopt bold solutions in order to restore the formidable problems which have created a national crisis. This is a great opportunity, and one which may not present itself again, to face our national problems squarely. We must, therefore, strain every nerve to agree upon and implement the required solutions. Let us strive together to lift our beloved Pakistan out of the tragic situation in which she is placed, and to lay the constitutional foundations for a real, living, Federal Parliamentary Democracy, which will secure for the people of Pakistan full political, economic and social justice. Only thus strong and united Pakistan can face the future with hope and confidence.

Pakistan Zindabad.

(THE DAWN, Karachi, March 14, 1969)

EXCERPT FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S BROADCAST (MARCH 26, 1969)

Fellow countrymen, I wish to make it absolutely clear to you that I have no ambition other than the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of a constitutional Government. It is my firm belief that a sound, clean and honest administration is a prerequisite for sane and constructive political life and for the smooth transfer of power to the representatives of the people elected freely and impartially on the basis of adult franchise. It will be the task of these elected representatives to give the country a workable constitution and find a solution of all other political, economic and social problems that have been agitating the minds of the people. I am, however, conscious of the genuine difficulties and pressing needs of various sections of our society, including the student community, the labour and our peasants. Let me assure you that my administration will make every endeavour to resolve these difficulties.

(THE DAWN, Karachi, March 27, 1969)

EXCERPTS FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE (APRIL 10, 1969)

It will be for the representatives of the people to give the country a workable constitution. I have no doubt that a constitution worked out in this manner will enjoy the support of the people and will have the acceptability and sanctity which a constitution must have.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We, as soldiers, have assumed the responsibility of creating such an atmosphere. That is the maximum that we can hope to achieve. The responsibility of reconstructing healthy political life in the country must be assumed and honourably discharged by the people themselves. The community cannot and must not evade this responsibility.

(THE DAWN, Karachi, April 11, 1969)

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION (NOVEMBER 28, 1969)

My dear countrymen,

I addressed you last on July 28. Since then a number of developments have taken place in the country in various sectors and certain specific actions have been taken by my Government to lead the country forward towards the main objectives that I had outlined in that Address.

* * * * *

Now I come to the political and constitutional problems facing this country. In my last address, I had expressed the hope that the political leaders of the country would come up with a consensus on certain major issues relating to our future Constitution. It is regrettable that they have not been able to do so, but one can understand and appreciate their difficulties. I had, however, continued with my discussions with individual political leaders and others concerned with these problems since I spoke to you last and while no formal consensus has been produced, I am now fully aware of the views that various people hold on these important matters.

TRANSFER OF POWER

Ever since the responsibility for the administration of this country devolved on me, one of the most important problems which has been agitating my mind is the mode of transfer of power to people's representatives.

My aim is to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people, but this aim cannot be achieved without a legal frame-work. This, as you know, is not available to us today. It is, therefore, necessary for me, in my capacity as the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of this country, to take initiative in this matter. I have naturally given deep thought to this problem and could think of four possible alternatives whereby a legal framework for the holding of elections could be evolved.

One method could be to have an elected constitutional Convention whose task would be to produce a new Constitution and then dissolve itself. This would have been a neat arrangement, but then it had certain disadvantages: the main one being that it would have involved two elections; one election to the Convention and the other to the National Assembly based on the Constitution made by such a Convention. The other and more serious disadvantage of this procedure would have been that it would cause unnecessary delay in the transfer of power.

The next alternative was to revive the 1956 Constitution but there is widespread opposition to adopting such a method in both Wings of the country because certain features of that Constitution such as One Unit and parity are no longer acceptable to the people.

The third alternative was to frame a Constitution and have a referendum on it in the country. This alternative too has certain practical difficulties as a simple 'yes' or 'no' by way of an answer cannot possibly be given by the people to such a comprehensive document as a Constitution.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The fourth alternative was for me to evolve a legal framework for general elections on the basis of consultations with the various groups and political leaders as well as the study of past Constitutions of Pakistan and the general consensus in the country. This proposal from me would only be in the nature of a provisional legal framework.

After careful thought, I have decided to adopt this fourth alternative, namely to evolve a legal framework for holding elections to the National Assembly. As I had mentioned in my July address, it became evident to me that the three main issues that face us as a nation in the constitutional field are—firstly, the question of One Unit, secondly the issue of one man one vote versus parity, and thirdly, the relationship between the Centre and the Federating Provinces.

As discussions on constitutional matters went on in the country during the past few months, I could see that the first two of these issues would have to be resolved before the elections are held because they are connected with the basis for elections and with the setting up of the National Assembly. As regards other constitutional issues, such as the Parliamentary Federal Form of Government, direct adult franchise, fundamental rights of citizens and their enforcement by the law courts, independence of judiciary and its role as the custodian of the Constitution and the Islamic character of the Constitution which should preserve the ideology on which Pakistan was created, there is no disagreement and these can be considered as settled.

With regard to the three major issues as referred to by me, opinions were divided and I made it clear in my last address that these must not become election issues. I am glad to find that differences on these issues have now begun to narrow down. This is a good sign. Although no formal all-party meetings have taken place, through statements both to the Press and during party meetings, most political parties have now come quite close in their thinking on these issues. Also, during my tours in various parts of the country, it became quite clear to me that there is hardly any difference amongst different sections and groups of people on these questions. This has lent further strength to my initial reaction that these matters should not become election issues, because by a national process of discussion and sober thinking, we seem to have come closer to solving these issues and great harm would be caused if these are pitched back in the election arena, as there is danger of these issues creating unnecessary bitterness on emotional grounds and thereby causing delay in the peaceful transfer of power.

I would now like to summarize what I consider to be the generally accepted view on these three important questions.

On the question of One Unit, there appears to be a general desire to revert to the system of separate Provinces instead of the present arrangement of One Unit for the whole of West Pakistan.

On the question of one man one vote also, it has, by and large, been recognized in the country that this is a basic requirement of any democratic form of Government and therefore not only in the East Wing but also in the West Wing it is now generally accepted that we should base our representation on this form of voting. As stated by me, the question of One Unit and the system of representation have to be decided before elections can be held and a machinery can be set up to finalize the country's Constitution.

I, therefore, have decided to resolve these two issues on the following lines:–

One Unit will be dissolved and separate Provinces will come into being. I may add here that One Unit was created by executive orders which, however, were subsequently approved by the Provincial Legislatures and by the Second Constituent Assembly. In 1957, the West Pakistan Legislature had voted in favour of the dissolution of One Unit. If Martial law was not imposed in 1958, One Unit might have been dissolved long ago.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I would also like to remind you that when Pakistan was created, it was not on the basis of One Unit, but it was on the basis of various Provinces in the Western Wing. The people of both East and West Pakistan are almost unanimous in demanding the break-up of One Unit. My decision is, therefore, based on popular wish.

Similarly, in deference to the wishes of the people, I have accepted the principle of One Man One Vote and this democratic principle will be the basis of election for the future National Assembly.

As regards the relation between the Centre and the Provinces, you would recall that in my July broadcast I pointed out that the people of East Pakistan did not have their full share in the decision making process on vital national issues. I also said then that they were fully justified in being dissatisfied with this state of affairs. We shall, therefore, have to put an end to this position. The requirement would appear to be maximum autonomy to the two Wings of Pakistan as long as it does not impair national integrity and solidarity of the country.

One of the main aspects of the whole relationship between the Centre and the Provinces in Pakistan today lies in the financial and economic spheres. Federation implies not only a division of legislative powers but also that of financial powers. This matter will have to be dealt with in such a manner as would satisfy the legitimate requirements and demands of the Provinces as well as the vital requirements of the nation as a whole. People of the two regions of Pakistan should have control over their economic resources and development as long as it does not adversely affect the working of a National Government at the Centre. The people of East and West Pakistan are bound together by common historical, cultural and spiritual heritage. There is, therefore, no reason why we should not be able to work out a satisfactory relationship between the Centre and the Provinces in Pakistan wherein people of both the Wings shall live together as equal and honourable partners.

I would like now to give you the details of the time table to which we should work for change over of power to the elected representatives of the people. First, the provisional legal framework for holding elections should be ready by March 31, 1970. Next, as already announced by the Chief Election Commissioner, the Electoral Rolls will be ready by June, 1970. With the completion of the Electoral Rolls, the Election Commission will be engaged in delimiting the various constituencies both for Cental and Provincial elections in accordance with the provisions which will be made in the legal framework. As you are aware, delimitation is finalized after hearing the objections, if any, from the people. Therefore, some time has to be given to this task. Further, there are climatic difficulties for holding elections both in East and West Pakistan from June 1, to the end of September. I have, therefore, decided to hold general elections in the country on October 5, 1970. The provincial elections will be held after the National Assembly completes its task of constitution making. The Assembly will be required to complete this work within a period of 120 days from its first sitting. I would be happy if they can finalize it even before the expiry of this period. If, however, they are unable to complete the task by the end of the stipulated period, the Assembly would stand dissolved and the nation will have to go to polls again. I hope and pray that this does not happen and I would, therefore, urge the future elected representatives to undertake this task with a full sense of responsibility and patriotism.

As regards the voting procedure in the National Assembly, it is important to appreciate that the Assembly will be deciding upon basic constitutional issues. Constitution is a sacred document and it is an agreement to live together. It cannot be compared to any ordinary law. It is, therefore, essential that the voting procedure to be evolved by the Assembly for itself should be just and fair to representatives of all regions of Pakistan. After the Assembly has completed its task and the Constitution made by it has been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

duly authenticated, it will assume the character of Pakistan's Constitution. The stage would then be set for the formation of the new Government.

Throughout these activities, Martial Law will remain supreme in order to give support to the programme of peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

My dear countrymen, I would once again like to stress upon you that we are passing through the most critical stage of our national life. There is need for every single one of us to realise this fact and act in a sober, objective and patriotic manner. Let us all eschew parochial interests and cast aside personal or local considerations. Let each one of us say to himself that he will contribute everything in his power to make this nation strong and prosperous.

On my part, I have placed before you a programme which I consider, in all sincerity and honesty, to be the most acceptable to the general mass of our people and to be entirely in the interest of Pakistan.

I have full faith and confidence in our people. I have also full faith in the destiny of our country which was created on the basis of our ideology and at the sacrifice of the lives of one million Muslims. Democracy was the driving force during the movement for Pakistan and I sincerely wish to adhere to democratic principles.

Finally, I would like to say that in view of the programme outlined by me, full political activity will be allowed in the country with effect from Janurary 1, 1970. The Martial Law Regulation prohibiting such activities will be duly cancelled. I may, however, add that I am not prepared to tolerate any obstruction in the way of the restoration of democracy. Any individual or any group which creates law and order problems and indulges in acts of violence will be severely dealt with, because democracy implies tolerance and refutation of the use of force. All political activities must therefore accord with certain norms of behaviour. In this behalf I propose to issue certain guidelines in the near future.

Let us now all go forward together and achieve this transfer of power in a peaceful and civilised manner.

God bless you all

Pakistan Paindabad

(THE DAWN, Karachi, November, 29, 1969)

DEMAND TO RENAME EAST WING AS BANGLA DESH HAILED

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani, Chief of National Awami Party, yesterday welcomed the demand for renaming East Pakistan as Bangla Desh and said it was a genuine demand from the historical pint of view, reports APP.

On the eve of his departure for Tangail, the Maulana in a statement expressed his happiness over the recent demand for renaming the province. He said the intelligentsia and the press also supported the demand.

Maulana Bhasani said the nomenclature of Bangla Desh was not a new thing. He said this region of the country populated by the Bengali speaking people was known as Bangla Desh (Bengal) for long.

The NAP leader said that all the regions of West Pakistan were known by their own names before One Unit. Only the name of Bangla Desh was snatched away and the name of East Pakistan was forcibly imposed. With the dismemberment of One Unit, all the provinces of West Pakistan would be known by their old names, he said, and added, in view of this situation the name of East Pakistan for this region would be meaningless. So the name of Bangla Desh instead of East Pakistan was just and genuine, the Maulana concluded.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, chief of National Progressive League, yesterday said the suggestion for renaming East Pakistan as Bangla Desh was logical and consequential when the Government had decided to restore the old provinces of West Pakistan.

In a statement, the former Chief Minister said the East Wing of Pakistan was originally East Bengal. He said the 1956 Constitution renamed it as East Pakistan. With the abrogation of the Constitution it reverted automatically to East Bengal. But no body thought of such reversion because our counterpart continued to be West Pakistan.

Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan said: "Now that the Government has decided to dismember the One Unit of West Pakistan and to restore the provinces that constituted West Pakistan to their original position, the question has naturally arisen to rename East Pakistan also. It is also logical and consequential. If there is no West Pakistan there need not be East Pakistan either.

"It is not, therefore, unreasonable that some of my esteemed friends have suggested to rename East Pakistan as Bangla Desh. They have also put forward some arguments in support of their suggestion. The suggestion itself is not bad, but there is constitutional question to be taken into consideration.

* * * * *

"West Pakistan was created by the establishment of West Pakistan Act of 1955. So it did not go with the Constitution. But before that Act came into force, it had been created by an executive order. President Yahya Khan has, therefore, decided to dissolve it by an executive order. Our case is different. It was not created by such an order so it cannot be renamed by the same method. It is the next Constitution to be framed which can redesignate it in any manner it likes. But till then it will have to be East Bengal as was before '56 Constitution."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca, December 8, 1969)

MAJORITY OF LEADERS FAVOUR PEACEFUL TRANSITION OF POWER

President General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, told newsmen at the Dacca Airport before his departure to Rawalpindi yesterday that by and large the majority of political leaders were in favour of peaceful transition of power.

The President expressed the hope that the forthcoming election in the country would be conducted in a manner which would set an example not only for Pakistan but also for the rest of the world.

When asked about his impressions of the fortnight visit to East Pakistan, President Yahya said it had been a very satisfying visit for him.

It had provided him opportunities for meeting different sections of people, including political leaders and discussing with them various issues facing the country. The leaders, he said, had promised that they would go through the coming election in as smooth manner as was possible. This, he said, is what he himself had been propagating all the time.

* * * * *

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca, January 6, 1970)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHUTTO TRYING TO SABOTAGE EAST WING INTEREST NURUZZAMAN'S CHARGE

Dacca, Feb. 11—Maulana Nuruzzaman, the leader of Independent People's Party, yesterday charged Mr. Z. A. Bhutto with trying to "sabotage" East Pakistan's interest through his Pakistan People's Party.

In a statement here, Mr. Nuruzzaman said Mr. Bhutto's dual purpose behind forming his People's Party was to replace former President Ayub Khan and sabotage East Pakistan's demand for autonomy.

Maulana Nuruzzaman, who was till recently Chairman of Mr. Bhutto's party in East Wing, said that Mr. Bhutto had formed his party in Lahore without any representation from East Pakistan.

He said no invitation was given to any East Pakistani to attend the meeting in which the party was formed.

* * * * *

Maulana Nuruzzaman said that Mr. Bhutto, as a Minister in the Ayub Cabinet, had challenged Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to a public debate on Awami League Six-Points. But Mr. Bhutto did not move forward for the promised debate. "Now let him come forward for a debate with me at Dacca. I will be ready to debate anywhere in Pakistan."

He said from the very beginning he had been insisting on Mr. Bhutto to organise the party properly and hold organisational elections but it was not done. "Thrice I offered my resignation and thrice they promised they will regularise things."

(THE DAWN, Karachi, February 12, 1970)

TEXT OF PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION (MARCH 28, 1970)

My dear countrymen, Assalam-Alaikum.

It is now four months since I spoke to you last. In many ways, these four months have been of considerable significance for us all. I propose, therefore, to give you a brief survey of what has been achieved in this period in various sectors and what still remains to be achieved.

As I have often said, the main objective that I have placed before myself is the peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. But let me also make it clear that this is by no means the only responsibility of the Government. It has a host of other responsibilities and duties and we have every intention of carrying these out as long as the task of administering this country devolves on us.

The political parties of the country were denied the freedom to propagate views and explain their programmes for many years and therefore when, on the 1st January, 1970, the ban on holding of public meetings and taking out the processions was lifted, an over-enthusiastic use of this freedom was only to be expected. But, unfortunately, in some cases people transgressed the limits of good order.

It must be remembered that at this critical juncture of our history, self-discipline and the rule of law are of supreme importance. In the present context, every act

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of indiscipline or law-breaking has very wide repercussions. This tendency for creating disorder must therefore be strictly curbed. Otherwise, our progress towards the achievement of democracy, that we so keenly desire, will be seriously impeded.

We must face facts and appreciate that Pakistan is passing through a phase surcharged with tension, and the slightest provocation can result in serious trouble. Whilst the Government has no intention of interfering with the right of any citizen to express his views or to work for a particular programme in the political field, as long as these are in keeping with the ideology and integrity of Pakistan, it has the right to ensure that all this activity is carried out within the limits of the law of the land.

In fact, I would ask everyone, be they political leaders and workers, labour or students, to think twice before they say any thing or act in any manner, and ask themselves if what they are going to say or do, would be beneficial to the country or if it would harm it in however an indirect manner it may be. I am referring here not only to internal matters but also to external affairs. It is not only impolite but positively harmful to our relationship with other countries to pass harsh remarks about their leaders or their ideologies.

The responsibility for maintaining law and order in any civilised society does not rest with the Government alone, but must be shared by the leaders of public opinion as well as by the public in general. I must therefore insist that leaders and all other participants in political activity must act with a sense of responsibility.

While propagating their own views and programmes, they must not interfere with the freedom of others to do the same, because that is a negation of the very spirit of democracy and will necessarily interfere with the objectives that we have set in front of us. There have been some unfortunate incidents of public meetings and processions being violently disturbed resulting in injury and death.

Such violence, be it in the political arena or based on narrow parochialism, can have serious adverse effects. I am fully conscious of my responsibilities and the responsibilities of the Government functionaries concerned with the maintenance of law and order, but I would like to ask you, and in particular those of you who are in positions of leadership, if you are also equally conscious of your responsibilities.

The Government has made its position quite clear. It will not tolerate violence and law-breaking and it has the right to expect full co-operation from all those who uphold democratic values and profess toleration. I will leave this subject with one last word. I regret to have to say that I have noticed a rather unfortunate tendency on the part of some of our leaders and others, first to urge the Administration to be firm whenever violence breaks out in any particular area and then once the law-breakers are arrested and the legal processes of justice begin, to shout themselves hoarse in demanding the release of the very people, action against whom they initially so vociferously demanded.

It is obvious that this is done with an eye to the gallery. This is neither fair nor proper. We cannot afford in this critical phase of the life of this country to act in a short sighted manner calculated merely to obtain some sort of tactical gains in the political field. It is time that we are all true to ourselves and have the courage to condemn violence and incitement to violence and not to tolerate it even if it means a certain amount of unpopularity with some section of the community or the other.

I sincerely hope that our political leaders will rise to the occasion and fully co-operate with the Administration in achieving the objectives that I had earlier laid down for the nation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Finally, on this issue of the conduct of the election campaign, I would like to clear up a doubt that has been voiced by some people. It is said that my Government is lending its support to some of the political parties. This is not correct and I would once again like to assure you that this regime has been, is, and will, continue to be completely impartial as far as the election campaign is concerned. The Government, however, expects that no political party or individual will propagate or work against the ideology and integrity of Pakistan.

In my address to the nation on the 28th November of last, I had, as you know, given out a plan for the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people and had indicated certain major policy decisions that I had taken.

It is a matter of great personal satisfaction to me that the plan that I had laid before the nation was accepted by the people in every part of the country with great enthusiasm. This fact reaffirmed my assumption that the proposals outlined by me were based on popular wish. Let me now apprise you of the progress that has been made towards the achievement of the various objectives mentioned in that plan.

The Committee appointed for the purpose of working out the details of the dissolution of One Unit has completed its draft Action Plan and has submitted its proposals with regard to financial and administrative arrangements.

A President's Order setting out all the relevant details will be published shortly.

The provincial administration of each new province of West Pakistan will be in position soon and will become fully operative by the 1st of July, 1970, which is the commencement of the new financial year.

Thereafter, West Pakistan will revert as closely as possible to the pre-One Unit position.

The arrangements for the holding of elections are going according to plan and the Chief Election Commissioner has kept you informed of developments from time to time. I foresee no difficulty whatsoever in keeping to the date that I had indicated in my last address.

The Legal Framework Order, 1970, will be published on the 30th of this month. This Order will form the main base for the operation of the National Assembly in their task of Constitution making. I might at this stage mention some of the salient features of this Order which has been formulated as a result of my assessment of the wishes of the people.

The National Assembly will consist of a total 313 members, of these, 13 seats will be reserved for women. The allocation of seats to various provinces will be based on the population as recorded in the Census of 1961 which is the latest official record available to the Government.

The Order also provides for the holding of elections to the Provincial Assemblies.

At one stage, when plans for the transfer of power were being formulated, our thinking was that election to the Provincial Assemblies should be held after the Constitution is finalised. The question was further examined in greater detail by my Government and we have come to the conclusion that politically it will be in the Country's interest to hold the provincial elections soon after the elections to the National Assembly.

The main reason for this is that it will facilitate and speed up the transfer of power to the elected representatives as soon as the Constitution is finalised. Further, it will relieve the politicians and their parties from a new election campaign immediately after the business of Constitution-making is over. I consider that once

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the constitutional issues are settled, our leaders should address themselves to the major nation-building tasks rather than entering into a fresh round of electioneering.

Taking all these factors into consideration, I have decided that provincial elections will be held not later than the 22nd October, 1970. The Provincial Assemblies would, however, start functioning when duly summoned after the Constitution has been framed and authenticated by me.

When the Legal Framework Order, 1970, is published, you will notice that in the schedule dealing with the Rules of Procedure, the voting procedure for the National Assembly has not been included. This is a matter which is best settled by the House itself and it is my earnest hope that there would not be too much divergence in views on this issue. Unanimity would of course be ideal. In any case I do not personally like to talk on this subject on the basis of percentages.

The point that I made earlier and would like to emphasise again is that a Constitution is not an ordinary piece of legislation, but it is an agreement to live together. It is therefore essential that all regions are reasonably satisfied with the voting procedure that may be evolved by the House, because unless they are so satisfied, the Constitution will not really and genuinely by acceptable to the people of different provinces and regions as such a document should be. I am sure it should be possible to arrive at some suitable arrangement.

The Legal Framework Order does not only state how the Assembly will come into being, what its strength would be, and such other matters relating to the setting up of this Assembly, but it also lays down certain basic principles for the future Constitution of Pakistan. Most of these principles are based on previous Constitutions, but I thought it necessary to highlight some of these in the Order so that the Assembly makes a eonstitution which is acceptable to the people of Pakistan as a whole.

Firstly, the Order lays down that the Constitution of Pakistan must preserve Islamic ideology which, as we all know, was the basis of the creation of Pakistan.

Secondly, the Constitution must ensure independence, territorial integrity and national solidarity of Pakistan. In order to attain these objectives it has been laid down in the Legal Framework Order that the territories now and hereafter included in Pakistan must be united in a federal union which must preserve the territorial unity of the State of Pakistan which will be called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The third fundamental principle of the future Constitution is that it must be a democratic one in which such basic ingredients of democracy as free and periodical elections on the basis of population and direct adult franchise are included. Further, the Constitution must include the independence of judiciary, and the fundamental rights of the citizens.

The fourth basic principle of the new Constitution is that it must be a true federal one in which powers including legislative, administrative and financial shall be so distributed between the Federal Government and the provinces that the provinces shall have maximum autonomy, that is to say, maximum legislative, administrative and financial powers, and the Federal Government shall have adequate powers including legislative, administrative and financial powers to discharge its responsibilities in relation to external and internal affairs and to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the Country.

The fifth principle of the Constitution is that it must provide full opportunity to the people of all regions of Pakistan for participation in national affairs so that they can live together as equal and honourable partners and be moulded into a strong nation as visualised by the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is, therefore, laid down in the Legal Framework Order that opportunities must be made available to the people of various regions of Pakistan for enabling them to participate in all branches of national activity, and to achieve this objective there must be statutory provision to remove all disparities—in particular economic disparity, among the various provinces of Pakistan within a fixed period.

The dissatisfaction which has arisen in some regions of the country as a result of disparity in economic development has created a big challenge to our emerging nationalism. We must, therefore, concentrate our attention and energy to remove this sort of discontentment by eliminating its cause.

I hope, all of you will aggree with me that while in the future National Government people of every region must have the fullest opportunity to play their part in national affairs, the unity and integrity of Pakistan must be preserved and must not be allowed to be adversely affected on regional and parochial grounds.

Pakistan was established on the basis of the idea of the homeland for the Muslims of this subcontinent. It was achieved at the cost of the lives of a million Muslims. We cannot allow that sacrifice to go in vain. The assertion of Quaid-i-Azam, that Pakistan has come to stay, must be upheld at any cost. This is an assumption over which there can never be any debate.

Before moving on to the next subject, I would like to offer my comments on a fear that has been expressed in certain quarters that it would not be possible for the National Assembly to make a Constitution within the stipulated period of 120 days. I must express my complete disagreement with this point of view. I believe that given the will and spirit of accommodation which the nation has a right to expect from its responsible representatives, the National Assembly will find no difficulty in completing its task within the given time.

As we all know, the Members will have two or three drafts available to them for their consideration in the form of previous Constitutions. So it is not as if this Assembly will have to start from scratch.

The basic ground work in respect of the Preamble, the Directive Principles and many other matters has already been done in the previous Constitutions and most of it continues to apply. I may also add that I have done everything possible to facilitate and speed up the Assembly's work. Adult franchise, population basis and dismemberment of One Unit are now settled issues. On the procedural side, a complete set of Rules of Procedure will be included as a schedule in the Legal Framework Order.

It was against this background that my Government had carefully worked out a reasonable period for framing the Constitution, and we considered that 120 days would be quite adequate. Let us therefore eschew all further doubts and fears on this account.

In the end, my dear country-men, I would like to say once again that it is my own and my Government's firm resolve to bring back democracy to our country. I need hardly say that in the achievement of this objective we expect full co-operation and unflinching support from every one of you. For without such co-operation and support our task will be made infinitely more difficult.

Our people are intensely patriotic. They will, therefore, tolerate most things except an act of sabotage against the integrity of Pakistan. If anyone thinks that he can let down the country and the people or entertain any ideas of destroying the basic unity of our people, he is very much mistaken. The people will not stand for this.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As I said earlier, everyone has a right to offer his solution to the constitutional, political, economic and administrative problems of the country, but no one has a right to offer a solution which would adversely affect the solidarity of the people of Pakistan. This no one would tolerate. We will refuse to be silent spectators to any attacks against Pakistan's entity as a nation.

Major changes cannot be brought about without courage and patriotism of the highest order on the part of the whole nation. The country is passing through a phase when personal and all other considerations must be sacrificed for the bigger cause—the cause of Pakistan.

Let me assure you that I have not the slightest doubt that, by the grace of Almighty God, we shall overcome our present difficulties.

God bless you all, Pakistan Paindabad.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 29, 1970)

LEGAL FRAMEWORK ORDER, 1970

RAWALPINDI, March 30: The following is the text of the Legal Framework Order, 1970 (President's Order No. 2 of 1970) issued here today by the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, General A. M. Yahya Khan:

WHEREAS in his first address to the nation on the 26th March, 1969, the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator pledged himself to strive to restore democratic institutions in the country;

And whereas in his address to the nation on the 28th November, 1969, he reaffirmed that pledge and announced that polling for a general election to a National Assembly of Pakistan will commence on the 5th October, 1970;

And whereas he has since decided that polling for elections to the Provincial Assemblies shall commence not latter than the 22nd October, 1970;

And whereas provision has already been made by the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969, for the preparation of electoral rolls for the purpose of election of representatives of the people on the basis of adult franchise;

And whereas it is necessary to provide for the constitution of a National Assembly of Pakistan for the purpose of making provision as to the Constitution of Pakistan in accordance with this Order and a Provincial Assembly for each Province;

Now, therefore, in pursuance of the proclamation of the 25th day of March, 1969, and in exercise of all powers enabling him in that behalf, the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator is pleased to make the following Order:

Short title and commencement

1. (*a*) This Order may be called the Legal Framework Order, 1970.

(*b*) It shall come into force on such date as the President may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf.

Order to override other laws

2. This Order shall have effect notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Provisional Constitution Order, the Constitution of 1962 of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan or any other law for the time being in force.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Definitions

3. (*a*) In this Order, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context:

(i) "Assembly" means the National Assembly of Pakistan or a Provincial Assembly for a Province provided for in this Order;

(ii) "Commission" means the Election Commission constituted under Article 8;

(iii) "Commissioner" means the Chief Election Commissioner appointed or deemed to be appointed under the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969 (P.O. No. 6 of 1969);

(iv) "Electoral roll" means the electoral roll prepared under the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969 (P.O. No. 6 of 1969);

(v) "Member" means member of an Assembly;

(vi) "Speaker" means the Speaker of the National Assembly; and

(vii) "Centrally Administered Tribal Areas" has the same meaning as in the Province of West Pakistan (Dissolution) Order, 1970.

(*b*) In relation to the territories included at the commencement of this Order in the Province of West Pakistan, references to a Province and a Provincial Assembly shall be construed as references respectively to a new Province provided for in the Province of West Pakistan (Dissolution) Order, 1970, and the Provincial Assembly for such Province.

Composition of the National Assembly

4. (*a*) There shall be a National Assembly of Pakistan consisting of three hundred and thirteen members of whom three hundred shall be elected to fill general seats and thirteen to fill seats reserved for women.

(*b*) In conformity with the population figures appearing in the Census of 1961, the number of seats in the National Assembly shall be distributed amongst the Provinces and the centrally administered tribal areas, as set out in Schedule I.

(*c*) Clause (1) shall not be construed as preventing a woman from being elected to a general seat.

Composition of the Provincial Assemblies

5. (*a*) There shall be a Provincial Assembly for each Province consisting of the number of members elected to fill general seats and to fill seats reserved for women, as set out in Schedule II in relation to such Province.

(*b*) Clause (1) shall not be construed as preventing a woman from being elected to a general seat.

Principle of election

6. (1) Except as provided in clause (2), the members shall be elected to the general seats from territorial constituencies by direct election on the basis of adult franchise in accordance with law.

(2) The President may, by regulation, make separate provision for election of members from the centrally administered tribal areas.

(3) As soon as practicable after the general election of members of the National Assembly, the members from a Province for the seats reserved for women

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in that Assembly shall be elected by persons elected to the general seats from that Province in accordance with law.

(4) The members for the seats reserved for women in a Provincial Assembly shall be elected by persons elected to the general seats in that Assembly in accordance with law.

Casual vacancy

7. Where a seat in the National Assembly has become vacant, an election to fill the vacancy shall be held within three weeks from the occurrence of the vacancy.

Election Commission for conduct of elections

8. For the purposes of election of the members of an Assembly and matters connected therewith, the President shall constitute an Election Commission consisting of the following members, namely:

(*a*) the Commissioner, who shall be the Chairman of the Commission; and

(*b*) two other members, each being a person who is permanent Judge of a High Court.

Qualifications and disqualifications for being a member

9. (*a*) A person shall, subject to the provisions of Clause (2), be qualified to be elected as, and to be, a member if:

(*a*) He is a citizen of Pakistan;

(*b*) He has attained the age of twenty-five years; and

(*c*) His name appears on the electoral roll for any constituency in the Province or centrally administered tribal areas from which he seeks election.

(*b*) A person shall be disqualified from being elected as, and from being, a member if:

(*a*) He is of unsound mind and stands so declared by a competent court; or

(*b*) He is an undischarged insolvent, unless a period of ten years has elapsed since his being adjudged as insolvent; or

(*c*) He has been, on conviction for any offence, sentenced to transportation for any term or to imprisonment for a term of not less than two years, unless a period of five years, or such less period as the President may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since his release; or

(*d*) He has been a member of the President's Council of Ministers at any time following 1st August, 1969, unless a period of two years or such less period as the President may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since he ceased to be a Minister; or

(*e*) He holds any office in the service of Pakistan other than an office which is not a whole time office remunerated either by salary or by fee; or

(*f*) He has been dismissed for misconduct from the service of Pakistan unless a period of five years, or such less period as the President may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since his dismissal; or

(*g*) Such person is the spouse of a person in the service of Pakistan; or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(*h*) He, whether by himself or by any person or body of persons in trust for him or for his benefit or on his account or as a member of a Hindu undivided family, has any share or interest in a contract, not being a contract between a co-operative society and Government, for the supply of goods to, or for the execution of any contract or the performance of any services undertaken by, Government:

Provided that the disqualification under sub-clause (*h*) shall not apply to a person—

(i) Where the share or interest in the contract devolves on him by inheritance or succession or as a legatee, executor or administrator, until the expiration of six months after it has so devolved on him or such longer period as the President may, in any particular case, allow; or

(ii) Where the contract has been entered into by or on behalf of a public company as defined in the Companies Act, 1913 (VII of 1913), of which he is a share-holder but is neither a director holding an office of profit under the company nor a managing agent; or

(iii) Where he is a member of a Hindu undivided family and the contract has been entered into by any other member of that family in the course of carrying on a separate business in which he has no share or interest.

(3) For the avoidance of doubt, it is hereby declared that a Judge of the Supreme Court or a High Court, the Comptroller and Auditor General of Pakistan, the Attorney-General of Pakistan and an Advocate-General of a Province are persons holding offices in the Service of Pakistan.

(4) If any question arises whether a member has, after his election, become subject to any disqualification, the Commissioner shall place the question before the Election Commission and, if the opinion of the Commission be that the member has become so subject, his seat shall become vacant.

Bar against Candidature

10. (1) No person shall at the same time be member of more than one Assembly or a member of the same Assembly for more than one constituency.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall prevent a person from being at the same time a candidate for election from two or more constituencies, but if a person has been elected as a member for two or more constituencies and does not, within fifteen days of the notification of his election by the constituency by which has been elected last, make a declaration in writing under his hand addressed to the Commissioner specifying the constituency which he wishes to represent, all his seats shall become vacant, but so long as he is a member for two or more constituencies he shall not sit or vote in an Assembly.

Resignation, etc.

11. (1) A member may resign his seat by notice in writing under his hand addressed to the Speaker.

(2) If a member is absent from the Assembly without leave of the Speaker for fifteen consecutive sitting days, his seat shall become vacant.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(3) If a member fails to take and subscribe an oath in accordance with Article 12 within a period of seven days from the date of the first meeting of the Assembly after his election, his seat shall become vacant:

Provided that the Speaker or, if the Speaker has not been elected, the Commissioner, may, before the expiration of the said period, for good cause shown, extend the period.

Oath of Members of Assembly

12. A person elected as a Member of an Assembly shall, before entering upon the office, take and subscribe, before a person presiding at a meeting of the Assembly, an oath or affirmation in the following form, namely:

"I.....do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to Pakistan and that I will discharge the duties upon which I am about to enter honestly, to the best of my ability, faithfully in accordance with the provisions of the Legal Framework Order, 1970, the law and rules of the Assembly set out in that Order, and always in the interest of the solidarity, integrity, well-being and prosperity of Pakistan."

Date of polling

13. Polling for election to the National Assembly shall commence on the 5th October, 1970, and polling for election to the Provincial Assemblies shall commence on a date not later than the 22nd October, 1970.

Summoning of National Assembly, etc.

14. (1) After the close of the general election of members of the National Assembly, the President shall, for the purpose of framing a Constitution for Pakistan, summon the National Assembly to meet on such day and at such time and place as he may think fit; and the National Assembly so summoned shall stand constituted on the day of its first meeting:

Provided that nothing in this clause shall be construed as preventing the President from summoning the National Assembly on the ground that all the seats of the members have not been filled.

(2) After meeting as convened under clause (1), the National Assembly shall meet at such times and places as the Speaker may decide.

(3) The National Assembly shall, subject to reasonable adjournments, meet from day to day to transact its business.

Right of address, etc. of President

15. The President may address the National Assembly and send a message or messages to the Assembly.

Speaker and Deputy Speaker

16. (1) The National Assembly shall, as soon as may be, elect two of its members to be respectively the Speaker and Deputy Speaker and shall, so often as the office of Speaker or Deputy Speaker becomes vacant, elect another member to be the Speaker, or, as the case may be, Deputy Speaker.

(2) Until the Speaker and Deputy Speaker are elected, the Commissioner shall preside at the meetings of the National Assembly and perform the functions of Speaker.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(3) Where the office of the Speaker is vacant, the Deputy Speaker, or, if the office of the Deputy Speaker is also vacant, the Commissioner, shall perform the functions of Speaker.

(4) During the absence of the Speaker from any meeting of the National Assembly, the Deputy Speaker or, if the Deputy Speaker is also absent, such member as may be determined by the rules of procedure of the Assembly, shall perform the functions of Speaker.

(5) A member holding office as Speaker or Deputy Speaker shall cease to hold that office—

(*a*) If he ceases to be a member of the National Assembly;

(*b*) If he resigns his office by writing under his hand addressed to the President; or

(*c*) If a resolution expressing want of confidence in him is moved in the Assembly after not less than fourteen days' notice of the intention to move it and passed by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the National Assembly.

Quorum and Rules of Procedure

17. (*a*) If, at any time during a meeting of the National Assembly, the attention of the person presiding at the meeting is drawn to the fact that the number of persons present is less than one hundred, the person pesiding shall either suspend the meeting until the number of members present is not less than one hundred or adjourn the meeting.

(*b*) The procedure of the National Assembly shall be regulated by the rules of procedure set out in Schedule III; in particular the National Assembly shall decide how a decision relating to the Constitution Bill is to be taken.

(*c*) The National Assembly may act notwithstanding any vacancy in the seat of a member and no proceedings in the Assembly shall be invalid by reason that some members whose election is subsequently held to have been void, or who, after election, had incurred a disqualification for membership voted or otherwise took part in the proceedings.

Privilleges, etc. of the National Assembly

18. (*a*) The validity of any proceedings in the National Assembly shall not be called in question in any court.

(*b*) A member or a person entitled to speak in the National Assembly shall not be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Assembly or in any Committee thereof.

(*c*) The exercise by an officer of the National Assembly of the powers vested in him for the regulation of procedure, the conduct of business or the maintenance of order in or in relation to any proceeding in the Assembly, shall not be subject to the jurisdiction of any court.

(*d*) A person shall not be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of the publication by, or under the authority of the National Assembly of any report, paper, vote or proceedings.

(*e*) No process issued by a court or other authority shall, except with the leave of the Speaker, be served or executed within the precincts of the place where a meeting of the National Assembly or of any Committee thereof is being held.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Allowances and privileges of Members

19. The Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and the other Members shall be entitled to such allowances and privileges as the President may, by order, prescribe.

Fundamental principles of the Constitution

20. The Constitution shall be so framed as to embody the following fundamental principles:-

(*a*) Pakistan shall be a Federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in which the Provinces and other territories which are now and may hereinafter be included in Pakistan shall be so united in a Federation that the independence, the territorial integrity and the national solidarity of Pakistan are ensured and that the unit of the Federation is not in any manner impaired.

(*b*) (i) Islamic ideology which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan shall be preserved: and

(ii) the Head of the State shall be a Muslim.

(*c*) (i) Adherence to fundamental principles of democracy shall be ensured by providing direct and free periodical elections to the Federal and the Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population and adult franchise;

(ii) the fundamental rights of the citizens shall be laid down and guaranteed;

(iii) the independence of the judiciary in the matter of dispensation of justice and enforcement of the fundamental rights shall be secured.

(*d*) All powers including legislative, administrative and financial, shall be so distributed between the Federal Government and the Provinces that the Provinces shall have maximum autonomy, that is to say maximum legislative, administrative and financial powers, but the Federal Govenment shall also have adequate powers including legislative, administrative and financial powers to discharge its responsibilities in relation to external and internal affairs and to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the Country.

(*e*) It shall be ensured that—

(i) The people of all areas in Pakistan shall be enabled to participate fully in all forms of national activities; and

(ii) within a specified period, economic and all other disparities between the Provinces and between different areas in a Province are removed by the adoption of statutory and other measures.

Preamble of the Constitution

21. The Constitution shall contain, in its preamble, an affirmation that—

(*a*) The Muslims of Pakistan shall be enabled, individually and collectively, to order their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah; and

(*b*) the minorities shall be enabled to profess and practise their religions freely and to enjoy all rights, privileges and protection due to them as citizens of Pakistan.

Directive Principles

22. The Constitution shall set out directive principles of State policy by which the State shall be guided in the matter of—

(*a*) Promoting Islamic way of life;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(*b*) Observance of Islamic moral standards;

(*c*) Providing facilities for the teaching of Holy Quran and Islamiat to the Muslims of Pakistan; and

(*d*) Enjoining that no law repugnant to the teachings and requirements of Islam, as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, is made.

National and Provincial Assemblies to be the first Legislatures

23. The Constitution shall provide that—

(*a*) The National Assembly, constituted under this Order, shall:-

(i) be the first Legislature of Federation for the full term if the Legislature of the Federation consists of one House, and

(ii) be the first Lower House of the Legislature of the Federation for the full term if the Legislature of the Federation consists of two Houses.

(*b*) The Provincial Assemblies elected in accordance with this Order shall be the First Legislatures of the respective Provinces for the full term.

Time for framing the Constitution

24. The National Assembly shall frame the Constitution in the form of a Bill to be called the Constitution Bill within a period of one hundred and twenty days from the date of its first meeting, and on its failure to do so shall stand dissolved.

Authentication of Constitution

25. The Constitution Bill, as passed by the National Assembly, shall be presented to the President for authentication. The National Assembly shall stand dissolved in the event that authentication is refused.

Purpose for which Assembly may meet

26. (*a*) Save as provided in this Order for the purpose of framing a Constitution for Pakistan, the National Assembly shall not meet in that capacity, until the Constitution Bill passed by that Assembly and authenticated by the President, has come into force.

(*b*) A Provincial Assembly shall not be summoned to meet until after the Constitution Bill passed by the National Assembly has been authenticated by the President, and has come into force.

Interpretation and Amendment of Order, etc.

27. (*a*) Any question or doubt as to the interpretation of any provision of this Order shall be resolved by a decision of the President, and such decision shall be final and not liable to be questioned in any Court.

(*b*) The President, and not the National Assembly, shall have the power to make any amendment in this Order.

SCHEDULE I—Art. 4 (2)

National Assembly of Pakistan

	General	Women
East Pakistan	162	7
The Punjab	82	3
Sind	27	1
Baluchistan	4	1
The North-West Frontier Province	18	1
Centrally Administered Tribal Areas	7	...
Total	300	13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SCHEDULE II — Art. 5 (1)

Provincial Assemblies

	General	Women
East Pakistan	300	10
The Punjab	180	6
Sind	60	2
Baluchistan	20	1
The North-West Frontier Province	40	2

SCHEDULE III — Art. 17 (2)

RULES OF PROCEDURE

Short Title

1. These rules may be called the National Assembly Rules of Procedure, 1970.

Definitions

2. In these rules unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(*a*) "Assembly" means the National Assembly of Pakistan;

(*b*) "Bill' means a Bill seeking to frame a Constitution for Pakistan;

(*c*) "Commissioner" means the Chief Election Commissioner appointed or deemed to be appointed under the Electoral Rolls Order, 1969 (P.O. No. 6 of 1969);

(*d*) "Committee" means a Committee, including a Select Committee, appointed by the Assembly;

(*e*) "Member in charge", in relation to a Bill, means the Member by whom the Bill has been introduced, and includes any other Member permitted by the Speaker to do in relation to the Bill anything which the Member in charge can do;

(*f*) "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Assembly;

(*g*) "Speaker" means the Speaker of the Assembly.

Function of the Assembly

3. (*a*) The function of the Assembly shall be to frame a Constitution for Pakistan.

(*b*) The Constitution shall be drawn up and passed by the Assembly in the form of a Bill.

Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker

4. (*a*) At the first meeting of the Assembly, the Commissioner shall, after the Members have taken the oath, call upon the Members to elect a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker.

(*b*) Any Member may propose another Member with his consent for election as Speaker or as Deputy Speaker by communicating to the Secretary in writing the name of Member he proposes.

(*c*) No Member shall propose more than one Member for election as Speaker or as Deputy Speaker.

(*d*) The Secretary shall read out separately the names of the Members nominated for election as Speaker and as Deputy Speaker.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(*e*) Immediately after the names have been read out by the Secretary, any Member who has been nominated for election may withdraw his candidature.

(*f*) Where, after withdrawals, if any, only one person is left as the candidate for election as Speaker or as Deputy Speaker, the Commissioner shall declare such candidate to have been elected as Speaker or, as the case may be, Deputy Speaker.

(*g*) Where there are more candidates than one for election as Speaker or as Deputy Speaker, the Secretary shall read out to the Assembly the names of such candidates, and the Assembly shall then proceed to elect the Speaker and Deputy Speaker by secret ballot which shall be held in such manner as the Commissioner may direct.

(*h*) Where there is equality of votes between two or more candidates and the addition of one vote for one such candidate would entitle him to be declared elected, the Commissioner shall forthwith draw a lot in respect of such candidates and the candidate on whom the lot falls shall be declared to have been elected as Speaker or, as the case may be, Deputy Speaker.

Speaker to preside over deliberations

5. (*a*) Deliberations of the National Assembly shall be presided over by the Speaker and, in his absence, by the Deputy Speaker and, in the absence of both the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker, by the person whose name is highest on the panel of Chairmen from amongst those present at the sitting.

(*b*) If at any time at a sitting of the Assembly neither the Speaker nor the Deputy Speaker nor any person on the Panel of Chairmen is present, the Secretary shall inform the Assembly of the fact and the Assembly shall, by a motion, elect one of its members present to preside.

Powers of the Speaker

6. (*a*) The Speaker may, subject to the provisions of this Order, adjourn a meeting of the Assembly and call a meeting of the Assembly after adjournment.

(*b*) The Speaker Shall:–

(i) call a meeeting of the Assembly to order,

(ii) preserve order and decorum and, in the case of disturbance or disorder in the galleries, may cause them to be cleared; and

(iii) decide all points of order,

(*c*) The Speaker shall have all powers necessary for the purposes of enforcing his decisions.

Panel of Chairmen

7. The Speaker shall nominate from amongst Members of the Assembly a panel of not more than four Chairmen and arrange their names in an order of precedence.

Power of the person presiding

8. The person presiding over a meeting of the Assembly shall have the same powers as the Speaker while presiding over such meeting; and all references in these rules to the Speaker as presiding officer shall be deemed to include a reference to such person.

Conduct of business in the Assembly

9. The business of the Assembly shall be brought before it by means of:–

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(*a*) A motion;

(*b*) Amendment to a motion or an amendment to an amendment; and

(*c*) Report of a Committee.

Time for meetings

10. The meeting of the Assembly shall commence at 9 a.m. unless otherwise resolved by the Assembly or directed by the Speaker.

Arrangement of business

11. (*a*) A list of business for the day shall be prepared by the Secretary and, after it has been approved by the Speaker, a copy thereof shall be supplied for the use of every Member before the commencement of the business of the day. The list thus prepared shall be called the "Orders of the Day".

(*b*) Save as otherwise provided in these rules, no business, not included in the Orders of the Day, shall be transacted on any day at any meeting without the leave of the Speaker.

(*c*) All business appointed for any day and not disposed of on that day shall stand over until the next working day, unless the Speaker otherwise directs.

Notice of motion

12. (*a*) Unless otherwise directed by the Speaker, notice of every motion, accompanied by a copy of the motion, shall be given not later than the day preceding the day on which the motion is to be moved.

(*b*) Every motion required by these rules shall be in writing addressed to the Secretary and signed by the Member giving notice and shall be left at the Notice Office of the Assembly.

(*c*) Notice left at the Notice Office when it is closed shall be treated as given on the next open day.

(*d*) Where notice of a motion has been given, the Secretary shall send a copy of the motion to the Members as soon as possible after notice has been received.

(*e*) No notice shall be required:–

(i) For a motion for adjournment of the consideration of the motion which is under discussion; or

(ii) For a motion for reference back to a Committee.

Disallowance and withdrawals of motions

13. (*a*) Unless permitted by the person presiding over the meeting, no motion which is subtantially the same as a question which the Assembly has decided in the affirmative or the negative shall be made.

(*b*) The Speaker may disallow any motion or any part thereof on the ground that it is frivolous or dilatory or that it is an infringement of these rules.

(*c*) The Speaker may allow any Member to withdraw a motion standing in his name.

Seating of Members

14. The Members shall sit in such order as the Speaker may direct.

Members to rise when speaking

15. A Member desiring to make any observation on any matter before the Assembly shall rise or, if unable to do so shall, otherwise intimate his desire to the Speaker and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shall only speak when called upon to do so by the Speaker and shall address the House standing except when permitted otherwise. If, at any time, the Speaker rises, the Member shall cease speaking and take his seat.

Time-limit for speeches

The Speaker may, if he thinks fit, prescribe a time-limit for speeches.

Language of the assembly

17. (*a*) The members shall address the Assembly in Urdu, Bengali or English, provided that the Speaker may permit any Member who cannot adequately express himself in any of these languages to address the Assembly in his mother-tongue.

(*b*) If a Member desires that an English translation of a summary of his speech delivered in a language other than Urdu, Bengali or English should be read to the Assembly, he shall supply a copy to the Speaker who may, in his discretion, allow it to be read to the Assembly. Such translation, if read to the Assembly, shall be included in the record of the proceedings of the Assembly.

(*c*) The official records of the proceedings of the Assembly shall be kept in Urdu, Bengali and English.

Decision on matters before Assembly

18. (*a*) A matter requiring the decision of the Assembly shall be brought forward by means of a question put by the Speaker.

(*b*) The Assembly shall decide how a decision relating to the Constitution Bill is to be taken, that is, whether by simple majority or by any other special procedure.

(*c*) Votes may be taken by voices or division and shall be taken by division if any Member so desires.

(*d*) The Speaker shall determine the method of taking votes by division.

(*e*) The result of a division shall be announced by the Speaker and shall not be challenged.

Amendments

19. (*a*) An amendment shall be relevant to the motion to which it is proposed.

(*b*) An amendment which has merely the effect of a negative vote on the original motion shall not be moved.

(*c*) Except as permitted by the Speaker—

(i) Notice of any amendment to a motion shall be given not later than the day preceding the day on which the motion is to be moved; and

(ii) Notice of any amendment to an amendment shall be given before the Assembly meets for the day on which the amendment is to be moved.

(*d*) The Speaker may disallow any amendment which he considers to be frivolous or dilatory.

(*e*) The Speaker may put amendments to the vote in any order he may choose.

Re-opening of Decisions of the Assembly

20. No matter, which has once been decided by the Assembly, shall be re-opened except with the consent of the Assembly.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Closure

21. Any time after a motion has been made, any Member may move "that the question be now put" and, unless it appears to the Speaker that the motion is an infringement of the right of reasonable debate, the Speaker shall put the motion "that the question be now put," and if the motion is accepted, no further discussion shall be permitted except for a reply by the Member who originally made the motion.

Irrelevance or repetition

22. The Speaker, after having called the attention of the Assembly to the conduct of a Member who persists in irrelevance or in tedious repetition, either of his own arguments or of the arguments used by other Members in debate, may direct him to discontinue his speech, and the Member shall thereupon resume his seat.

Limitations on Debate

23. The matter of every speech shall be strictly relevant to the matter before the Assembly. A Member while speaking shall not—

(*a*) Speak offensive and insulting words against the character or proceedings of the Assembly;

(*b*) Utter treasonable or seditious words; or

(*c*) Use his right of speech for the purpose of wilfully and persistently obstructing the business of the Assembly.

Members not to speak more than once

24. No Member shall speak more than once on a motion in the Assembly except in the exercise of a right of reply or except with the permission of the Speaker and that only for the purpose of making a personal explanation without introducing any new debatable matter.

Admission to the Assembly Chambers

25. The admission of persons other than Members to the Assembly Chamber and its galleries during the sittings of the Assembly shall be regulated in accordance with the orders of the Speaker.

Reports of the Proceedings of the Assembly

26. The Secretary shall cause full reports of the proceedings of the Assembly to be printed and supplied to all Members.

Motion for Leave to Introduce a Bill

27. (*a*) Any Member may move for leave to introduce a Bill after giving to the Secretary at least two clear days' notice of his intention to do so accompanied by a copy of the Bill.

(*b*) If a motion for leave to introduce a Bill is opposed, the Speaker, after permitting, if he thinks fit, a brief explanatory statement from the Member who moves and from the Member who opposes the motion, may without further debate put the question.

(*c*) If the leave to introduce the Bill is granted, the Member may introduce the Bill.

Publication after Introduction

28. As soon as may be after it has been introduced, a Bill shall be published in the official Gazette.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Motions after Introduction

29. When a Bill is introduced or on some subsequent occasion, the Member in charge may make one of the following motions in regard to his Bill, namely:–

(*a*) That it be taken into consideration by the Assembly either at once or at some future day to be then specified; or

(*b*) That it be referred to a Select Committee:

Provided that no such motion shall be made until after copies of the Bill have been made available for the use of Members, and that any member may object to any such motion being made unless copies of the Bill have been so made available for three days before the day on which the motion is made; and such objection shall prevail unless the Speaker, in the exercise of his power to suspend this rule, allows the motion to be made.

Discussion of Principle of Bills

30. (*a*) On the day on which any such motion is made, or on any subsequent day to which the discussion thereof is postponed, the principle of the Bill and its general provisions may be discussed, but the details of the Bill must not be discussed further than is necessary to explain its principle.

(*b*) At this stage, no amendments to the Bill may be moved but if the Member in charge moves that his Bill be taken into consideration, any Member may move as an amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

Persons by whom Motions in respect of Bills may be made

31. Unless the Speaker permits any other Member to act as the Member in charge, no motion that a Bill be taken into consideration or be passed shall be made by any Member other than the Member in charge; and no motion that a Bill be referred to a Select Committee shall be made by any Member other than the Member in charge except by way of amendment to a motion made by the Member in charge.

Procedure after Presentation of Report

32. (*a*) After the presentation of the report of the Select Committee on a Bill, the Member in charge may move—

(i) That the Bill as reported by the Select Committee be taken into consideration:

Provided that any Member may object to its being so taken into consideration if a copy of the report has not been made available for the use of Members and such objection shall prevail unless the Speaker allows the report to be taken into consideration; or

(ii) That the Bill as reported by the Select Committee be recommitted either—

(*a*) Without limitation; or

(*b*) With respect to particular clauses or amendments only; or

(*c*) With instructions to the Select Committee to make some particular or an additional provision in the Bill.

(*b*) If the Member in charge moves that the Bill be taken into consideration, any Member may move as an amendment that the Bill be recommitted.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Proposal of Amendments

33. (*a*) When a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration has been carried any Member may propose an amendment of the Bill.

(*b*) A Member who intends to propose an amendment shall give notice thereof to the Secretary together with a copy of the amendment.

(*c*) The Secretary shall cause a copy of the amendment to be made available for the use of every Member.

Amendments Procedure

34. Amendments shall ordinarily be considered in the order of the clauses of the Bill to which they respectively relate, and in respect of any such clause a motion shall be deemed to have been made "that his clause (or, as the case may be, that this clause, as amended) stand part of the Bill".

Submission of Bills Clause by Clause

35. When a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration has been carried, it shall be in the discretion of the Speaker to submit the Bill or any part of the Bill to the Assembly clause by clause and when he does so, the Speaker shall call each clause separately and when the amendments relating to it have been dealt with shall put the question "That his clause (or, as the case may be, that this clause, as amended) stand part of the Bill".

Passing of Bills

36. (*a*) When a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration has been carried and no amendment of the Bill is made, the Member in charge may at once move that the Bill be passed.

(*b*) If any amendment of the Bill is made, any Member may object to any motion being made, on the same day, that the Bill be passed, and such objection shall prevail, unless the Speaker allows the motion to be made.

(*c*) Where the objection prevails, a motion that the Bill be passed may be brought forward on any future day.

(*d*) No amendment which is neither formal nor consequential upon an amendment made after the Bill was taken into consideration shall be moved to a motion that the Bill be passed.

Withdrawal of Bills

37. The Member in charge may at any stage move for leave to withdraw the Bill introduced by him; and, if such leave is granted, no further motion may be made with reference to the Bill.

Lapse of Bills

38. When a Bill is passed, all other Bills pending before the Assembly shall lapse.

Authentication]

39. When the Constitutional Bill is passed by the Assembly the Secretary shall submit to the President for authentication a copy thereof signed by the Speaker.

Committees of the Assembly

40. (*a*) The Assembly may, besides a Select Committee constituted in relation to a Bill, appoint as many Committees and allocate to each such Committee such business as it may think fit.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(*b*) The members of the Committee including the Chairman shall be appointed by the Assembly at the time it appoints the Committee.

(*c*) A casual vacancy in a Committee shall be filled as soon as possible after it occurs by nomination by the Speaker.

(*d*) If the Chairman is not present at any meeting of the Committee, the members of the Committee shall elect one of their members to be the Chairman.

(*e*) In the case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

Power of any Committee to act notwithstanding Vacancy

41. (*a*) Subject to the requirement of a quorum prescribed by or under these rules a Committee appointed by the Assembly shall have power to act notwithstanding any vacancy in the membership thereof.

(*b*) A Committee may hear expert evidence and representatives of special interests who may desire to place their views before it.

Quorum of the Committee

42. (*a*) At the time of the appointment of the Members of a Committee, the number of Members whose presence shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for a meeting of the Committee, and the time within which the Committee shall make its report, shall be fixed by the Assembly.

(*b*) If at the time fixed for any meeting of the Select Committee, or if at any time during any such meeting, the quorum is not present, the Chairman of the Committee shall either suspend the meeting until a quorum is present or adjourn the meeting to some future day.

(*c*) Where the Committee has been adjourned in pursuance of sub-rule (*b*) on two successive dates fixed for its meeting, the Chairman shall report the fact to the Assembly.

Voting in Committees

43. (*a*) All questions at a meeting of a Committee shall be determined by a majority of the Members present and voting.

(*b*) The Chairman shall not vote except in the event of equality of votes.

Reports of the Committees

44. (*a*) A Committee shall make a report relating to the business allocated to it or in the case of a Select Committee on the Bill referred to it.

(*b*) If any Member of a Committee desires to record a minute of dissent on any point he must sign the report stating that he does so subject to his minute of dissent, and must at the same time hand in his minute.

Presentation of Report

45. (*a*) The report of a Committee shall be presented to the Assembly by the Chairman.

(*b*) The Secretary shall cause every report of a Committee, together with the views of the minority, if any, to be printed in English and a copy thereof made available for the use of every member of the Assembly. The report, with the views of the minority, if any, shall be published in the official Gazette and in the case of the report of a Select Committee, it shall be published together with the Bill as settled in the Committee.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Agenda and Notice of the Meetings of Committees

46. (*a*) The time-table of business of a Committee and the agenda for each meeting of the Committee shall be determined by the Chairman of the Committee.

(*b*) Notice of all meetings of a Committee shall be sent to the Members of the Committee.

Suspension of Rules

47. Whenever any inconsistency or difficulty arises in the application of these rules, any Member may, with the consent of the Speaker, move that any rule may be suspended in its application to a particular motion before the Assembly, and if the motion is carried, the rule in question shall stand suspended.

Removal of Difficulties

48. Where in the opinion of the Speaker any difficulty is likely to arise in carrying out the provisions of these rules, or in respect of any matter for which no provision or no sufficient provision exists in these rules, the Speaker may make such rules as he thinks fit, not inconsistent with rules, for the purpose of removing the difficulty.

NO INTENTION TO CURB PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY

Dacca, April 4: President Yahya Khan declared here today that he had no intention whatsoever of curbing the sovereignty of the people, or the representatives of the people.

Talking to newsmen at Dacca Airport on arrival here from Rawalpindi, the President said his desire was to guide the nation towards democracy.

The President made the declaration when his attention was drawn towards demands made by certain political leader for amendment to Sections 25 and 27 of the Legal Framework Order.

President Yahya, however, reminded that it was not a normal time as there was Martial Law in the country.

This, he said, was not of his choosing under such peculiar condition that "we are going through today".

The President further said: I don't think there is any curb on anybody's sovereignty. My desire is to lead the nation, to guide the nation, towards democracy. My action so far does not conflict with what I have been telling the people about sovereignty.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—April 5, 1970)

AUTHENTICATION IS ONLY PROCEDURAL—PRESIDENT REAFFIRMS PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY

Dacca, April 10: The President, Gen. A. M. Yahya Khan, declared here today that the vast majority of the people had hailed the legal framework given by him, and that a few others "who are worried about one or two things" have also accepted 99 per cent of it.

The President, who was talking to newsmen at the airport before his departure for Rawalpindi this afternoon, said that the legal framework given by him reflected the wish of the sovereign people. He said during the last one year he had taken some major

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

decisions based on the wish of the people, with one cherished goal to lead the nation back to democracy.

The President underlined the need for having mutual faith because it was trust and faith that run the human society. No amount of legal terminology or legal language could replace the mutual trust that human beings must have in each other, the President said. It was through mutual trust, faith, confidence and discussions that a sensible consitution could be framed—a constitution that "the whole nation will accept as workable and viable".

The President, replying to a question, said there were one or two instances of misgivings relating to the clause on authentication and he had explained this part to the leaders whom he met during his stay here. The Pesident pointed out that the provision of authentication of a Bill or a constitution by the President or the Head of the State was not a new thing introduced by him. It was prevalent throughout the world.

He stated in clear and categorical terms that if the constitution was made according to the broad principles laid down in the framework then there was no reason why he should not authenticate it. It was unthinkable that he would refuse authentication just for the sake of refusing it. After all he had taken during the last one year a number of steps for moving the nation towards democracy. The President said if the nation has faith and trust in him then they must realise that "I am not doing all this for fun".

The President however said if the Assembly produced a constitution which was not according to the broad principles laid down by him in the Legal Framework Order then he, as the Head of State, had the right to send it back to the Assembly for its re-consideration. The President was an integral part of the constitution and the constitution making body, he pointed out.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—April 11, 1970)

AWAMI LEAGUE MANIFESTO

No greater challenge has faced a people than that which faces the people of Pakistan as we enter into the decade of the seventies. The great hopes and expectations that the advent of independence and the creation of Pakistan had enkindled in the hearts and minds of our people have given a way to a sense of frustration, indeed to deep sense of betrayal. The promise that independence held forth was the promise of a new society, of the establishment of a real living democracy in which people would live in freedom and in which justice and equality would prevail.

This promise has yet to be fulfilled. Democracy itself was not allowed to take root and power which rightfully belonged to the people was usurped, by one coterie after another. These coteries engaged themselves in the naked pursuit of their own narrow interests, leading to the consolidation of political power and the concentration of wealth in their hands, while the forgotten millions of Pakistan were reduced to mere objects of exploitation. Thus, independence instead of bringing freedom to the people brought a greater servitude.

The physical handicaps which our society faced were formidable. Our resources in relation to our rapidly growing population were not abundant. The two wings of the country were separated by over a thousand miles. The task of creating a just society was, therefore, intrinsically difficult. For 22 long years this task has hardly been recognised. Instead we have witnessed the selfish pursuit of power and wealth by the privileged few.

Today, therefore, the task has assumed critical proportions. The toiling masses, both in the countryside and in the cities, have awakened and cannot tolerate the deprivation of their rights. A nation of 120 million people cannot reconcile itself to the rule by a privileged coterie. They are determined to wrest away from that coterie the power

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that belongs to them. The people of Pakistan have revolted against the perpetuation of injustice between man and man, between region and region.

The concentration of wealth in the hands of the privileged few and the total neglect of the needs of the rest of the population have created pressures for immediate and radical change in the structure of the economic system. The glaring disparities between the two wings of Pakistan have continued to widen at an alarming pace. As a result, the entire economy of East Pakistan is faced with destruction. This creates an irresistble pressure for radical change in the constitutional structure whereby full regional autonomy, including the powers of management of the economy, would be granted to the regions, in order to enable their governments to undertake on an emergency basis the task of saving the regional economies from ruination.

Our people are our greatest resources. Radical institutional and structural changes have to be made in our society in order to make it possible for the people actively and collectively to involve themselves in the common venture of rebuilding of our society on the foundation of justice. What is required, therefore, is a social revolution to be wrought through the democratic process. To bring it about we need a new constitutional, political, economic and social structure.

This is the great challenge which faces us. It is a challenge we must accept, for it involves our very survival.

We must break loose from the institutional framework which is a legacy from colonial times. The institutions needed for promoting rapid economic and social change are to be designed to meet the urgent needs of our society and its people.

The very creation of the Awami League by the late Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy was an early demonstration of the people's determination to vindicate their rights through democratic struggle. This struggle has continued unabated till this day. Great sacrifices have been made. In the face of onslaught after onslaught from the ruling group, countless lives and families have been destroyed. Indeed the late Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy himself is a martyr to the cause of the people. Thousands have laid down their lives so that the flame of freedom may not be extinguished in our country. Countless persons have suffered deprivation of liberty through long terms of detention, and have sacrificed their family, property and careers in order to sustain this struggle.

It is in the background of this tradition of relentless and determined people's struggle, that the Awami League resolves to accept the challenge which faces us today. The courage and determination required to accept this challenge is born of our faith in our nation, of the faith in our people and above all faith in the Almighty.

It is, therefore, to bring about a revolution through the democratic process and thereby to replace the present structure of injustice by a new constitutional, political economic and social order in which justice between region and region, and between man and man, shall prevail, that the manifesto of the party has been drawn up. The manifesto presents in outline a comprehensive strategy for securing justice for each of the regions of Pakistan and for every citizen of the country.

BASIC FEATURES OF THE COSTITUTION

Real Living Democracy

A real living democracy shall be established in which people shall live in freedom and with dignity, and in which justice and equality shall prevail.

Islam

Islam is the deeply cherished faith of the overwhelming majority of the people. Awami League affirms that a clear guarantee shall be embodied in the Constitution to the effect that no law repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and Sunnah shall be enacted or enforced in Pakistan. The sanctity of the religious institutions shall be constitutionally guaranteed. Adequate provisions shall be made for extending religious education at all levels.

Minorities

Minorities shall enjoy complete equality before the law and equal protection of the law. They shall enjoy the full rights of citizenship. Their right to profess, practise and propagate their respective religions and their right to establish and manage their religious institutions and to impart religious education to the members of their faith shall be constitutionally guaranteed. No person shall be compelled to pay a tax to propagate any religion other than his own. No person shall be required to receive instruction or to take part in any religious worship or ceremony, if such instruction, worship and ceremony relates to a religion other than his own.

State's Responsibility to Ensure Basic Necessities of Life

The Constitution shall acknowledge a fundamental responsibility on the part of the State to ensure that every citizen is provided with the basic necessities of life including food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care and the opportunity of employment at reasonable wages.

Equality before the Law

Every citizen shall constitutionally be guaranteed equality before law and equal protection of the law. To ensure that this gurantee is effective, it shall be the State's responsibility to take measures to enforce that every citizen is provided with the requisite legal aid and assistance necessary to secure his rights. The Jirga system shall be abolished and all discriminatory tribal laws shall be repealed.

The Awami League reaffirms its faith in the fundamental dignity of the human person and the principle of equality of all citizens, irrespective of caste, colour, religion, linguistic or ethnic origin and looks upon all citizens as full citizens in all respects of a democratic society.

Fundamental Rights and Freedoms

The fundamental rights and freedoms shall be constitutionally guaranteed including freedom of speech and expression, freedom of the press, freedom of convening public meetings, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, protection against retrospective punishment and above all against arbitrary arrest or detention. Untouchability, slavery and forced labour shall be prohibited. Human rights as enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights shall be guaranteed to every citizen.

Further it shall be constitutionally provided that fundamental rights cannot be curtailed except during a period of actual hostilities during a war. No such curtailment would be permitted on the pretext of "national emergency".

Independence of the Judiciary

The independence of the judiciary shall be constitutionally guaranteed. Complete separation of judiciary from the executive shall also be constitutionally guaranteed. Constitutional provisions shall be made to ensure that only those persons are appointed as members of the judiciary, who possess the integrity, and the intellectual and moral excellence required to uphold and maintain the independence of the judiciary.

Federal Provisions

Pakistan shall be a Federation granting full autonomy on the basis of the six-point formula to each of the Federating Units:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Point No. 1

The character of the Government shall be Federal and Parliamentary, in which the election to the Federal Legislature and to the Legislatures of the Federating Units shall be direct and on the basis of universal adult franchise. The representation in the Federal Legislature shall be on the basis of population.

Point No. 2

The Federal Government shall be responsible only for defence and foreign affairs and, subject to the conditions provided in (3) below, currency.

Point No. 3

There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing for each region, or in the alternative a single currency, subject to the establishment of a Federal Reserve System in which there will be regional Federal Reserve Banks which shall devise measures to prevent the transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to another.

Point No. 4

Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the Federating Units. The Federal Government shall be provided with requisite revenue resources for meeting the requirements of defence and foreign affairs, which revenue resources would be automatically appropriable by the Federal Government in the manner provided and on the basis of the ratio to be determined by the procedure laid down in the Constitution. Such Constitutional provisions would ensure that the Federal Government's revenue requirements are met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over the fiscal policy by the Governments of the Federating Units.

Point No. 5

Constitutional provisions shall be made to enable separate accounts to be maintained of the foreign exchange earnings of each of the Federating Units, under the control of the respective Governments of the Federating Units. The foreign exchange requirements of the Federal Government shall be met by the Governments of the Federating Units on the basis of a ratio to be determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. The regional Governments shall have power under the Constitution to negotiate foreign trade and aid within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be the responsibility of the Federal Government.

Point No. 6

The Government of the Federating Units shall be empowered to maintain a militia or a para-military force in order to contribute effectively towards national security.

Dissolution of One Unit

Consequent upon the dissolution of One Unit, matters of common concern, if any, shall be left to be dealt with in such manner as shall be determined by reference to the just aspirations of the people of the different Federating Units of West Pakistan.

Representation in Federal Government

Constitutional provisions shall be made to ensure that just representation of persons from all parts of Pakistan are secured on the basis of population in all branches of the Federal Government and in all Federal Services. Existing under-representation shall be remedied within the shortest possible time by accelerated recruitment from the under-represented areas, in particular East Pakistan. An initial corrective measure would be to shift the Naval Headquarters and training establishments at present situated in Karachi to Chittagong.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Democratic Administration

The existing administrative machinery was designed to discharge the functions of a colonial government. It needs to be radically re-structured in order to serve the needs of a dynamic, democratic society. The essential features of the new adminstrative arrangements which shall be reflected in the Constitution are:

Abolition of present all-Pakistan and Central Superior Services;

Creation of Federal Services, for the purpose of administering federal subjects of foreign affairs and defence to which recruitment shall be made from all parts of Pakistan on the basis of population;

Creation of specialised professional cadres recruited and controlled by the governments of the federating units; such cadres shall be subject to a new framework of service rules, which shall provide for greater mobility based upon performance and evaluation of merit; Entrustment of the district administration to elected councils assisted by specialised staff;

Adopting measures for strengthening local government institutions including reducing the size of the basic administrative unit by converting sub-divisions into districts;

Adoption of effective measures for supervision and control of administrative action in order to eliminate corruption, nepotism and arbitrariness in the discharge of administration.

II. Fundamentals of the Economic Programme

The basic aim of this economic programme is the creation of a just and egalitarian society free from exploitation. The vision is that of a socialist economic order in which economic injustice will be removed, rapid economic growth will be promoted and provision shall be made for the just distribution of the fruits of such growth among all sections of the people and the different regions of the country.

In a society, where the majority of its people are steeped in the depths of poverty and are denied the basic necessity of life, rapid economic growth is an imperative necessity. Given the burgeoning growth of population and the scarcity of the basic resources in our society, the attainment of rapid economic growth involves a relentless struggle and the making of enormous sacrifices. Our task is to bring about a social and economic revolution in our country within a democratic framework.

To promise rapid economic growth and the establishment of a just society without such struggle and such sacrifices would be to make a false promise. In commiting ourselves to the goal of rapid economic growth we are in fact calling upon our people to engage in a relentless struggle and to be prepared to make every sacrifice.

We believe, however, that such a call to the people can be made only if we can assure them that both the burden of sacrifices and the fruits of economic growth are equitably shared by all sections of the people and by different regions of the country. In the past, it was the poorer people and the poorer regions who were made to bear the burden of the sacrifices while the benefits of economic growth were reaped by a privileged few. We totally reject this unjust approach to economic growth.

At the root of social inequalities lie a defective institutional framework which makes private enterprise the sole vehicle of economic growth. The pursuit of private profit leads inevitably to concentration of wealth in a few hands and to the control of the key sectors of the economy by powerful private coteries. This makes it impossible for the goal of social justice and equality to be realised. It will therefore be necessary to alter the institutional framework of the economy by measures of nationalisation and the extension of the public sector, by the development of co-operative enterprises and by the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

evolution of new institutional arrangements, such as worker's participation in the equity and management of industrial enterprises.

Specific policy measures designed to lay the foundations of such a new economic order are:—

Public Sector and Nationalisation

Concentration of wealth and control of the key sectors of the economy by a privileged coterie cannot be prevented by progressive taxation and regulatory measures alone. In order effectively to meet these problems, it is necessary to nationalise the key sectors of the economy and to ensure that future development in key areas is in the public sector. Such a programme of nationalisation is a pre-condition of achieving economic growth in conformity with the goal of social justice.

The nationalisation programme must, however, be pursued on the basis of a coherent strategy. Decisions with regard to the extent, the pace and the form of nationalisation must be taken keeping in view of administrative capacities, personnel requirements, and above all the over-riding demands of efficiency. Being fully aware that unless proper institutional arrangements are devised, nationalised undertakings can suffer from inefficiency due to deficiency in pricing policy and bureaucratic procedures and control, it is clearly recognised that new institutional arrangements shall have to be designed for the operation of nationalised undertakings, staffed by the best available professional personnel so that the highest standards of management and efficiency can be attained.

Keeping in view the above considerations, the list of priorities for nationalisation is given below:—

1. Banking;
2. Insurance;
3. Heavy Industries, including Iron and Steel, Mining, Machine tools, Heavy Engineering, Petrochemicals, Fertiliser, Cement, Fuel and Power.
4. Foreign Trade, in particular export and import of major commodities including, in addition to jute and cotton mentioned below, iron and steel products, coal, foodgrains, cement and fertiliser;
5. Jute Trade;
6. Cotton Trade;
7. Arterial, inter-wing and international transport, including shipping;
8. Other key industries as would be determined by the planning agency.

Progressive Taxation

The present tax structure reflects the same bias towards the privileged few which has been characteristic of the entire economy and is one of the most regressive in the world. The tax burden on the upper income groups is one of the lowest by international standards. The demands of social justice require a radical alteration in the tax structure in order to ensure that a higher proportion of tax resources is realised from direct taxes, than from indirect ones, the burden of which is passed on the common man. This will involve the introduction of truly progressive system of income-tax and the realisation of substantial taxes on capital gains, profits, wealth, gifts and inheritance. Further, the existing system of deductions, exemptions and tax holidays have further accentuated social inequalities and have contributed to the concentration of wealth. These shall have to be comprehensively reviewed and all such deductions, exemptions and tax holidays shall be eliminated except to the extent that they are consistent with the social goals outlined above.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Inter-regional and Intra-regional Disparity

Inter-regional disparity between East and West Pakistan has widened at an alarming pace ever the last twenty-two years, induced by the steady transfer of resources from East to West Pakistan, and the utilisation of the bulk of foreign exchange and foreign aid in the Western wing. Intra-regional disparities exist in both wings of Pakistan. Justice demands that substantial resource transfers should be made from more developed areas to less developed areas of Pakistan and policies should be adopted by the Governments of each of the Federating Units aimed at reducing, and ultimately eliminating, inter-regional and intra-regional economic disparities.

Provision of Basic Necessities

In pursuance of the fundamental responsibility of the State to ensure that the basic necessities of life are available to the people, immediate arrangements shall be made by means of building up massive stocks, establishing distribution and storage arrangements and extending subsidies, to ensure a constant supply of basic commodities at reasonable prices. The principal commodities, among others, which shall be brought under this system in the first instance are: rice, wheat, salt, kerosene, edible oil and coarse cotton cloth.

Monopolies and Cartels

Monopolies and cartels are fundamentally inimical to the social goals of a just and egalitarian society and hence the structural changes in the economy which are envisaged would ensure the total elimination of monopolies and cartels from the economic system.

Restriction of luxury consumption

In pursuance of the basic policy of the equitable sharing of the sacrifices necessary for rapid economic growth, drastic restrictions must be introduced on the consumption of luxuries. It is unjust to call upon the toiling masses to make sacrifices while the privileged few are allowed to indulge in the conspicuous consumption of luxuries. Specific measures to restrict luxury consumption shall include:

(*a*) Total ban on the import of luxury items;

(*b*) Drastic restrictions on the domestic production of luxury goods;

(*c*) Drastic restrictions on the construction of ostentatious buildings until the basic need for shelter for the masses remains unprovided for.

Wage structure

The wage and salaries structure shall be revised in order to attain a just and equitable distribution of income among the different sections of the people. This will involve raising wages and salaries at the lower scale and reducing them substantially at the upper scale so as progressively to reduce the gap between the lowest and highest salaries.

The price stabilisation measures proposed above are designed to maintain and improve the real rather than merely the money wages of wage-earners, who are seriously affected by the impact of spiralling inflation.

Industry

The past policies relating to industrial development have shown scant regard for the fulfilment of social needs. The basic goals of industrialisation in our society must be (*a*) creating an industrial base capable of meeting our basic requirements

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of capital and consumer goods; (*b*) reducing the precarious dependence for basic requirements upon external sources; and (*c*) creating employment.

Past policies not only failed to meet these goals, but resulted in vast wastage of scarce resources, including foreign exchange and foreign aid. The new strategy of industrialisation designed to promote the basic social goals is outlined below.

HEAVY AND LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIES

Nationalised Sector

The strategy of nationalisation in respect of heavy and large-scale industries shall be as outlined above.

Non-nationalised Sector

Such large-scale industries as are not nationalised shall be subject to the discipline imposed by the regulatory and planning agencies.

Workers' Participation in Equity Capital and Management

Government shall progressively acquire shares in the equity capital of such industries as are not immediately brought under public ownership. The equity contributed by the Government shall be owned collectively by the workers of that enterprise, who shall be entitled to the profits accruing to such shares. Workers shall not only participate in the equity capital but also in the management of the enterprise.

Medium Scale Industries

The Government shall encourage and provide the requisite incentives for the promotion of medium-scale industries in the private sector. These industries shall, however, be subject to the discipline imposed by the regulatory and planning agencies.

Small-scale and Cottage Industries

Small-scale and cottage industries have a vital role to play in our economy. The Government shall provide encouragement and assistance for the development of small-scale and cottage industries. Support to the cottage industries shall include ensuring regular supply of raw materials, such as yarn at reasonable price to hand-loom weavers, and the provision of extensive credit and marketing facilities.

The highest priority shall be accorded to a programme for the establishment of small-scale industries. These shall be so developed as to be complementary to the large-scale industries. Small-scale industries shall be developed through co-operatives to the maximum extent possible.

Agricultural processing industries, such as rice and flour mills, oil mills, sugar mills and the like shall be established and managed to the maximum extent possible by agricultural co-operatives.

Measures shall be taken to ensure the dispersal of small-scale enterprises throughout the country, extending into the depths of the rural areas. This is necessary in order to enable the rural masses to participate in the benefits of industrialisation and also to relieve overcrowding and congestion in the cities.

Agriculture and the Rural Masses

Since the rural masses constitute the bulk of our population no plan to revolutionise our economy can be meaningful unless it accords the highest priority to agriculture and the condition of the rural masses. While poverty pervades our entire society, there exists today a significant disparity between the urban and rural

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

standards of living. While this has historical roots, disparity has widened in the recent past due to the discriminatory policies of the Government, which resulted in a large transfer of resources from poor peasants to rich capitalists. The Awami League pledges to put an immediate end to such exploitation of our rural masses. In order to do this, a far-reaching revolution in the agricultural sector is necessary. A pre-condition for such a revolution is a radical change in the system of land utilisation and creation of new institutions in the form of multi-purpose co-operatives.

Great sacrifices are required of our rural masses but at the same time it must be recognised that because of conditions created by past exploitation, regeneration of our agriculture will require massive Government support in the form of provision of vital inputs ranging from fertiliser and improved seeds to tube-wells, power-pumps and pesticides. The Awami League pledges to provide the full measures of support required to bring about a revolutionary change in our agriculture.

Abolition of Jagirdari, Zamindari, Sardari and fixing of ceiling

The changes in the system of land utilisation which are envisaged are: (*a*) total abolition of the Jagirdari, Zamindari and Sardari system prevalent in West Pakistan; (*b*) reorientation of the land system to serve the best interests of the actual tillers of land; (*c*) setting a ceiling upon land-holdings and redistribution of land which exceeds such ceiling to landless cultivators. This ceiling shall be estimated of each of the Federaling unit having regard to the local condition or needs of the people; (*d*) settlement of government *khas* lands with landless cultivators.

Multipurpose Agricultural Co-operatives

A further precondition for the agricultural revolution is the modernisation of agriculture. This can only be effected if the obstacles presented by fragmentation and sub-division can be overcome. While every effort shall be made to bring about consolidation of holdings, joint utilisation of land by grouping plots held by individual tillers under co-operatives provides an immediate solution.

A massive programme for the establishment of a network of multi-purpose co-operatives shall be accorded the highest priority. There shall immediately be established an organisational nucleus at each thana for this purpose. The Government shall ensure participation in such co-operatives by funnelling massive support to the agricultural sector only through such co-operatives. This support would be in the form of supply of such vital inputs as irrigation, drainage, embankments, deep tube-wells, power-pumps, improved seeds, fertiliser, agricultural implements and machinery, pesticides, credit and instruction in modern agricultural techinque.

Land Revenue

The burden of land revenue bears heavily upon our present population. As a measure of immediate relief, all holdings of up to 25 bighas (8-1/3 acres) throughout Pakistan shall be exempt from the payment of land revenue and arrears in respect of such plots shall be written off. The ultimate aim is the total abolition of the present system of land revenue. The land records system shall be simplified and improved.

Jute

Jute, being one of the principal cash crops and foreign exchange earners, needs special attention. Jute growers have suffered due to the existence of parasitic middle-man, unscrupulous export traders and mill-purchasing agents, as also by the manipulation of the exchange rate to benefit the jute manufacturing capitalists at the cost of the jute growers. The jute trade including its domestic purchase and sales, as well as its export, shall be nationalised. The object of such nationalisation is the elimination of such parasitic middle-man and the exploitation of jute

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

growers. The rate of exchange for raw jute shall not be permitted to remain discriminatory against the jute growers. Through such measures, it shall be possible to ensure a minimum price for raw jute considerably higher than the present price. High priority must be accorded by the Government to jute research both to increase quality and yield per acre of jute, as also to develop new uses for it. There has been criminal neglect of jute research and the present system of improvised and partial regulation of the jute trade and industry has been ruinous. Measures have to be taken on an emergency basis to implement the comprehensive scheme aimed at improving the quality and yield per acre of jute, maximising the price received by jute-growers consistently with the aim of maximising the contribution of jute to our economy.

Cotton

Cotton is another principal cash crop which must be singled out for special attention. By nationalisation of the cotton trade and increased emphasis on research and improvement in the cultivation of cotton, the contribution of this major cash crop to our economy should be maximised.

Tea

The state of our tea industry is manned by a high degree of inefficiency. Our average yield is 12 maunds per acre as against yields in the region of 35 maunds per acre under similar conditions in other countries. Hardly any attention has been paid to improve the quality of seeds. With effective regulation and adoption of measures for soil testing and better use of fertilisers and pesticides, the average yield can be rapidly increased. Failure to achieve production targets should be visited with penal action including cancellation of leases. The Tea Board should be staffed by personnel, possessing specialised knowledge about tea, so that its powers can be effectively exercised. The high degree of instability in tea prices needs to be corrected. If the existing marketing units do not subject themselves to discipline, a Tea Marketing Board should be established.

Sugarcane and Tobacco

The growth potential in respect of both these crops is substantial. Independent Boards shall be established to implement comprehensive schemes for effecting improvements in quality and yield, as also to ensure a stable and fair price to growers. Government support shall be extended in the form of improved seeds, fertiliser and credit.

Fruit Cultivation, Plantations and Orchards

Large-scale fruit cultivation can make a substantial contribution to our economy. Schemes for development of fruit cultivation and plantations through co-operatives shall be launched so that scientific cultivation, improvement in quality and yield, and the benefits of a large-scale enterprise may be achieved.

Forests and Forest Products

The indiscriminate deforestation which is taking place is depleting this valuable natural resource. Forest surveys must be immediately undertaken and conservation measures adopted. Aforestation schemes shall be immediately implemented and a much greater degree of planning shall be introduced in respect of the utilisation of the resource so as to avoid the harmful results of indiscriminate exploitation of forests.

Flood Control

This is a vital aspect of any strategy to rebuild the agriculture of East Pakistan since incalculable damage is done each year by the recurrence of floods.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A comprehensive programme of flood control and water management is therefore accorded the highest priority in the Awami League's programme for restructuring the economy. The Awami League has all along recognised the vital importance of flood control as is evident from the fact that the first serious effort in this direction was made during the short period when the Awami League formed the government during which period the Krug Mission was invited to Pakistan to present a scheme of flood control. Neither the scheme of the Krug Mission, nor the many schemes which have since been evolved, have received the serious attention of successive Governments. The problem today has become acutely aggravated. The Awami League is committed to implement, on an emergency basis, a comprehensive plan for flood control.

Water-logging and Salinity

All necessary measures for meeting the problem of water-logging and salinity shall be implemented at an accelerated pace in order to save the agriculture of West Pakistan from these natural scourges. All land affected by water-logging and salinity shall be re-claimed within the shortest possible time.

Power

The importance of power in our strategy of economic growth cannot be over-emphasised. There is no limit to the uses to which power can be put to accelerate the pace of economic and social development. The Awami League commits iself to a programme of extensive rural electrification, since this would not only yield enormous economic benefits but would also make it possible to achieve such vital goals as establishment of small-scale industries, eradication of illiteracy, imparting of education in modern agricultural technique and would bring to our villages one of the basic amenities of the twentieth century. A comprehensive system of transmission lines must be developed in order to implement the rural electrification programme.

Every source of power must be harnessed in order to maximize power generation capacity. The aim should be at least to attain a power generating capacity of 2,500 MGW in East Pakistan within 5 years. Similarly, power generation capacity in the different units of West Pakistan shall be increased to meet the requirements of the people. The Rooppur Nuclear power project shall be immediately implemented, as also the Jamalganj Coal Project. Natural gas shall be fully developed and utilised.

Natural Resources

There has been criminal neglect in the matter of scientific exploration and development of natural resources of Pakistan. No comprehensive hydrological or geological surveys have been conducted. Such surveys could yield valuable mineral and other resources. Such surveys must immediately be undertaken to enable the formulation of programmes for the effective utilisation of these resources.

River Training and Development

The vast network of rivers that exists particularly in East Pakistan, is a great natural resource, but like all natural resources will yield maximum benefit to society only through research and comprehensive planning. In the absence of such planning, problems such as erosion are acquiring serious dimensions. There has been criminal neglect in this field, which needs to be redressed by the immediate establishment of a high powered Rivers Research Institute which will initiate fundamental hydrological research and river training scheme, so that this vital natural resource can be made to serve the needs of our society.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fisheries

In a society where 70% of its population suffers from protein deficiency, the crucial importance of fisheries cannot be over-emphasised. A comprehensive plan for fisheries development, including marine fisheries, must be launched. This sector would not only yield additional export earnings but will provide vital protein requirements to our hungry millions. Important features of such a comprehensive plan include the establishment of a Fisheries Development Bank, the development of fish harbours, deep-sea fishing fleets, motorised inland fishing fleets, refrigerated storage and distribution facilities, implementation of scientific cultivation and development of fisheries. Fishermen's co-operatives managed by actual fishermen shall be given every encouragement and support to undertake schemes for fisheries' development.

Livestock, Poultry and Dairy Farming

The areas of livestock planning, poultry and dairy farming have also been greatly neglected. Extensive programmes aimed at the scientific development of livestock, poultry and dairy farming shall be launched in all parts of Pakistan.

Right of Workers

The rights of workers in accordance with all the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation shall be guaranteed. The right to form trade unions, the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike shall be guaranteed. All laws designed to curtail such basic rights of workers shall be repealed. The entire governmental machinery relating to labour shall be comprehensively overhauled so that Government can play a constructive and active role in promoting the legitimate interests of labour, while ensuring that basic social goals such as promotion of industrial productivity are simultaneously pursued.

Government shall encourage the establishment of trade unions and the establishment of training institutions where workers can improve their skills as well as their prospects for advancement.

Workers shall be ensured a basic living wage and security of service. Equal pay for the same jobs shall be ensured, irrespective of sex. The following basic amenities must be assured to the workers and their families:–

(*a*) Habitable rent-free housing;
(*b*) Free medical care;
(*c*) Leave with full pay during the period of sickness;
(*d*) Leave with full pay for one month for every completed year of service;
(*e*) Disablement and retirement benefits;
(*f*) Free education for workers' children at least up to the secondary school stage;
(*g*) Maternity leave with full benefit to female workers.

In addition to securing the above rights for workers, the goal of creating a just and egalitarian society also requires that workers should be progressively associated with the management of industries. In pursuance of the same social goal workers should be entitled to receive a share in the profits of the enterprise in which they work so as to give them a stake in increasing productivity.

Workers in Government and semi-Government agencies should be assured of a living wage, security of service and welfare benefits, including sickness and retirement benefits.

Employment

Unemployment is the worst form of social injustice. The entire economic programme ultimately should be aimed at maximising employment opportunities

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

so that the ultimate goal of providing employment to every citizen may be realised. Comprehensive manpower planning is essential for utilising the vast human resources of our society. Some of the basic instruments utilised for maximising employment should be:

(*a*) Rural development projects for construction of roads, irrigation and drainage systems, school buildings and the like.

(*b*) Introduction of labour intensive techniques in industry and agriculture.

(*c*) Extensive support for cottage industries in rural areas.

Education

The basic aim of education should be to make it possible for every citizen of Pakistan to develop himself to the maximum of his capacities, consistently with the aim of serving the basic needs of our society. A much larger allocation of resources in the region of 4 per cent of the GNP to education is required to translate this commitment into reality. Such increased allocations should be spent less on civil works and more on improving the wage scales of teachers. The educational system must further provide equal opportunities to all sections of our people, unlike the present system, which confines to the privileged few access to certain types of superior educational institutions such as missionary schools, public schools and cadet colleges. All such privileged institutions shall be progressively integrated with other institutions so that a uniform system of education shall function throughout our society.

Eradication of illiteracy

All steps shall be taken for the total eradication of illiteracy. This will involve a new strategy and the adoption of unconventional methods. The drafting of college and university students in a national service programme for imparting literary education would be one such method.

Primary and Secondary Education

Free and compulsory primary education shall be provided to all. It is expected to reach this target within a period of 5 years. Secondary education shall be made accessible to all sections of the population.

Technical and Vocational Education

The entire educational system shall be geared to the needs of the society and after a proper assessment of such needs, institutions imparting technical and vocational education shall be introduced. Polytechnic Institutes shall be widely dispersed throughout the countryside.

Universities

The highest standards shall be maintained at our universities and access to such education shall be made available to all sections of the population on the basis of merit, and poverty shall not be allowed to stand in the way of pursuit of higher education by meritorious boys and girls. New universities and colleges including medical colleges and technical universities must be rapidly established all over Pakistan in order to meet the increasing demand for higher education in all fields.

Complete academic freedom shall be guaranteed. Chancellors of the Universities shall be from among distinguished and respected educationists. Full autonomy shall be ensured to universities and all laws seeking to restrict academic freedom and the autonomy of universities shall be repealed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Teaching Profession

Every effort shall be made to create conditions in which the best of the educated section of our people shall be attracted to the teaching profession. This would necessitate not only improving the salary scales and material benefits extended to them, but also creating congenial conditions of work and according to them the status and respect which is their due.

Health

The ultimate aim in the field is to provide a comprehensive system of health service throughout our society. An immediate target shall be to provide a medical centre in every union, and a hospital at every thana headquarters. Essential medicines shall be made available at such centres and hospitals. National service by medical graduates in rural medical centres shall be introduced, so as to bring to every citizen at least a minimum measure of medical relief. It shall, therefore, be necessary not only to produce more trained doctors but also para-medical personnel to staff these centres.

A comprehensive plan for sanitation and provision of pure water supply shall be undertaken. The aim shall be to provide at least sufficient tube-wells in every village within five years.

The highest priority shall be accorded to vaccination and inoculation and against preventable diseases, such as smallpox, tuberculosis and cholera.

Transport and Communications

Transport and communications, being part of the essential infra-structure of the economy, require urgent attention. Specific targets to be aimed at to improve existing conditions are as follows:

Roads

(*a*) Rapid expansion in the construction of metalled roads in East Pakistan and in the less developed areas of Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan supported by an extensive network of feeder roads, which will aim at linking the villages with the towns and marketing centres.

(*b*) Construction of Dacca-Dinajpur Highway linking all major towns of North Bengal with Dacca.

(*c*) Widening of Dacca-Chittagong Highway.

Bridges and Tunnels

(*a*) The highest priority shall be accorded to the construction of a bridge over the Jamuna in order to establish direct overland communications to and from North Bengal.

(*b*) Bridges shall be constructed near Durya Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan over the Indus River in the Punjab, over the Karnaphuli River and the Sitalakha river.

(*c*) Tunnels shall be constructed in the NWFP and Baluchistan to improve the systems of communications in those areas.

Railways

In future schemes for development of railways emphasis shall be placed on improvement of facilities for the lower class passengers in all the railways of Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ports

The development of ports, both seaports and inland river ports, shall be accorded the highest priority. Ports in Baluchistan shall be developed. Existing facilities at Karachi shall be improved, the capacity of the Chittagong Port shall be doubled and that of Chalna Port shall be substantially increased.

Housing

Shelter being one of the basic necessities of life, the provision of housing for the lower income groups and the rural masses is a matter of great importance. In addition to the scheme for provision of housing for workers by their employers, the State shall promote the following measures towards housing development:

(*a*) Construction of dwelling units for low income groups in the cities.

(*b*) Utilising rural development projects for construction of rural housing and introduction of new models of rural housing designed to provide greater protection against the natural elements.

Women

Women constitute nearly half of our population. They have been greatly handicapped in making their full contribution to society largely due to lack of education. Educational facilities for women shall be increased as rapidly as possible so as to enable them to enjoy equal opportunity in all walks of life. Full rights of citizenship shall be guaranteed to them. They shall also be granted equal pay for equal work. All government service shall be made open to them on the basis of merit.

Youth

Our youth, abounding in energy and imbued with a deep sense of idealism, are a great national asset. Unless such idealism and energy are channelised into nation-building programmes, it could result in frustration. It is, therefore, of vital importance to associate youth with nation-building programmes, such as eradication of illiteracy and the organising of social uplift and co-operative schemes, by developing a service corps manned by college and university students, who shall be called upon to render such service in villages, factories and urban slums.

Language and Culture

Immediate measures shall be taken to ensure that Bengali and Urdu, the two State languages of Pakistan, shall replace English in all walks of life.

Every effort shall be made to encourage the development of the languages and literatures of every area of Pakistan.

Mohajirs

Provisions shall be made for providing a permanent habitation and opportunities for economic rehabilitation to Mohajirs. The aim is the progressive integration and assimilation of Mohajirs with the local people so that they may feel equal in all respects with other citizens and may enjoy the same opportunities in all fields equally with all other citizens. All settlement cases shall be finalised as soon as possible.

Foreign Policy

Our foreign policy shall be determined by paramount considerations of safeguarding our territorial sovereignty and national independence. This will involve not only securing our external frontiers but also preventing interference in our internal affairs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Independent, Non-aligned Foreign Policy

Having regard to the aspirations of our people and the basic interests of our State, we stand committed to an independent, non-aligned foreign policy.

It should be recognised, however, that the commitment to an independent foreign policy is not consistent with the economic plans and polices which have hitherto been pursued, which have resulted in increasing dependence on foreign aid and loans and mounting debt-service liabilities. Such dependence seriously compromises freedom of decision-making, both domestically and internationally, and ultimately jeopardises the very independence of the nation. We aim at resolving this contradiction by adopting new strategy in respect of economic planning and foreign aid, which shall enable us to pursue a truly, independent foreign policy.

Peaceful Co-Existence

In keeping with the basic principles of "friendship to all and malice towards none," we wish to live in peaceful co-existence with all countries, including our neighbours, on the basis of justice and mutual respect for each other's security. Consistently with this aim we shall not and cannot afford to be drawn into global power conflicts, which are raging in the world today.

Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

In pursuance of the aim of peaceful co-existence, we accord the highest importance to the peaceful and just settlement of all outstanding disputes.

Kashmir

We accord the highest importance to the settlement of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of the U.N. resolutions adopted on this subject. We should continue to support the rightful struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for the realisation of their fundamental right of self-determination.

Farakka Barrage

The criminal neglect of earlier Governments has allowed Farakka Barrage to become a FAIT ACCOMPLI, resulting in grave and permanent damage to the economy of East Pakistan. Every instrument of foreign policy must immediately be utilised to secure a just solution of this problem.

Withdrawal from SEATO, CENTO and other Military Pacts

We believe that continued participation in SEATO, CENTO and other military pacts is against our national interest and therefore favour the immediate withdrawal of Pakistan from SEATO, CENTO and other military pacts.

United Nations Charter and International Co-operation

We affirm unqualified adherence to the principle embodied in the United Nations Charter, in particular the fundamental right of self-determination of peoples and the sovereignty and equality of States. We shall support all the activities of the United Nations and other international organisations in order to promote world peace and international co-operation in the fields of economic development and human welfare.

Struggle against Imperialism, Colonialism and Apartheid

We affirm our complete support to the struggle of the oppressed people of the world against imperialism, colonialism and apartheid.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(Specific Programmes relating to each federating unit shall be contained in the mainfestoes of the Awami League of the federating units, which shall be drawn up within the framework of the principles laid down in this Manifesto.)

PAKISTAN CANNOT BE DESTROYED BY ANY POWER, SAYS MUJIB

'Islam in Danger' Cry a Political Stunt

Awami League Election Campaign Launched

DACCA: June 7: The Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, declared today amidst cheers that Pakistan had come to stay and that there was no force which could destroy it.

Addressing a massive public meeting at Ramna Race Course this afternoon in torrential rains, the Sheikh repeatedly held out the assurance that Islam was in no danger on the sacred soil of Pakistan, and lashed out at those who raised cries of "Islam in danger" on flimsy grounds, to promote their own political ends. He said in the past also similar bogeys were raised by a section of the people during the 1954 elections in East Pakistan and on the question of joint electorate, but it had been proved conclusively that "Islam in danger" cry was a mere political stunt.

Today's public meeting was organised by the Awami League to commemorate the movement of June 7, 1966, when a number of people fell to the bullets of the police of Ayub regime. Despite inclement weather and pouring rains, hundreds of thousands of enthusiastic people sat through the meeting to hear the Sheikh who was the only speaker. Defying rains, the people came from far and near in processions on foot and in buses and trucks and trains and launches. They shouted six-point slogans and rented the air with cries of "joy Bangla". West Pakistani Awami League leaders who came to attend the Council meeting of the All-Pakistan Awami League which concluded yesterday were also present on the dais.

Sheikh Mujib regretted that the Fourth Five-Year Plan had been announced by the present Government despite his Party's demand that it should be left for the future Government to draw up the Plan. He declared the Fourth Plan would be scrapped and recast when a representative Government was inducted into office after the elections.

The Awami League chief, who was frequently greeted with slogans of "Bangla Bandhu" (Friend of Bengal), told the meeting that the coming elections should be treated as a referendum on the autonomy issue—whether the people wanted autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme.

The Sheikh, who formally announced the launching of his party's election campaign as from today, asked the people to "finish" the "Mir Jafars" of Bengal through elections and to see to it that their boxes went empty during the polls.

Agency reports add:

The Awami League chief said that from the allocations in the Fourth Plan, which had recently been announced, it appeared that East Pakistan had not been given her due share of 56 per cent on the basis of her population. He posed a question: "If the allocations are not properly made how could you remove the disparity?"

The meeting also said that the elected representatives of the people would have to revise the Fourth Five-Year Plan and alter it in every respect necessary to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bring it into accord with those constitutional provisions which were expected to invest the Governments of federating units with full powers of economic management.

The meeting referred to the shortfall of Rs. 1,100 crores in the Third Plan expenditure in East Pakistan and urged that all the previous shortfalls in the Plan expenditure be made up. It held that no annual development plan could represent meaningful steps towards revising the trend of economic disparity "unless the previous shortfalls are made up."

Sheikh Mujib recalled how in the past East Pakistan had been exploited and described how people had suffered under successive Governments.

The Awami League chief said that his party's struggle was to create a society free from exploitation, to eliminate the exploiters and to free the toiling masses—peasants and workers—from exploitation.

Replying to the propaganda against the six-point programme, he said that its realisation would in no way harm Pakistan. "The six points will be realised and Pakistan shall also stay", he said amidst loud cheers.

Deep-laid Conspiracy

Sheik Mujib said that the economic situation in the country was deteriorating and that there was a deep-laid conspiracy to paralyse the economy by closing down mills and factories. Referring to the Adamjee Jute Mills riots of 1954, he said there was a similar conspiracy to create chaos and confusion to prevent the smooth transfer of power to the people. He referred to the recent closure of the Adamjee Jute Mills and asked for its immediate reopening.

The Awami League chief said that his party was not anxious to come to power, because they believed that even without coming to power the rights of the people could be realised. In this connection he referred to his party's earlier demand for representation on the basis of population and the break up of One Unit in West Pakistan, which were ultimately realised. He also referred to their struggle for making Bengali one of the State languages.

Sheikh Mujib said that his party's struggle was to establish workers' and peasants' rule in the country. He said that their demand for exemption of land revenue up to 25 bighas had partly been realised, when it was learnt that the Government was going to grant such exemption upto nine bighas. Awami League manifesto had promised workers share in industries, he said.

The big crowd at the meeting signified their support by raising their hands when at one stage Sheikh Mujib asked if they wanted to realise regional autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme, if they wanted to establish the rule of workers and peasants and above all if they liked to live as human beings.

The Sheikh censured the Jamaat-i-Islami for what he called their anti-East Pakistan role and for trying to deprive the people of this province of their legitimate rights by creating confusion in the name of Islam. He alleged that Maulana Maudoodi's partymen in East Pakistan were paid workers serving the case of those who made money by exploiting East Pakistan. The Awami League chief also criticised Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Nawabzada Nasrullah, Chowdhury Mohammad Ali and Ataur Rahman Khan. Besides he also criticised Mr. Nurul Amin for his role as Chief Minister, with particular reference to the language movement.

Referring to Mr. Nurul Amin's observation that the coming elections could not be regarded as referendum on six points, the Sheikh said that in undivided India when "Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders had opposed the partition of India, the Muslims had voted for Pakistan through referendum."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said that the people of the country alone could frame the country's constitution and no constitution framed at the instance of any individual would be acceptable to them.

The Awami League chief pointed out that the elected representatives of the people were "alone competent to frame the constitution on behalf of the people."

In this context he once again urged the President to amend Articles 25 and 27 of the Legal Framework Order immediately making the Parliament supreme in constitution-making.

Sheikh Mujib warned those who had been trying to establish dictatorship. He said that the people had learnt to sacrifice their blood for a cause and they would resist all attempts to sabotage the elections. "Take a lesson from history," he asked them.

He said that these anti-election forces had tried to create trouble at Mirpur, Mohammadpur, Postagola, Khulna and many other places. The Sheikh declared that no one had the power to undo Pakistan and the people who had achieved Pakistan would defend it. They would realise their due rights as well, he added.

Sheikh Mujib reminded his audience that the Ayub Regime had snatched away the right of franchise and the people had to make tremendous sacrifices to get back that right. He urged the people to exercise their right of franchise in the coming elections judiciously so that those who had betrayed them in the past could be completely eliminated.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—June 8, 1970)

MUJIB FOR EARLY TRANSFER OF POWER TO PEOPLE

Says he has no grievances against West. Wing brethren

NARSINGHDI, (Dacca), June 14: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of All Pakistan Awami League today again stressed the need for early transfer of power to the people and said that the demands of Bengalis could only be realised by establishing a people's Government.

He was addressing a big public meeting at Idgah Maidan here this afternoon, organised by the local Awami League. The meeting was presided over by the President of Narsinghdi Thana Awami League, Mr. Moslehuddin Bhuyian.

The Awami League Chief said that the people of East Pakistan want only their legitimate shares and had no grievances against their West Pakistani brethren.

He said that his fight was against the exploiters who had concentrated the whole national wealth in their hands. He said: "I want back due shares for all the people of Pakistan".

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman regretted that incidentally all the 22 families exploiting the poor masses came from West Pakistan.

He said that "we want to be brothers of West Pakistanis and not their slaves." "We want to become equal citizens and not the bazaars of West Pakistan," he added.

Amidst cheers, he declared that the people of Bengal would establish their legitimate rights at all costs when they had learnt to give blood.

People's Condition

Giving an account of the condition of the people of East Pakistan, the Awami

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

League Chief said that the people who had abundant paddy, rice, fish and cattle, had become poorer day by day since Independence.

He said that three national capitals had been built in West Pakistan spending huge amount of money. Over Rs. 600 crores were spent for building Islamabad while flood, the major national problem of East Pakistan, could not be stopped by implementing a proper scheme.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that the East Wing had earned major portion of foreign exchange for the country but what it had received was much less than its earning. A small share from the foreign aids and loans was given to East Pakistan.

The Awami League Chief regretted that the East Wing had also been deprived of her due shares in the field of development. There were 24,000 hospital beds in West Pakistan while the number of such beds in East Pakistan was 6,000 only.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman pointed out that the next election was not for capturing power, but a referendum on the six-point programme. The election would decide whether the people of East Pakistan would get their real right of citizen.

"Mir Jaffars of Bengal are mainly responsible for the present misfortune of the people of Bengal," he said, and added "if Mir Jafars were not there, Serajudaulah would not have been defeated at the hand of the Britishers."

The Sheikh said that the past activities of Mr. Nurul Amin, Maulana Maudoodi, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan were known to the people and these politicians should no more be allowed to play foul with the aspirations of people.

Turning to the Jamaat chief, Maulana Abdul Ala Maudoodi, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman suggested that the Maulana should have the courage to speak for the people of East Pakistan, who had been oppressed and suppressed by the vested interests for the last 22 years. The Maulana, he said, had no such courage to make an open plea for the Bengal, because in that case he would not have a place in Lahore.

Addressing the labourers who formed the major portion of the audience, Sheikh Mujib said that partial ownership of the factories would go to the labourers, if people's Government were established through the next election.

PIA Freight Rates

Sheikh Mujib demanded an enquiry into the differences in inter-wing freight charges of PIA. He said that the PIA was charging 80 paisa per pound for carrying goods to West Pakistan, while the airlines had been charging 180 paisa per pound for carrying goods to East Pakistan from the West Wing.

He alleged that it was intended to take East Pakistani goods easily to West Pakistan and discourage the movement of West Pakistani goods to East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman pointed out that he had already written a letter in this connection to the airlines administration.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—June 15, 1970)

SUHRAWARDY'S DEATH WAS NOT NATURAL

It could be yet another case of 'political murder', says Mujib

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman yesterday raised the question of the circumstances of the death of Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy in a Beirut hotel.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Awami League President said he had received a letter from the former Prime Minister from Beirut in which he had very clearly written that he was absolutely healthy and planned to return to Pakistan in about four days.

The most trusted lieutenant of Mr. Suhrawardy said he failed to co-relate the events of the telephone operator passing the call to the Pakistani leader, his picking up of the telephone and then dropping it down; at the same time the reasoning of the telephone operator finding the key to the room and entering there to find him dead.

"How could one say that the death of Mr. Suhrawardy was not in unnatural circumstances?" he asked. "In any case it will be looked into when the proper time comes" he asserted. It could be yet another case of "political murder" in the country.

The Awami League chief was speaking at a seminar on the "Life and Achievements of Mr. Suhrawardy" held last evening at Beach Luxury Hotel under the auspices of the Suhrawardy Academy.

The other speakers were Begum Akhtar Sulaiman, daughter of the late Prime Minister; Begum Shasista Ikramullah, member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan; Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind United Front; Mr. Ghulam Faruque, a former Governor of East Pakistan; Mr. Ahmad Jaffar, member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan; Dr. Kemal Husain, and Mr. Khalil Ahmad Tirmazi.

Victim of conspiracies

Mr. Mujibur Rahman said that Mr. Suhrawardy became "a victim of conspiracies right from the day Pakistan came into being". In the first instance, he said, in spite of being the Chief Minister of United Bengal, he was denied the opportunity to become the Chief Minister of East Pakistan.

In contrast, Nawab Mamdot who was the Chief Minister of United Punjab became the Chief Minister of West Punjab after the partition, he said.

The different treatment, he said, was in spite of the fact that both cases were identical in as much as both leaders had been originally elected from constituencies which became part of India after the partition.

Besides, he said, Mr. Suhrawardy was also deprived of his membership of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

The Awami League Chief said that one of the biggest contributions to democracy in Pakistan was made by Mr. Suhrawardy in as much as he set up the first organised Opposition in the National Assembly as well as the country.

This was important because it was impossible to conceive of democracy without an organised opposition.

He said that Mr. Suhrawardy's personality was outstanding in countless manners. He was a lawyer whose monthly income in 1944 in Calcutta was about Rs. 25,000. Yet he died as a pauper.

Second to Quaid

He said the Quaid-i-Azam rendered greatest scarifices for the Muslim nation, and Mr. Suhrawardy was only next to the Father of the Nation in this respect.

He said Mr. Suhrawardy was a man of character, integrity and great intellect. He was also a man of the masses and could never compromise on principles. For these very reasons, he said, his adversaries were most afraid of him. They were also afraid of his workers and did not spare any efforts to destroy them, either.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Mujibur Rahman said "we happened to be the unfortunate people of a fortunate country in which due respect and regard was not shown to men like Mr. Suhrawardy who felt for the people and had the welfare of the country at their heart."

He said Mr. Suhrawardy was a great philanthropist and was never found lacking in helping his friends and associates.

In this connection he said that he knew personally that Mr. Suhrawardy spent Rs. 3,500 per month in helping his old workers and friends.

Great Freedom Fighter

He said that the great freedom fighter died in the quest of justice, rule of the common man, and to undo the wrongs which had led the country to this situation.

As for his love for the Indian Muslims, he said, Mr. Suhrawardy did what none else in this country could do. After the partition, Mr. Suhrawardy stayed on India because he felt passionately for them.

He was offered ministership but preferred the responsibility of ensuring peace for the Indian Muslims.

To serve the Indian Muslims he toured Bihar, Alwar, Bharatpur, Delhi and East Punjab—at the risk of his life—so that they could be spared of the massacre at the hands of the Hindu communalists.

Mr. Subrawardy did all this because he was fully convinced that the Muslims of the minority provinces of India were the real architects of Pakistan and had rendered tremendous sacrifices so that the Muslims of the sub-continent could have a homeland of their own. They stayed back in India to suffer so that we could hold high the banner of Islam in this newly born State, he said.

Sheikh Sahib said that Mr. Suhrawardy got the biggest shock of his life when he was jailed by the Ayub regime in Karachi. The Ayub regime also refused him money for treatment abroad.

He said it was "improper" to say that Shaheed Suhrawardy was dead; he would never die; he would always remain alive, he emphasised.

He said that Mr. Suhrawardy was fully in agreement with him on the question of provincial autonomy. He added that he had exchanged views with him on this subject on several occasions and declared that the Six-point Programme of the Awami League truly reflected the thinking of the former Prime Minister in building up a strong and united nation.

He said his homage to "my leader" was in the firm belief that the Awami League would never deter from its course of serving the people, its determination to refuse to surrender to conspiracies, intrigues and political bribery.

He cautioned that the conspirators who had been active since the establishment of Pakistan were working to frustrate the attempts of the nation to go to the polls. He affirmed that their attempts would be frustrated. East Pakistanis shall never allow them to do it, he warned.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—June 30, 1970)

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S ADDRESS TO NATION ON JULY 28, 1970

My dear countrymen,

Assalam-o-Alaikam.

I have, from time to time, kept the nation abreast of developments in various spheres because people in all walks of life should know about major events as

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

well as decisions of the Government on important issues. Many significant events have occurred and decisions have been taken during the past four months. Time has, therefore, come for me to address you again.

New Provinces

Another important event which has taken place since I spoke to you last is the restoration of pre-1955 provinces in West Pakistan. The decision, as you know, was taken some months ago on the basis of the wishes of the people and I am glad to say that it has been possible to achieve the re-establishment of these provinces on the target date. I am sure you appreciate that a great deal of administrative work has gone into giving practical shape to what, a few months ago, was only a wish.

The mere formal restoration of the old provinces, however, is not going to solve any problems. What is required now is to make all-out efforts to examine the reasons why such a step was necessary and how matters can now be improved. The main achievement of this restoration has been to bring the Administration closer to the people in various regions of West Pakistan. It is also to give a greater sense of participation in the happenings in this Wing to the people of far-flung areas. Let me also caution you that what happened on the Ist of July was only the first step. The process of consolidation will continue for months until things really settle down in all sectors of the administrative field. On the one hand, the administration will have to work doubly hard and on the other, the people will have to be patient and make constructive contribution in the fulfilment of the purposes for which separate provinces were restored.

Furthermore, it is extremely important that the restoration of the old provinces must not lead the people of various regions towards the dangerous path of parochialism. All that has happened is that West Pakistan, instead of being one administrative unit, is now composed of four administrative units. That is all. It has been done for the good of the people. It has been done with the hope that this will help in eradicating suspicions and a sense of deprivation on the part of certain regions of this Wing. In fact it is my firm belief that when the people begin to manage their own affairs in their provinces, their attitude towards their neighbouring and other provinces would be that of brotherliness and co-operation rather than that of hostility and separation.

In practical terms, any tendency to consider anyone who does not happen to be born and brought up within the boundaries of a particular province as an outsider will not be tolerated because as a Pakistani he has an inherent right to live, work and prosper in any part of Pakistan.

Talking on the national plane I am glad to tell you that our election machinery has been working with tremendous zeal and efficiency under the direction of the Chief Election Commissioner.

As you are aware a major portion of the work relating to elections has already been completed by the Chief Election Commissioner and his staff.

By God's help we have been able to keep to our planning schedule for general elections. The forthcoming election day will indeed be a great day for Pakistan and it is my prayer that it will be a precursor of greater well-being and prosperity for this country.

Talking about elections I might add that it is my firm resolve that these elections are free and fair. To ensure that there is no violence, coercion and other

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mal-practices during these elections, I shall employ all necessary forces at the disposal of the Government.

Now I come to a subject which is both important and of interest to all of us. I mean the political activities that have been taking place in this country during the past few months.

My own assessment of this matter is that after a rather over enthusiastic and violent start which in some ways, was understandable, things have, by and large, settled down. Abuse and counter-abuse have decreased and the use of violence is less evident in public meetings and processions and other political activities. The credit for this can be shared equally by the people, the political leaders and the Administration. The people decried violence, the political leaders saw that such methods were counter-productive and the Administration was understanding yet firm. We must not, however, be complacent and must try to see that violence and other destructive practices are completely eradicated from our political activities.

I would like at this stage to make a comment or two on the substance of what has been happening in the political field. Due to various reasons into which I do not propose to go at this stage, I regret to say that the division between parties has tended to become much too sharp. The uncompromising positions adopted by certain parties will have to be changed and tolerance towards each other is essential if the end product of all the activities of these past few months is to be beneficial to the people of Pakistan and is to contribute towards the integrity of this country. In this connection I would particularly like to mention the need for curbing violence and maintenance of law and order. Let there be no mistake on one point. The country is under Martial Law. The Martial Law authorities, under my directions, have been tolerating a number of actions including statements and speeches which no Martial Law regime would have ever tolerated.

Upto now there were very good reasons for this attitude; the main one being that political activity in this country had in the past been curtailed and almost crippled to the extent that without nourishment and encouragement it would never have got off the ground. If the Martial Law authorities had gone strictly by Martial Law Regulations and Orders in every case right from the start, there was a possibility that the main objective of this regime, namely, the transfer of power, would have been unduly delayed and even jeopardized.

The plan under which the Martial Law authorities had, on occasions, to ignore breaches of Martial Law Regulations and Orders has, I know, been misconstrued in certain quarters as weakness. These people did not understand that this attitude was deliberate and was in fact inherent in the situation obtaining in the country. The task of my Government has been a difficult and delicate one. On the one hand we had to keep the forces of disorder in check and on the other, we had to ensure that development of political activity was not discouraged in any way.

Let me at this stage explain to you as to how this regime has tried to bring back political life in this country step by step.

In the first phase which commenced with the imposition of Martial Law and ended round about July 1969 the most important element of this plan was not to ban political parties. I remember that this caused both surprise and relief amongst our political parties, intellectuals and all others interested in this subject. The reason for their being surprised was that, normally speaking, the first action of any Martial Law regime is to ban political parties, for the existence of Martial Law regime side by side with political parties is a most unusual phenomenon. During this phase, however, we took care to see that whilst political parties were not banned, their activities were considerably restricted. This was, of course,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

deliberate and in keeping with the plan of reviving political life in a gradual manner.

The next phase which lasted from August 1969 to December 1969 saw considerable freedom of action in the political field although certain checks were still maintained. By about this time I had taken and declared decisions on certain major issues such as restoration of pre-1955 Provinces in West Pakistan and one man one vote.

The next phase commenced with the 1st of January this year when full scale political activity was allowed and all restrictions were removed except for certain guidelines which were issued in the form of a Martial Law Regulation.

So you see, the nourishment and bringing up of political activity went hand in hand with certain major decisions which had a direct bearing on such activity. I am happy to note that this main plan of ours has worked out well.

The present is the last phase.

Now that I have prepared the ground in every possible way for a peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people, there is no further requirement for handling of breaches of Martial Law, such as creating disaffection against the Government, violence and such other crimes, in a soft manner. From now on, in the interest of our national objectives, we will take strict action against all cases of unlawful behaviour. Any breaches of Martial Law Regulations and Orders and all other laws will be dealt with effectively. Having successfully created a sense of confidence in the leaders of political activity, I am now certain that this change of stance on the part of the Government is absolutely essential if we are to have civilized political behaviour—for this is the only path that leads to the National Assembly and the preparation of a Constitution which would be acceptable to the people of Pakistan.

We have just over two months left for general elections and it is essential that political leaders and political workers exercise due care in what they say and what they do. Democracy pre-supposes tolerance. Let us show that we are fit for democracy by displaying tolerant behaviour throughout this election period that is in front of us. Accusing each other and accusing the Government will not get any one anywhere.

As we approach the date of our general elections it is imperative that our leaders channelize the nation's political energy into civilized and constructive lines.

If this is done, we can look to the future with confidence.

I have said it before and I want to say it again that the tendency to have double standards in the matter of law and order must be curbed. You cannot, on the one hand, ask the Government to create peaceful conditions in the country and, on the other, raise a hue and cry of law breakers who are arrested and dealt with. Political leaders must realize that all are equal in the eyes of law.

I might tell you that this lawlessness in certain areas and by certain groups has resulted in the issuance by me of a very clear direction to Governors as well as the Martial Law Administrators of all Provinces and Zones to make the maintenance of law and order their first and foremost concern. They have been directed to take speedy, firm and effective action against any kind of lawlessness. Those who deliberately and systematically try to break the law and create confusion and instability are the enemies of the people. I am glad to note that the people have now begun to realize this fact and on a number of occasions have themselves decried calls for general strikes which disrupt normal life and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have condemned attacks on the economy of the country. Let there be no mistake: the people and the Government are one on this issue. The law breaker will be given no quarter by the people and the Administration.

We have set ourselves certain clear cut goals including that of the restoration of democracy in this country. We will not allow anyone to come in the way of the achievement of this objective because this is what the people of Pakistan want and this is what I have pledged to give them.

Since I last spoke to you, there have been anti-Muslim riots in the Indian State of Maharashtra resulting in serious loss of life and the uprooting of thousands of innocent and unfortunate members of the Muslim minority in India.

I know how deeply disturbed our people have been over these tragic events which have shocked the conscience of the world. In addition to India's obligations under the Liaquat-Nehru Pact of 1950, the protection of the life and property of the Muslim minority in India is indeed a matter of concern for the entire international community, because it is essentially a question of protection of human and fundamental rights. We earnestly hope that the Government of India would take strong steps to afford adequate protection to the Muslims in India, as indeed to all minorities in that country.

It is our sincere desire to promote good neighbourly relations with India. It is, however, regrettable that our main disputes with her, which are the root cause of bad blood between our two countries, remain unsettled.

In the recently concluded talks on Farakka, India has at least conceded our right to the Ganges waters, although the question of quantum has still been left undecided. That is the crux of the problem.

It is unfortunate that India has not shown any inclination for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. International disputes of this nature must be resolved on the basis of equity and justice and respect for international agreements. A mere repetition by one party that the dispute does not exist or has resolved itself does not make it vanish into thin air. It continues to exist and cries out for a proper solution acceptable to the parties to the dispute.

In the Middle East, our Arab brethren are continuing their struggle to assert their inalienable rights. We fully support their resolve to resist aggression.

Our co-operation with the brotherly countries of Iran and Turkey continues to attain new dimensions. In May this year, I met His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran and His Excellency the President of Turkey in Izmir. We were all glad to find ourselves in unison on many issues facing the world. Our three countries are dedicated to work for peace in our region as well as in the world. We recognize the basic need for relying on ourselves and are exerting together to bring about a rapid improvement in the standard of living of our peoples. This common endeavour has further strengthened our solidarity.

Finally a word of caution. The people of this country are, by and large, fully capable of identifying dangers and pit-falls that exist in empty slogans and tall promises. I would, therefore, expect those who aspire to administer this country in the future to explain the realities of the nation's economic, social and political ills as well as the limitations that a developing country tends to suffer from. There is no magic wand which can resolve difficult problems overnight. Future leaders and administrators must understand that it is only careful planning and hard work which result in benefits for the people. Developing countries must be prepared to undergo hardships and sacrifices in order to achieve an honourable and respectable place in the comity of nations. The road to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

prosperity is a long and arduous one. There are no short cuts. Political leaders must have the courage to explain hard realities to the people and to avoid making statements which might mislead them. They are not prepared to accept hollow claims. They have a right to demand, and they will demand, honesty in word as well as in deed from their leaders.

My dear countrymen, there are just over two months left for general elections. This is the first time that the entire country will go to polls on the basis of adult franchise and elect their representatives who, as their first task, will make the Constitution for Pakistan and then later form the Central Legislative Assembly.

This period is of great importance and the future of the country will depend a lot on how each one of us conducts himself. Every voter must appreciate the value and importance of his vote and cast it in favour of men who will serve this country in a selfless and patriotric manner. The political parties and the candidates will have to show that they are men on whom the electorate can rely.

Above all, during this period there is need for a great deal of self-discipline on everybody's part. The Administration will naturally do its best to keep the atmosphere peaceful and tranquil. But in this task they will need the active assistance and full co-operation of every one of you. I have no doubt that such assistance and co-operation will be forthcoming.

Let me congratulate you on what has been achieved so far and wish you every success in our great endeavour. So, go forth and participate in the great and challenging task of national polls with confidence in yourself and full faith in Almighty Allah.

Khuda Hafiz.
Pakistan Paindabad.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—July 29, 1970)

ELECTIONS SHIFTED TO DECEMBER
DECISION DUE TO FLOODS

DACCA, Aug. 15: The President, Gen. A.M. Yahya Khan today announced the postponement of countrywide general elections, originally fixed for October 5, till December 7. This year, in view of the unprecedented flood situation in East Pakistan.

The new date of elections to the National Assembly was fixed for December 7, while the elections to the provincial assemblies would be held not later than December 19.

In a statement the President said that the decision to postpone the dates for elections had been taken "after very careful consideration" of various factors arising out of the unprecedented flood situation in East Pakistan.

He said the forthcoming elections were of supreme importance for the future of Pakistan and as such it was essential that the maximum number of people participated in the polls. He said it now appeared certain that unless elections were postponed, it would not be possible to ensure this.

Gen. Yahya said the Government machinery, which would carry out various functions connected with the elections, was now fully occupied with the very important work of flood relief and practically the entire complement of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

provincial Government, from the highest to the lowest, would continue to be engaged in relief work for months. It was, therefore, a question of weighing the relative importance and urgency of relief work and election work.

The President declared he did not have the slightest hesitation in deciding that the alleviation of human misery must take precedence over everything else. The flood waters might start receding soon, but there would always be the possibility of a second flood in September. In this state of uncertainty it was impossible to predict if conditions would be suitable for elections on October 5, the President said. It was, therefore, considered necessary to shift the date in such a manner as to ensure minimum interference in the holding of the national polls.

Explaining the difficulty in holding the elections on the original date, Gen. Yahya said for the purpose of holding elections the Chief Election Commissioner had to use practically the entire Government machinery. Officials at various levels had to perform different functions. The Sub-divisional Officers and Circle Officers would have to carry out the duties of Returning Officers and Assistant Returning Officers.

The polling booths had to be established in various localities and many other related steps had to be taken. But the machinery, which would carry out various functions connected with the elections, was presently fully occupied with the very important work of flood relief.

The President further said that a large section of the population had to be evacuated to safer areas. It was not certain if they would be available in their constituencies for voting on the originally appointed date. The danger of epidemics loomed large and while everything would be done to ensure that these did not spread, it could not but cause some uncertainty about the suitability of October 5 as the election date.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—August 16, 1970)

SHIFTING OF POLLS DATE WON'T AFFECT AWAMI LEAGUE

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S STATEMENT
near Dacca on August 20, 1970

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League chief, said that the shifting of election date would not affect his party's position in the ensuing elections, reports APP.

Addressing an unscheduled meeting at Tongi, 15 miles from Dacca on Thursday, the Awami League chief said: Those who think that the shifting of election date would affect Awami League's position in the elections are living in a fool's paradise. People love Awami League because it has been fighting for the people's cause.

The Awami League chief said that his party would resist any attempt to frustrate the elections.

He said that those leaders who demanded the shifting of election date in view of the flood situation were not rendering any help to the flood victims. One of these leaders, he said, was now in Moscow. It was his party only which was rendering relief to the affected people.

His tour programme is given below: August 31 Meherpur, September 1 Chaudanga, September 2 Narail, September 3 Jhenaidah, September 4 Magura, September 5 Satkhira.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—August 21, 1970)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S REACTIONS TO THE POSTPONEMENT OF ELECTIONS

Staggered Polls To Benefit Certain Parties

BAHAWALNAGAR, Aug. 26: Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman, Pakistan People's Party has accused the Govenment of bringing about changes in the election dates to benefit certain political parties.

Mr. Bhutto considered the postponement of the forthcoming elections to December as unjustifiable, because, he said, the weather condition in East Pakistan had greatly improved and would return to normal till October.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—August 27, 1970)

Opposes Polls on Two Different Dates

BAHAWALNAGAR, Aug. 27: He said that the postponement of elections could not deprive his party of people's support and favour. He said the political parties would now have to think of other excuses for demanding further delay in the elections because they are afraid of the ever growing popularity of the Pakistan People's Party.

He also reiterated that his party would not take part in elections for the second time if the first Constituent Assembly failed to frame a workable Constitution within four months. In that case his party would launch a people's movement instead of wasting its energies in contesting polls for the second time.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—August 28, 1970)

US, USSR Pressurising Pakistan For Talks With India

RAWALPINDI, Aug. 30: The People's Party chief alleged that the postponement of general elections from October to December this year was on account of two important external and internal factors. Both the USA and the USSR he said, wanted Pakistan to hold dialogue with India, taking advantage of the presence of so many heads of Governments and states at the United Nations celebrations, before the people's representatives took over Government in Pakistan after the elections.

* * * *

The People's Party chief said that rightist parties in Pakistan who feared "ignominious defeat" in the general elections sought postponement of elections in order to "buy time like man who is dying of cancer".

He said that the rightist parties knew that the coming elections would not be fought on the basis of Islam. It would be a fight between tyrants and oppressed, between blood-suckers and those whose blood was drained, he said.

Mr. Bhutto welcomed the latest Election Commission decision not to hold elections earlier in parts of NWFP and Baluchistan. He said that piecemeal elections were contrary to the principle and spirit of general elections.

He however regarded the decision to postpone the general elections from October to December, then planning to hold elections in parts of NWFP and Baluchistan and then postponing them until December as a "hastily mistaken, erroneous, faulty, immature and wrong decision on fundamental matters."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—August 31, 1970)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHUTTO CONSPIRING WITH BUREAUCRATS

NUR KHAN'S CHARGE

LAHORE, Oct. 5: Air Marshal Nur Khan, a Council Muslim League leader, yesterday alleged that Mr. Bhutto was conspiring with certain bureaucratic elements within the Government who wanted to perpetuate dictatorial rule in the country, and that by these manipulations he was aiming to capture power through back door influences.

The conditions which the PPP's chief was creating would only strengthen the hands of those who were opposed to the peaceful transfer of power, he said while addressing a big public meeting at Raiwind, about 20 miles away from Lahore yesterday.

The former PAF chief observed that Mr. Bhutto had been very near to the present regime and even now he was very close to certain quarters in the Government. Therefore, it must be in his (Mr. Bhutto's) knowledge as to which direction the Government was thinking in. Keeping this background in view, Mr. Bhutto's sudden eruption of provocations and vituperations were not without any esoteric meanings. The retired Air Marshal said that in every judicious mind a question could crop up how for 18 long months the PPP's chief had been patiently putting up with present regime but just before two months of elections his patience was giving way.

He said, it was true that Martial Law was no rule of law, the sooner we got rid of it the better it would be. A process to remove this rule of no-law had been agreed upon by the regime and all the democratic parties and there were only sixty days to see the result of this agreed process.

Yet this disciple of a former dictator would contaminate the atmosphere of peaceful struggle for the establishment of people's rule in the country. He said that he was sorry for every political arrest, but who could stop those who themselves were contriving to be arrested.

Sardar Umer Khalid who is contesting for the National Assembly from the area, in his speech talked about the problems of the people of the area and said when the Council Muslim League came into power immediate attention would be paid to their solution.

Later Air Marshal Nur Khan (Retired) and other Muslim League leaders were taken in a two-mile long procession to Kana Kacha town where they also addressed a public meeting.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—October 6, 1970)

MUJIB DETERMINED TO REALISE DEMANDS OF THE PEOPLE

East Bengal Must Get Due Share

NASIRNAGAR (Comilla), Oct. 7: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has reiterated that he is determined to realise the demands of the people either through ballot or through launching a movement.

Addressing a big public meeting in the interior here on Monday the Awami League Chief said that the people of Bangla Desh did not get their share and were exploited by the 22 families.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Describing the present economic condition of the province he said that jute growers did not get their just price, salt producers were burdened with taxes while other cash crops were not allowed to have good market. As a result people did not know how to carry on their existence.

Amidst cheers he said that he would sacrifice the last drop of his blood in realising the demands of the people.

* * * *

Explaining his party's policy and manifesto, the Awami League President said that he wanted to show that the people of Bangla Desh were determined to achieve all their demands through six points.

* * * *

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 8, 1970)

ELECTIONS AN OPPORTUNITY TO THWART EXPLOITATIONS

JAMALGANJ (Sylhet), Oct. 9: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Awami League said yesterday that the coming general elections offered us an opportunity to save the future generation from the exploitations and injustices, which we suffered all these years right from the beginning of our independence.

Addressing over half a dozen big public meetings including a few unscheduled in the low lying areas of the district, Sheikh Mujib told his audience that posterity would "legitimately blame us if we fail to rise to the occasion".

The Awami League Leader said the economic condition of the people steadily "deteriorated from bad to worse. We must put an end to the process, which helped exploiters to loot our resources". The outcome of the elections would decide the fate of the people for years to come, he stressed.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said if East Pakistan had the funds and facilities we could have solved many of our problems including those of the flood and food long ago. But unfortunately it happened otherwise, leading to steady deterioration of economic conditions of people. The peasants and workers, in particular the businessmen and industrialists from West Pakistan, he said, added their contribution to the miseries of the people in the Eastern Wing. He charged that they even refused to employ Bengalees in their concerns in East Pakistan, although they earned huge profits to be transferred to West Pakistan.

Sheikh Mujib said that in the colonial days, the resources were utilised for the benefit of Britain and now the money earned in East Pakistan was taken to West Pakistan in a planned manner. He wondered, how one could oppose if "we want to stop the process to save the people of the province from ruination".

The Awami League Chief said they did not have any grudge against common men in West Pakistan, but, certainly against exploiters from that Wing.

He firmly told the people that "there cannot be any slackening in our struggle until we succeed in our mission and end the exploitation".

The Awami League Leader said the Ayub-Monem regime and vested interests became annoyed when he protested against these injustices. He said: The former President Ayub Khan threatened me and later put me behind the bars to suppress me but nothing as you know could make me compromise.

Sheikh Mujib said "bullet and imprisonment were the only reply whenever people demanded justice and fair play. In the mass movement people demonstrated that they were nothing less determined to oust the Ayub-Monem regime defying bullets.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He, however, regretted the exploitations of East Pakistan could not have been possible if some agents did not collaborate with the vested interests who were opposed to justice to us. In this connection he referred to the names of Mr. Nurul Amin and Mr. Mahmud Ali.

* * * *

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 10, 1970)

NO COMPROMISE IF DEMANDS ARE NOT ACCEPTED

DHARAMPASHA (Sunamgonj), Oct. 10: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of the Awami League reiterated yesterday that compromise would be made only if the demands of the Bengalees were accepted. He and his party had been struggling for long to realise the demands for existence, he added.

Addressing a big public meeting here yesterday afternoon, Sheikh Mujib said that Pakistan was created for the betterment of the people, but poor people of this province were exploited and by now they did not have even bread-earning sources.

He specially referred to the destruction of handlooms, salt production, betelnuts and tobacco industries of East Pakistan and said that Bengalees had now no means for their living.

Besides this, though the Eastern Wing of the country constituted 56 per cent of the country's total population, they had not had a due share in national economy concerning development works and investments, he added.

Continuing, the Awami League Chief said even in Central Services including defence, not more than 10 to 15 per cent jobs were given to Bengalees. He said that was why he came forward with his six-point formula.

Explaining his party's stand, Sheikh Mujib said that for his unbending determination he had been put behind the bars by the Governments of Ghulam Mohammad, Mr. Nurul Amin, Iskander Mirza and lastly by Ayub Khan. He bitterly criticised Mr. Nurul Amin for killing students on the language issue. He also criticised Messrs. Mahmud Ali, who is likely to contest from this area for the National Assembly and Salam Khan for their role in the Round Table Conference and Fazlul Quader Chowdhury and Sabur Khan for their involvement with the Ayub administration.

Sheikh Mujib said that he had the right to claim a vote because for ten long years he had suffered in jails and people snatched him away from their clutches at the cost of their blood.

About local problems, Sheikh Mujib said that he was fully aware of them and would look after them when time permitted. Making a clarion call to the people, the Awami League Chief said that those who had bartered away the people's interests should this time be defeated, because the country's constitution containing Bengalees' share in the national affairs would be framed.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 11, 1970)

MUJIB ASKS PEOPLE TO ASSERT THEIR RIGHTS

SPEECHES IN HOAR AREAS OF SYLHET, MIMENSINGH AND COMILLA DISTRICTS on October, 10, 1970

An impassioned appeal to the people to assert their democratic rights liquidating all traces of exploitation was the main theme of the speeches of Sheikh Mujibur

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rahman in the hoar, areas comprising parts of Sylhet, Mymensingh and Comilla during his week-long hectic election tour ending Saturday, 10th October, night.

The country is passing through a crucial stage which will decide about the destiny of the exploited people of Bangla Desh, he told over 30 largely attended public meetings in the extensive tour of low-lying north-eastern part which, in rainy season every year turns into a vast marsh of water keeping it submerged for over seven months.

The Awami Leauge Chief moved from one island to another as much as he could to tell the marooned people that nothing short of their solid unity could help them realize their legitimate demands including regional autonomy. We on our part will fight it to the end to establish people's rights, he reiterated.

Sheikh Mujib who was first among national leaders to launch the election campaign in the areas, virtually cut off from the mainland, was given a warm welcome everywhere he had been. At places his launch was escorted by big racing boats to the destinations giving the occasion a festive look.

* * * * *

The Awami League Leader regretted that East Pakistan had to bear the country's major burden of paying off annually Rs. 100 crore interest of foreign loans although barely one-fourth of Rs. 2,000 crore was spent in this Wing. Other aspects of our life did not present any better picture, he added.

Sheikh Mujib said the perpetuation of the exploitation of East Pakistan brought the economy of the province on the verge of ruination. East Pakistan, which used to produce enough to feed people, had now to buy eighteen lakh tons of foodgrains from abroad annually while West Pakistan now produces eight lakh tons surplus, he added.

Sheikh Mujib told the people that his clash with Ayub-Monem regime was not the result of any quarrel on any domestic issue. It began when we rose against the injustices to East Pakistan. Ayub Khan could not tolerate our protest because it was directed against the exploiters, whose leader the former President was.

The Awami League Leader, referring to his six-point programme launched over four years back, said we plunged into the struggle to save the people from exploitation, knowing full well its consequences, which we suffered later. "Besides myself, hundreds of Awami Leaguers were immediately sent behind the bars."

Sheikh Mujib said: "The offers for the Prime Ministership and other high positions in the Government were made to dissuade me from the movement but nothing could allure me because my mission has been to save people from the exploitations. I am not ready to make any compromise with my programme of demand for regional autonomy."

He told the people that we cannot expect any genuine change for the better until we free ourselves from the clutches of the exploiters and the ruling class which ruthlessly suppressed the voice of the people wherever they rose against the vested interests, looting our resources unchecked.

Sheikh Mujib said all our legitimate interests were made subservient to exploitation by the vested interests. He charged that our flourishing weaving industry was made to suffer decay, salt industry destroyed and beedi industry dragged to ruination turning lakhs of people into virtual destitutes only to make East Pakistan serve as a market to exploiters from West Wing.

He regretted that the history of East Pakistan would have been different if some political Mir Zafars did not sabotage our causes. He accused them of playing the role of agents of exploiters, who happened to come from West Pakistan. They sold out our interests for ministerial jobs, he added.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Awami League Leader launched a virulent attack on the President of Pakistan Democratic Party, Mr. Nurul Amin, and held him largely responsible for the deteriorating economic condition of the people in East Pakistan. The seed of disparity was sown during his time when he was Chief Minister, he charged.

Sheikh Mujib wondered how Mr. Nurul Amin now "dared" to speak for democracy when the former Chief Minister held up as many as 33 bye-elections and jailed over 3,000 Awami Leaguers during 1954 elections. He added it was the PDP Chief who was also responsible for the killing of several political prisoners in Rajshahi jail in 1951 and the firing on the demonstrations in the 1952 language movement killing several students.

He said these political leaders remained aloof from the people during Ayub-Monem oppression.

Sheikh Mujib appealed to the people to return Awami League candidates to the National Assembly to frame the future constitution of the country "protecting our legitimate rights". He added the Awami League had the record of services to the people which "entitles us to claim the votes of the people in the elections".

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 12, 1970)

BALLOT BATTLE MY LAST FIGHT TO SECURE RIGHTS OF EAST BENGAL

SHEIK MUJIBIR RAHMAN'S SPEECH AT DOLAIKHAL on October 17, 1970

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief while addressing a compact gathering of over a lakh of cheering people at Dolaikhal area yesterday declared that the ensuing "ballot battle" would be his last fight to achieve the rights of Bengal through peaceful means.

Launching his first election campaign in the old city from where he is contesting for a National Assembly seat, Sheikh Mujib reaffirmed his determination to nationalise banks and insurance companies, which have been serving the interest of the monopoly capital of West Pakistan and which have done a positive harm to the small traders of Bengal by refusing them due facilities.

Sheikh Mujib said that Bonus Voucher system had destroyed the small traders of Bengal and he assured that he would safeguard the interest of the small business from the devouring grip of the big business and monopoly capital of West Pakistan.

Turning to election he said that although he was seeking votes like all other parties, power was not the motto of his politics like those seasonal politicians who instead of suffering the pains of imprisonment had slaughtered the people of Bengal by joining hands with the vested interests.

He said that if he had any greed for power, he could become the Prime Minister of the country immediately after his release from the prison and if he wanted to be the Governor of Bengal he could occupy that chair even without suffering the long days of imprisonment. But no amount of allurement could ever deviate him from his devotion to the cause of the people of Bengal.

In a voice resonant with emotion, he asked the people to pray to Almighty to allow him an endurance to serve the cause of Bengal even at the cost of his life. He said that he had nothing left with him except his humble life to offer to the people in exchange of their immense love and affection and unprecedented sacrifices that saved him from being hanged.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Amidst thunderous ovation Sheikh Mujib declared that if the six-point demands were not fulfilled through election, he would again call the heroic people of Dacca to join him in the struggle and give blood once again.

While explaining the reason for contesting from the city constituency, he said that it was the people of Dacca who contributed the maximum blood for his release and it was in the Dacca Central Jail where he had spent 10 years of his youthful days. He claimed to be more " Daccaiya " than Khawaja Khairuddin, who incidentally happens to be of Kashmiri origin. The Sheikh claimed that he had established blood-relation with the local people with whom he had spent the best part of his life. He promised to give due consideration to them as for the local problems, particularly the provision of an alternative drainage against the sealed Dolaikhal and home for the uprooted destitutes.

Sheikh Mujib said that crores of rupees were being drained in Bengal to defeat the Awami League in the next election and conspiracies were still being hatched by the vested interests to defer the transfer to the elected representatives of the people in the same old style that was adopted in 1954 after the historic victory of the United Front.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 18, 1970)

BENGALEES SHALL NOT BE ALLOWED TO TURN SLAVES

SHEIK MUJIBIR RAHMAN'S SPEECH AT DUMNI (TEJGOAN) on October 20, 1970

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, said yesterday that he would not allow the posterity to turn slaves. He will go for a total fight to decide the fate of Bengalees once for all, should he fail to achieve the right for Bengalees to live as equal citizens of the country.

Sheikh Mujib was addressing a mamoth public meeting at Dumni under Tejgaon police station, about 15 miles from the city.

The Awami League Chief said that if the six-point programme were not given due consideration in the future constitution of the country, and if the looted resources of East Bengal were not returned, he would launch a mass movement.

He said, the coming election would be a crucial test for the people of East Bengal to decide whether they wanted to live as dignified citizens or continue to languish in misery and poverty as slaves. He called upon the people of East Bengal to show to the world, through votes in the elections, which was in fact a referendum, that they could no more be deprived of their due rights and privileges and would like to be masters of their own destiny.

He told the cheering crowd who came from far flung areas in procession that the six-point programme was to ensure justice for the people of Bengal whose basic rights and privileges had so long been trampled under foot. The programme, if implemented, would put an end once for all to the continued exploitation, oppression and suppression which had reigned supreme during the last 23 years.

He said if the people of Bengal failed to wrest their usurped rights they would continue to live like slaves in their own soil which had so long been treated as virtual 'colony'.

Sheikh Mujib accompanied by Dr. Kamal Hussain spent the whole day addressing scores of meetings in his constituency. He made it clear to the electorate that he had no lust for power as he had time and again been offered high positions. He said that he shuddered to think of betraying the blood of the martyrs for the sake of Prime Ministership. He had spent almost ten years of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

his youth in jail and would not hesitate to spend the remaining years of his life in jail for realising the legitimate rights of the people of East Bengal.

Recalling the long 23 years of independence, he said that whenever people of Bengal raised their voice to get their due rights, lathi-charge, bullets and jails were in store for their leaders and workers and the bogey of 'Islam in danger' was raised to confound the political atmosphere of the country. He said that the few privileged families had sucked the blood of Bengal in such a way that the very backbone of the economy of this province had been shattered. The opulence and affluence by few have resulted in the total bankruptcy of the masses in their province who had eventually turned into destitutes. What the people of Bengal got as fruits of freedom was privation, poverty, mounting unemployment, frustration and despondency all round.

But, he said that the people of Bengal were now wide awake from their slumber and were ready to make any sacrifice to shake off the shackles of economic slavery.

Dr. Kamal Hussain, who accompanied the Sheikh along with others in the whirlwind election campaign, said that the magnitude of the problem facing East Pakistan could be gauged from the fact that an association of beggars and displaced persons had been formed in Dacca.

He referred to the distressing condition of the people of East Bengal and said that people had not achieved Pakistan to find themselves in great predicament. People fought for Pakistan to get rid of the oppression, but to their utter dismay, they found themselves in the labyrinth of problems.

Before the meeting ended, the crowd responded to the call of Sheikh Mujib by raising their hands, amidst defening slogans "Joy Bangla" to vote for Awami League candidates.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 21, 1970)

POLLS, A REFERENDUM ON AUTONOMY

NAOGAON, October 25: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief said here last night that he and his party had condemned Legal Framework Order but at the same time decided to participate in elections as they considered elections a referendum on regional autonomy on the basis of the six-point programme.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman addressing a public meeting here criticised those political parties and leaders who alleged that Awami League had not criticised LFO and asked them why they had now decided to take part in elections.

The Awami League chief told the meeting that Bengalees who had long been denied their rights must show in the coming elections that this time they were determined to restore their rights either through elections or through struggle. He asked the people to get prepared for struggle if their rights could not be achieved through elections and assured them that he would be in the forefront of any such movement.

The Awami League chief criticised former President Ayub Khan for taking over power without people's consent and depriving Bengalees of their rights. He dwelt at considerable length on inter-wing disparity and held 'Mir Zafars of Bengal' more responsible than any West Pakistani for the miseries of the province. In this connection he made a pointed reference to former Governor Abdul Monem Khan and said that if people's rule was established, Monem would be tried. He said

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that they would probe into the killings that had taken place in mass movement during Ayub-Monem regime and exhume bodies of those now dead.

Sheikh Mujib amidst loud clappings said that if he had substantial majority in the coming elections he would show the rights of Bengal were restored. He said none could anymore deprive Bengalees of their rights unless 'Mir Zafars of Bengal' betrayed. He said that a conspiracy was being hatched to purchase Bengalee members of the assembly to weaken Bengal's unity when unity was needed for the struggle to establish our rights.

Exploitation

Sheikh Mujib said that his politics was to bring an end to the exploitation which had ruined the economy of Bangla Desh.

He said that the fourthcoming elections were the last chance of realising the legitimate rights through constitutional way.

He called upon the people to take a fresh vow either to achieve the six-point formula or to die. There was no other alternative, he added.

He said that legitimate demands must be realised through continued struggle and remarked that nothing could be achieved through begging. Explaining the six-point formula of his party, he said that it had nothing against the people of any other region. It was a group of politicians who were opposing it, because it was designed to eliminate vested interests.

Similarly they had raised the slogans of Pakistan and Islam in danger over the question of Bengali being adopted as a national language. They had come out with a similar bogey when the United Front had emerged.

He told the cheering crowd that in a country like Pakistan where 90 per cent of the population was Muslim, the slogan of Islam in danger was merely a hoax. The future constitution must be framed on the 11-point formula, he added. He said that his politics was not merely for the sake of going to power but it was to establish people's rule in the country.

The Sheikh in his half-an-hour speech said that the Bengalees would no more live a life of second class citizens. Either they would live as free citizens or would die in the struggle.

He asked the people to rally round Awami League to finish the political touts and Mir Zafars on December 7 so that they might not get any chance to betray the cause of the Bengalees any more. If you can do it there is no power on earth which can check in getting your demands realised this time, he added.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—October 26, 1970)

SIX-POINT PROGRAMME WILL NOT DESTROY PAKISTAN OR ISLAM

SAIDPUR (Rangpur), October 25 : Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief, has said that his party's six-point programme would never destroy Pakistan or Islam but it would only destroy exploiters.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman addressing a large public meeting at Bangla High School ground here yesterday said that one of the demands in the six-point programme was restriction on the flight of capital from Bengal which had frightened the exploiting people of the province. The Awami League Chief complained that Bengal

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

had been made a market for West Wing product for which old industries of the province had been destroyed.

In this connection he referred to the provinces textile, sugar and salt industries and its continued dependence on West Wing import. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that his fight was to realise rights of Bengalees, adding that by Bengalees he meant Bengali Muslim, Bengali Hindus and Bengali refugees.

He complained that successive Central Governments had also deprived refugees of Bengal of their due share in funds collected through refugees tax. He said, only 15 per cent of refugee fund money was used for refugees in East Pakistan while the remaining 85 per cent was spent in the West Wing.

* * * *

He said if he could secure a substantial majority in the election he would show how Bengal's rights could be realised and exploitation stopped. But he said if rights would not be secured through election his party would launch a mass movement for which he wanted people to be with him.

The Awami League Chief censured the Ayub regime for the exploitation of Bengal and depriving Bengalees of their rights. He said while Ayub Khan after serving the British claimed to be a patriot, while those who fought for Pakistan were branded traitors.

He said that his struggle was against 22 families and exploiters from West Pakistan but nothing against the poor people of the West Wing.

He said that he and his party would always support them in their fight against Zamindar, Jagirdar and Sarmayadar.

* * * *

He said that for the last 23 years Bengalees had suffered a lot but they were this time determined to achieve victory either through election or through struggles.

He campaigned for his party candidates for the coming election and said that since he and his party had restored the right of franchise only they were entitled to their vote in the coming election.

Addressing another public meeting at Domar in Rangpur, the Awami League Chief said that the persons who had sacrificed the interests of Bengal at the altar of Ayub Khan and acted against the cause of the Bengalees had no claim to be favoured with votes. Sheikh Mujib further said that those who had acted as agents of Ayub Khan and sided with him in denying the right of franchise to the people should not be elected to do more harm to the people. How could those agents claim votes which were secured through struggle launched by his party and the people. The Sheikh reminded the people that they would have to fight if the rights of Bengalees were not achieved through elections.

* * * *

He said that Bengalees for long suffered defeats and they would no longer accept any more defeat and this time they were determined to achieve victory. He said that there was nothing wrong or un Islamic in his party's slogan of "Jai Bangla" which meant victory for Bengal. Only those who did not want Bengal's victory would dislike the slogan "Jai Bangla," he said, adding that when he said "Jai Bangla" he would also say "Jai Panjab", "Jai Sindi", "Jai Pakistan" as well. He recalled that during the Pakistan movement they used the term 'Zindabad'. The slogan currently being used was of relatively recent origin. He was confident that the slogan of "Jai Bangla" would in near future spread to every nook and corner of Bengal including rural areas.

The six-point programme, he said, sought to ensure political and economic autonomy for the people of Bengal and end exploitation. He was critical of those who in the name of Islam wanted to wreck Bengalees' efforts to restore their rights through the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

six-point programme and those who termed it as uniIslamic. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman censured the Ayub regime for exploitation of Bengalees and repression on those including himself who protested against such exploitation.

He said that Bengalees would prove through coming elections that they wanted to secure their rights by implementing the six-point programme the main theme of which was that Bengalees must be master of their own land and their own resources. Awami League Chief in his campaign for party candidates in the coming election said that Awami League election alliance or united front with (Wali Group) National Awami Party was not possible because of difference in principle. He said that alliance was not possible, as NAP Chief Wali Khan did not support either Awami League's six-point programme or the students' eleven-point programme.

NILPHAMARI (Rangpur), October 25: Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said on Friday that seven crore Bengalees were now determined to put an end to their exploitations and become masters of their own destiny.

Addressing a huge public meeting at Bangla High School Maidan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that it was time to put an end to the exploitations of the Bengalees and ensure fairplay and justice for them in all spheres of national life. Sounding a note of warning, the Awami League Chief said that if there was any attempt to deprive the seven crore people of Bangla Desh of their rights, those who are responsible for it would have to pay very heavily. He said, "We will not forgive those who have imposed injustice on us."

Amidst cheers and slogans, the Awami League Chief declared that the six-point programme of his party aimed at total economic and political emancipation of the people of Bangla Desh. He hoped that the people would support the six-point programme and elect Awami League candidates who would go to the Assemblies to fight for their demands.

Quoting facts and figures Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that a great economic injustice resulting in the wide gulf of disparity between the two regions had been done to East Pakistan, and added that the capitalists and bureaucrats of West Pakistan had exploited the people of East Pakistan and took away all the money from here.

He said that the people of Bangla Desh would not allow flight of capital from this wing to outside. He said that almost all the money earned by the industrialists and the big business was sent to West Pakistan for development of that wing. In this connection, he also referred to the movement of gold between the two wings. He said that there should be free movement of gold between the two wings.

Sheikh Mujib said that some people were raising the slogans of "Islam in danger" to divert the attention of the people from the real problems and get their votes. He asked the people to beware of such elements and expose them so that they could not do further harm to the interest of the people of Bangla Desh. Earlier, on arrival here the Awami League Chief was accorded a rousing welcome by the people. He was profusely garlanded.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—October 26, 1970)

MUJIB ASKS PEOPLE TO SUPPORT 6-POINT PROGRAMME

NATORE (Rajshahi), October 27: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, has asked for support to his party's six-point programme

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which he said, besides ensuring political and economic autonomy of Bengal also sought to restrict the flight of capital from East Pakistan to West Wing.

The Awami League Chief addressing a public meeting here yesterday explained the six-point programme and recalled the circumstances in which he had first enunciated it. He said that the former President Ayub Khan had even threatened him with 'language of weapons' and jailed him only because he was not ready to barter away the interests of Bengal. He said that he had faced the Ayub regime when right of franchise was snatched away from the people and continued to struggle till that right was restored.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that he could become Prime Minister, Governor or Minister long before if he would have agreed to sell out the interests of Bengal and betray his people. He said that he would prefer dying in jail to the office of Prime Minister, betraying the cause of his people. Referring to his release from detention in connection with the Agartala Conspiracy Case he said that he was indebted to the people for the blood they had shed for him and he prayed that he could repay that debt by his own blood.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—October 28, 1970)

SOCIAL REVOLUTION POSSIBLE THROUGH DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Text of Mujib's speech

My dear fellow citizens, brothers and sisters,

Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I must begin by offering Monajat for those heroic martyrs, who shed their blood and laid down their lives for the cause of the people. It is their sacrifices and that of countless thousands who have defied tyranny in movement after movement leading up to last year's historic mass upsurge, that has carried the people's struggle forward. Indeed even the fact that I am able to speak to you over the national radio and television network may be counted as one of the initial gains of the people's struggle since until this time this privilege was monopolised by those in power.

Our struggle must go on. For the real goals lie ahead. Power has to be won by the people. The exploitation of man by man and of region by region, must be brought to an end. The powerful countries which have ruled Pakistan for 22 years, will do everything possible to prevent transfer of power to the people.

It is they who are actively conspiring to frustrate the holding of the general elections. And even after elections, they will continue to obstruct every effort to end exploitation. They have money, they have influence. They have the capacity to use force against the people. History, however, testifies that a determined people can successfully resist and overcome such forces of oppression.

The most solemn pledge that the Awami League can make to the people of Pakistan is that we shall stand by their side and indeed lead them in resisting the forces of oppression and exploitation. No people have secured freedom and justice unless they have been prepared to die for it. We, therefore serve notice upon the forces of reaction in our society that we, along with the people of Pakistan will confront them and if democratic processes are obstructed, we shall resist them by every means possible.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Awami League was born in adversity and has grown in adversity. Under our great leader, the late Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, we came into existence to defy the attempt of the ruling party to form a one-party State. We thus began the struggle to establish democracy in Pakistan. This struggle continues till this day. Our party has faced onslaught after onslaught from the ruling group. Our leadership and our workers have spent the better part of their lives in jails. We have faced and overcome every form of repression. It is this that gives us the courage and confidence today to commit ourselves to the task of confronting the anti-democratic forces.

To overcome the crisis that engulfs the nation, we must resolve those issues which are its cause. The first is the deprivation of political freedom. The second is the sense of economic injustice felt by the overwhelming multitudes of our people. The third is the deep sense of injustice created by the widening economic disparity between the regions. It is this that underlines the anguish and the anger of the Bengali people. The same sentiment is reflected among the down-trodden people of the neglected areas of West Pakistan.

Fundamental Rights

Our manifesto sets out a comprehensive strategy for resolving these fundamental issues. A real living democracy must be established, in which all the fundamental freedoms shall be constitutionally guaranteed. Our manifesto outlines a framework for the healthy growth of political parties, trade unions and local self-government. We do pledge to restore complete freedom of the press and academic freedom and to eradicate corruption which has grown like cancer in our society.

Economic System

The present economic system, which has established an intolerable structure of injustice, must be radically altered. Today barely two dozen families have acquired control over 60 per cent of the nation's industrial assets, 80 per cent of its banking assets and 75 per cent of its insurance assets. Eighty-two of the total bank advances are concentrated in only three per cent of the total accounts. The tax structure in existence is one of the most regressive in the world. Only two per cent of the GNP is being realised as direct taxes as against six per cent in other developing countries, while oppressive indirect taxes are imposed on such essential commodities as salt. Protected markets, tax holidays, huge subsidies in the form of bonus vouchers, credits and grants of foreign exchange at the artificially low official rate have created specially favourable conditions for the growth of monopolies and cartels.

Feudal Lords

Despite nominal land reforms, feudal lords have retained princely estates. They enjoy vast privileges and their prosperity increases while the lot of the poor peasants becomes more and more desperate. In a bid for survival, there is a movement of people from the villages to the cities. According to official estimates 1/5th of the total labour force or about 90 lakh people are unemployed. This alarming figure continues to grow. The industrial workers are suffering the full impact of the sharp rise in the cost of living. The cost of living is increasing more rapidly than the increases in money wages. The impact of the unending rise in the cost of living is also acutely felt by school and college teachers, low-paid officers and employees, particularly the fourth grade employees of Government.

Disparity

To turn now to the appalling record of economic disparity it is seen that during the last 20 years, out of the total revenue expenditure of the Government, only about Rs. 1,500 crores (that is only one-fifth of the total) was spent in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bengal, as against over Rs. 5,000 crores in West Pakistan. Of the total development expenditure during the same period, Rs. 3,060 crores (that is only 1/3 of the total) was spent in Bengal, as against over Rs. 6,000 cores in West Pakistan. Over 20 years, West Pakistan has imported goods worth more than Rs. 3,000 crores as against its own foreign exchange earnings of barely Rs. 1,300 crores. Imports into West Pakistan have been three times the value of the imports into Bengal. It was made possible for West Pakistan to import goods worth Rs. 2,000 crores in excess of its export earnings by allocating to it Rs. 500 crores of the foreign exchange earnings of Bengal and allowing it to utilise over 80 per cent of all foreign aid.

The record in the field of government services is just as deplorable after 22 years. Bengalis account for barely 15 per cent in Central Government services and less than 10 per cent in the defence services.

The total economic impact of such discrimination has been that the economy of Bengal is today in a state of imminent collapse. Near famine conditions are prevailing in the majority of the villages. Some fifteen lakh tons of rice has had to be imported only to save the people from starvation.

Inflation

While inflation has been mounting, those who are worse hit are the poor people of Bengal. The price of essential commodities has been 50 to 100 per cent higher in Bengal than in West Pakistan. The average price of coarse rice in Bengal is Rs. 45 to 50 per maund as against Rs. 20 to 25 per maund in West Pakistan and that of wheat is Rs. 30 to 35 per maund in East Bengal as against Rs. 15 to 20 per maund in West Pakistan. Mustard oil sells in Bengal at Rs. 5 per seer as against Rs. 2.50 per seer in West Pakistan. The gold price is Rs. 135 to 140 per tola in Karachi as against Rs. 160 to 165 per tola at Dacca. Even a customs barrier has been imposed against carrying gold from West Pakistan to Bengal.

This injustice is the product of the management of the economy for 22 years by the Central Government. The Central Government is incapable of redressing such injustices. This is borne out by the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The Fourth Plan allocations are a confession of the failure of the Central Government, however powerful it might be to redress past injustices.

Six points

The Awami League's six point programme, which is embodied in the 11-point programme, presents a rational solution to this problem of regional injustice. With a central bureaucracy in which Bengalis account for barely 15, and with the nature of the power structure being what it is, to expect justice from a centralised system of economic management would be to expect the impossible.

Attempts to secure larger allocations by political representatives of Bengal and the other under-developed areas would only aggravate regional tensions and threaten the viability of the federal Government. The only feasible solution is the re-ordering of the constitutional structure by giving full regional autonomy to the federating units on the basis of our six-point formula. Such autonomy in order to be effective must include the power of managing the economy. This is why we insist upon federating units having control over monetary and fiscal policy and foreign exchange earnings and other powers to negotiate foreign trade and aid. By giving to the federating units full control over its economic destiny, while entrusting to the federal government responsibility over foreign affairs and defence and subject to certain safeguards, currency. We believe a just federal balance will be attained. Our federal scheme envisages the abolition of all-Pakistan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

services and its replacement by federal services in which persons shall be recruited on the basis of population for all parts of Pakistan.

Militia

We also believe that the maintenance of a militia or a para-military force by the federating units will effectively contribute towards national security. This federal scheme by removing the sources of doubt, distrust and discrimination will ensure a strong Pakistan.

This scheme will understandably be opposed by those in one region who would like to treat another region as a colony or a market. We believe, however, that this scheme will have the full support of the common people of Bengal and West Pakistan. Within this constitutional framework, we believe it will be possible to bring about a social revolution through the democratic process and to create a socialist economic order, free from exploitation.

Rapid economic growth is an imperative necessity in order to meet the needs of our growing population. To achieve it, enormous effort and sacrifices are required of our people. Our people can be expected to respond to our call for making a big collective effort only if we can assure them that the burden of sacrifices as well as the fruits of economic prosperity shall be equitably shared among all sections of the people and all regions of the country. To ensure this, certain radical changes must be made in the structure of our economy.

We believe that it is imperative to place key areas of the economy, including banking and insurance, under public ownership through nationalisation. Future development in these areas should take place in the public sector. In the new order, workers should share in the equity capital and management of industrial enterprises.

The private sector also in its own sphere must make its full contribution to the economy. Monopolies and cartels must be totally eliminated. The tax structure must be made truly progressive and drastic restrictions must be imposed on the consumption of luxuries.

Cottage Industries

Extensive support and encouragement must be extended to small-scale and cottage industries. Such support should include ensuring regular supply of raw materials, such as yarn and dye-stuffs, to handloom weavers at reasonable prices. Marketing and credit facilities must also be made available to them. Small-scale industries must be developed through co-operatives and dispersed throughout the countryside, reaching into the depths of the rural areas, so that the desperately needed employment opportunities are extended to our rural masses.

Jute and Cotton

Jute has suffered from criminal neglect. A discriminatory exchange rate and parasitic middle men have denied to the growers a fair price. Nationalisation of the jute trade and much greater emphasis on jute research aimed at improving quantity and yield per acre will enable jute to make its rightful contributoin to our economy.

Cotton needs similar attention and therefore, we believe that cotton trade should also be nationalised and measures adopted to improve quality and yield. Our major cash crops, tea, sugarcane and tobacco still suffer from appallingly low yields due to neglect of previous governments.

In a resource-poor country every effort must be made to ensure rapid increase in productivity. A fair and stable price to the growers should also be ensured.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Agricultural Sector

Indeed our entire agricultural sector needs to be revolutionised. The jagirdari zamindari and sardari system in West Pakistan must be abolished. The entire land system has to undergo a radical reorientation in the interest of the actual tillers of land. Ceilings must be imposed on land holdings. Land above such ceilings and government khas land must be redistributed to landless cultivators.

Agriculture must be modernised. The obstacle presented by the fragmentation and sub-division of land-holdings must be overcome. An immediate step in the right direction would be to induce the tillers to group their holdings under multi-purpose co-operatives. Government could provide effective inducement for this purpose by funnelling through such co-operatives vital inputs such as irrigation embankment, drainage, deep tube wells, power pumps, fertiliser, improved seeds, agricultural implements and machinery, credit and instruction in modern agricultural techniques.

As a measure of immediate relief to our peasants who are groaning under the burden of land revenue, we would abolish land revenue in respect of holdings upto 25 bighas and write off all arrears in respect of such holdings. Ultimately we aim at abolishing the present system of land revenue.

Three vital areas which form part of the infra-structure of the economy must be accorded the highest priority. The first is flood control.

Flood Control

A comprehensive flood control programme must be implemented on an emergency basis. Measures to prevent water-logging and salinity in West Pakistan must also be implemented at an accelerated pace.

Power

The next vital area is that of power. There must be massive expansion in power generation and distribution. Extensive rural electrification must be launched to take electricity to the villages so as to make it possible for small-scale industries to be established. We aim at attaining power generation capacity of 2,500 megawatts in Bengal within 5 years. Every source of power must be harnessed by maximising power generation capacity. The Rooppur Nuclear Power Project and Jamalganj Coal Project must be immediately implemented. Natural gas must also be fully utilised.

The third vital area is that of transport and communications. The highest priority is accorded by us to the construction of a bridge over the River Jamuna to enable direct communications to and from North Bengal. Bridges should also be developed over different points on the River Indus in Sind and the Punjab and over the Buriganga, Sitalakhya and Karnaphuli.

The development of ports, both sea-ports and inland river ports, as also roads and railways, must be accorded the highest priority.

Education

No investment is as vital for the healthy development of our society as investment in education. It is an alarming fact that a number of primary schools in Bengal has declined since 1947. Only 18 per cent of our population has attained literacy and the number of illiterates is increasing by over 1 million persons per year. Primary Education is denied to more than half of the nation's children. Only 18 per cent of our boys and 6 per cent of our girls complete the first five years of elementary school. We believe that at least 4 per cent of the gross national product should be committed to education. The salary of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

college and school teachers, and in particular school teachers, must be substantially increased. Illiteracy must be eradicated by adoption of extraordinary methods.

A crash programme must be launched to extend free compulsory primary education to all children within five years. Secondary education should be made readily accessible to all sections of our people. New universities, including medical and technical universities, must be rapidly established. Poverty should not be allowed to deprive meritorious boys and girls of the opportunity to pursue higher education. Immediate steps should be taken to ensure that Bengali and Urdu replace English in all walks of life, while every effort should be made to encourage the development of regional languages.

Turning to the problem of the cities, we find low-income groups living in sub-human conditions. The so-called improvement trusts have been busy developing luxurious residential areas for the wealthy, while the poor have been left to fend for themselves. Future urban development must concentrate on providing for the needs of the poor majority of city dwellers. Low-cost urban housing must be accorded the highest priority.

In the field of health, even a minimum measure of medical relief is denied to over 90 per cent of our population. Immediate measures should be undertaken to establish a rural medical centre at every union, and a hospital at every thana headquarters. National service in the rural areas should be introduced for medical graduates, and paramedical personnel must be trained in large numbers to staff the rural health centres.

Workers

Industrial workers play as vital a role in the economy as in the people's struggle. Their basic rights to form trade unions, to bargain collectively and to strike must be guaranteed. A living wage and the basic amenities such as housing, education and medical care for themselves and their children must be assured. All labour laws which restrict the basic rights of workers must be repealed. By ensuring that workers are given a stake in the industry, they can be expected to make their full contribution towards increasing industrial productivity. Productivity in all sections of the economy must be increased to the maximum extent possible if we are to meet the needs of our society.

The wage structure throughout the economy must be altered in keeping with the dictates of justice. Price stabilisation measures must be adopted to protect the real wages of the workers and low-paid employees against spiralling inflation.

Minority

We firmly believe in the equality of all citizens. The members of the minority community should know that we have always stood against every form of communalism. They shall enjoy equal rights with all other citizens and shall enjoy equal protection of the laws. Every effort must be made to develop our tribal areas so that these areas can be fully integrated with other areas and the tribal people are able to enjoy equal opportunities with other citizens in all walks of life. Our brothers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in the off-shore island and the coastal areas, require special assistance to develop their latent resources, in order to enable them to play their rightful part in our national life.

Mohajirs

Mohajirs should be integrated into the national life so that they may become assimiliated with the local people and thus enjoy equal rights and opportunities with them in all walks of life.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I must repudiate once and for all the false propaganda that Islam is endangered by the sixpoint formula or our economic programme. Nothing which promotes justice between region and region and man and man can be opposed to Islam. We have affirmed our commitment to the constitutional principle that no law should be enacted or imposed in Pakistan which is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as contained in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

Foreign Policy

To turn to the important area of foreign policy, we believe that it is imperative for us to avoid involvement in global power conflicts. We must therefore pursue truly independent non-aligned foreign policy. We are committed to the immediate withdrawal from SEATO, CENTO and all other military pacts, and to avoid any such involvements in the future. We support the struggle of the oppressed people of the world against imperialism, colonialism and apartheid. In keeping with the principle of friendship for all and malice towards none', we believe in peaceful coexistence with all states and in particular our neighbours. We believe that normalisation of our relations with our neighbours would be to the best advantage of our peoples. We therefore attach the highest importance to the settlement of our outstanding disputes. We have emphasised the importance of a just settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with United Nations resolutions. The threat of grave and permanent damage to the economy of Bengal posed by the completion of Farakka barrage must be immediately met. Every effort must be made for a just solution of this problem without further delay.

But these programmes and policies can only be implemented if power is won by the people. Elections will serve as a referendum on basic national issues particularly that of autonomy on the basis of the six-point formula. The elected representatives of the people alone can give to this country a constitution which will be a durable basis for living together. It is for this reason that we have repeatedly pointed out that restrictions sought to be imposed on the constitution-making power of the elected representatives of the people are not legitimate.

We would once again urge upon the President to repeal the restrictive provisions of the Legal Framework Order. It would also help to create conditions congenial for restoration of democracy if all pending cases and warrants against political workers, students and labourers arising out of political activities and out of last year's mass upsurge are withdrawn, and all sentences imposed in such cases are commuted. All political prisoners detained without trial should also be released.

Armed forces

It is imperative for the security of the nation that our armed forces should not have to carry the burden of civil administration or to have to involve itself in politics. These highly trained professionals should be left free to devote themselves exclusively to the vital task of defending the nation's frontiers.

I would like to end by saying that as a nation we must prove equal to the challenge that faces us. A real living democracy must be established. The different people who make up Pakistan can only live together within a democratic framework. Any attempt to destroy democracy would in the process destroy Pakistan. Justice between region and region must be ensured by granting full regional autonomy to the federating units on the basis of our six-point formula. Within such a federal democratic framework, radical economic programmes must be implemented to bring about a social revolution.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Awami League has resolved to face this great challenge. We believe that with the support and confidence of the people which our party enjoys we shall Insha-Allah, be able successfully to meet the challenge.

Pakistan Zindabad.

BENGALEES SHOULD BE MASTER OF OWN RESOURCES

Movement, if demands not Realised Constitutionally

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, threatend to launch a country-wide movement if the people's demands are not realised through Assemblies.

Addressing a big public meeting at Joydevpur, about 27 miles north of here, Sheikh Mujib called upon the people to remain prepared to join a mass movement which he threatened to launch if the vested interests conspired against the "people's victory" after the general elections in the country.

He said the December elections were not for power but to decide the fate of Bengal, which continued to be exploited since independence. The Awami League wanted to realise its six-point programme through the elections which meant that the Bengalees should be the master of their own resources, he told the cheering crowd.

Sheikh Mujib said the land of Bengal was fertile, which, he added, produced both 'golden crops and parasites' in the agricultural fields. Similarly, he said, there were some political parasites who were responsible for the present miseries of Bengal. Explaining, he said, these "political parasites" acted as the agents of the exploiters for some petty gains and ministerships sacrificing the interest of Bengal. In the coming elections, the political parasites should not only be uprooted but eliminated for ever, he said.

Recalling the post 1954 election political events in the country, he said the people voted the candidates in the elections in response to the call given by the Sher-e-Bangla Fazlul Huq but later he (Sher-e-Bangla) was termed as traitor. Late H. S. Suhrawardy who was one of the founders of Pakistan, was also harassed and imprisoned. "It is a misfortune for Bengal", he regretted.

But, Sheikh Mujib warned that he had not become so old like the Sher-e-Bangla. He warned that if the vested interests attempted to conspire again after the elections he would give a call for a mass movement to eliminate them.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said there were some people who wanted to create division amongst the people. He said all men, irrespective of religion or caste, were equal before the Almighty-Allah. So, he said, members of both majority and minority communities were equal citizens of Pakistan and have the equal rights to enjoy all facilities. He asked the members of the majority community to safeguard the security and rights of the minority community. He appealed to the people to maintain law and order for holding the elections peacefully.

The Awami League Chief recalled the day when he was imprisoned by the previous regime. He referred to his suffering and said if patriotism was a fault, love for poor masses was a fault and demanding rights for Bengalees was a fault, he would continue to commit such faults till his death.

Amidst cheers, he declared that it was his last fight for the cause of Bengal and called for blessings of the people so that he could sacrifice his life in return to those Shuhada, who had laid down their lives in the last mass upsurge. Shuhada had sacrificed their lives for the establishment of the legitimate right of the people.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said when he was in jail, the people had no right of franchise and parity existed between the two Wings. The Government had allowed the right of franchise and accepted the representation on population basis when he demanded those in his first speech at the Race Course Maidan.

Referring to the criticism against the Awami League's pledge that land revenue upto 25 bighas of land would be exempted if they were voted to power Sheikh Mujib assured his audience that if people's government was formed, the pledge would be materialised. He proposed to withdraw the tax-holiday for the industries and levy more taxes on big industrialists to compensate for the loss which would be incurred due to the exemption of land revenue.

He also said the labourers would be given share in the mills and factories.

Listing the existing disparity in various sectors between two Wings, he said the entire money allocated for West Wing during the last five-year development plan was spent while Rs. 1,100 crore allocated to East Pakistan lapsed. He demanded that the unspent money in East Pakistan's quota should be given back to the province.

He also criticised the policy of the restriction on the movement of gold between two Wings. He said gold carried to East Pakistan from West Pakistan was illegal and in the case of West Wing it was not.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 1, 1970)

STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITERS, BUT NOT WEST PAKISTANIS

SYLHET, November 5: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief, said here today that his struggle was agianst exploiters, responsible for taking away resources of Bengal to West Pakistan and not against people of that Wing.

Addressing a large public meeting at Registrar's Ground this morning he said that the coming election was not for going to power but for framing a Constitution.

He reiterated that election was virtually a referendum on the issue of Regional Autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme and students' eleven-point programme.

The Awami League Chief said that he had opposed the Ayub regime because it was responsible for exploitation of Bengal and had suffered repression for supporting the cause of Bengalees.

Referring to the six-point programme, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that former President Ayub Khan had even threatened him with "language of weapons" when he had first enunciated the programme four years ago. He said that his party's six-point programme only sought to ensure that in Constitution Bengal's interest would be safeguarded through regional autonomy.

The Awami League Chief complained against exploitation of Bengal and depriving Bengalees of their due share in national affairs including development and services. He placed before the audience statistics to show that in development allocation, foreign aid distribution, administrative expenditure and services, injustice had been done to East Pakistan. He said that his struggle was for securing justice for Bengalees without prejudicing the interest of the West Wing.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that independence was achieved at great sacrifice and people had fought British and had ultimately driven them away because

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

they were exploiting them. He said that the purpose of independence would be frustrated if exploitation still continued.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that he would not allow any one to treat Bengal as a colony and that people were determined to realise their rights.

He paid tributes to Sylhetis living in Britain and recalled how they had engaged British Lawyer Thomas Williams to defend him in the Agartala Conspiracy Case.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 6, 1970)

BREAKING EACH OTHER'S HEADS NO DEMOCRACY

DACCA, November 8: President Yahya Khan today reaffirmed his promise to people to hold the general elections in the country on schedule.

But he said unhappy occurrences of breaking each other's heads and of mud-slinging at rivals as part of the election campaign are certainly not healthy. He said he is unhappy over such incidents and hoped political parties will avoid them.

The President was talking to newsmen on his arrival at the Dacca airport from Rawalpindi. The President is here on his way to China for a five-day State visit to that country which begins on November 10.

In a forthright dismissal of all "ifs and buts" on the question of holding elections, the President said in Dacca: "I promise to you, Insha Allah, we will go through it on any account".

Asked if he was satisfied with the election campaigns by different political parties, the President said he was glad that this (election campaign) was happening.

But the mode of things in which people beat up each other was no democracy, he remarked.

"I don't think I can be quite satisfied with this. You will agree with me", he told the questioner.

Elaborating on the point, the President said democracy proceeded peacefully "as my aim is to proceed peacefully". Disturbances and mud-slinging, he said, were against the very interest of the country.

The President said the "nation is good. The people are all patriotic. Leaders are also good. But occasionally they lose their temper and hit each other". The President said he was not satisfied on that account.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—November 9, 1970)

NO POWER CAN RESIST BENGALEES FROM GETTING RIGHTS

MOULI BAZAR (SYLHET), November 9: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief said here yesterday that if Bengalees unitedly give their verdict in favour of regional autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme no power could resist them from achieving their rights.

* * * *

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Awami League Chief gave a brief account of inter-wing disparity in different spheres and said there could be no compromise before Bengalees were given back their rights. He referred to East Wing's poor representation in services, especially in defence services and said that Bengalees were denied their rights despite their majority.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman censured those Ulema who, he said, in the name of Islam were trying to frustrate the move by Bengalees to get back their rights. He said that there could be no compromise before all money and resources taken away from Bengal were given back to Bengalees.

Earlier addressing a public meeting at Kualura, railway junction township, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman condemned Thursday's violence in Khulna in which some people were killed and many others were wounded.

The Awami League Chief expressed concern over deterioration in the law and order situation and appealed to the people for maintaining peace even in the face of provocation.

Sheikh Mujib also addressed public meetings at Shamshernagar, Rajnagar, Barlekha, Dakshinbag, Munshirbazar and Brahmanbazar.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—November 10, 1970)

AWAMI LEAGUE STANDS FOR INTER-WING UNITY ONLY TO FIGHT AGAINST EXPLOITERS

DEBIDWAR (Comilla) November 10: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, has said that he and his party stood for unity of the people of East and West Pakistan to fight against those exploiters who were trying to create disunity among the people of the two Wings.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was addressing a large public meeting here yesterday as part of election campaign for his party nominee, Captain (retired) Sujat Ali who is being opposed by Provincial (Wali) NAP Chief, Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed in a National Assembly Constituency.

The Awami League Chief said that his struggle was for ending exploitation of Bangla Desh by exploiters from West Pakistan but he was not against the poor people of that Wing. He reiterated that he and his party would help the masses in West Pakistan in their struggle against zamindars, zagirdars and other exploiters.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman recalled his involvement in the Agartala Conspiracy case and said that he had been made an accused in the case only because he was fighting for the rights of the people. He said that he would continue his fight for the Bengalees and for the poor masses of West Pakistan even at the risk of his own life.

The Awami League Chief said that if the Bengalees unitedly gave their verdict in favour of regional autonomy on the basis of his party's six-point programme, there was no power that could deny them their legitimate rights. He said that if the demands of Bangla Desh were not fulfilled through elections they would have to choose the path of movement, that would be decisive. He said that he would lead such a movement "till final victory is ours".

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman deplored that Bengalees, despite being majority were denied their due share in the administration and other spheres. He held "the Mir Zafars of Bengal, the political parasites" more responsible for such injustice

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to the people of Bengal. He urged the people to "weed out those political parasites" in the coming elections.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman explained his party's six-point programme with particular reference to the provision to restrict flight of capital and transfer of resources from Bengal to West Pakistan. He said, if they can search our pocket for gold we can also search their waist for money. He was referring to the present restriction on free movement of gold from East to West Pakistan. "We will allow none to take away our money and resources and we demand that whatever you have taken in the past you must return".

The Awami League Chief earlier in the day addressed a large public meeting at Kashba in Comilla district where he spoke for his party nominee who is contesting Mr. Tofazzal Ali, a former Minister for a National Assembly seat.

He also addressed a public meeting at Muradnagar in Brahmanbaria sub-division of Comilla district.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 10, 1970)

AWAMI LEAGUE WILL RESIST ANY ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE ELECTION

KAPASIA, November 10 : Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the Awami League, while addressing a public meeting held under the auspices of the Awami League at Kalleswar High School Maidan under Kapasia PS on November 5, said that a class of exploiters belonging to Western region had sucked East Bengal for the last 23 years. He added that 23-years history of Pakistan is a history of conspiracy, history of continuous oppression.

He said, peasants, labour, students and public of this country dream of a life in elections. Awami League is determined to resist through a mass movement any attempt by the vested interests to sabotage election. Addressing the gathering he said after the achievement of Pakistan, the resources of Bengal have been transferred to other places. The 22 families have snatched all the resources of Bengal; as a result poor people of this country have become poorer.

Mr. Tajuddin said, we are struggling to redress the sorrows and grievances of the poor people, and particularly for the realisation of autonomy through the six point programme. We have fought to realise the rights and demands of Bengal inspite of jail and a false conspiracy case like Agartala.

Mr. Tajuddin further said, Awami League loves the soil and the people of Bengal and its leader Bangabandhu Sheik Mujibur Rahman have been struggling to realise the just demands of the people. The students, peasants and the labour, without any hesitation shed their blood to release us from the jail. If necessary, we will also shed our blood for the realisation of the demands of the people. People will not forgive them who are responsible for creating wide economic disparity between regions. He said, many tea-planters and mill owners have sucked the poor labourers and deprived them of their legitimate remuneration.

After the fall of Ayub Khan, they are again in the field for votes to mislead the people.

Mr. Tajuddin called upon the people to recognise these agents and to be aware of them. He said, the right of franchise has been attained after blood-shed and so in the ensuing elections, Mirzafars of Bengal will have to be rooted out from the soil for ever.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He bitterly condemned the imposition of tax on salt, betel-nut, kerosene and fertilizer.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 11, 1970)

NEXT ELECTION LAST CHANCE FOR BENGALEES

BHANGA (Faridpur), November 12 : Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Awami League, while addressing a big public meeting here in the late afternoon said the first General Elections next month were going to be the last opportunity for the Bengalees "to assert their rights. We should cast vote in favour of those candidates who are pledged to the people's cause".

He appealed to the people to elect those candidates who stood by them and fought for the realization of their legitimate right, full regional autonomy and removal of inter-wing economic disparity.

The Awami League leader earlier in the day addressed over a dozen public meetings, most of them unscheduled starting at Goalando ferry ghat on the first leg of his eight day electioneering campaign in parts of four districts of Faridpur, Barisal, Khulna and Jessore. Sheikh Mujib appealed to people to rally under the banner of his party for framing a constitution embodying full regional autonomy on the basis of six-point programme and to put an end to the exploitation of the resources of East Pakistan by a handful of people from the West Wing. "We cannot continue to be silent spectators to the drainage of our resources to see the poor become poorer", he added.

He told a huge public meeting at Rajbari that East Wing did not grudge to elect non-Bengalees to the First Constituent Assembly and later had accepted parity in representation with open heart but, he regretted, these gestures went futile and we suffered injustices in the past 'twenty-three years.

Against the background of the growing poverty of the people of Bengal, he added, the six-point formula was evolved to protect the interest of the eastern part of the country. He also gave a brief account of disparity in different fields.

Sheikh Mujib said it was we who stood by the people and did not mind to undergo sacrifices for the protection of the interest of the people. "We raised protest to get back the right of franchise which we achieved after suffering imprisonments and lot of repressions let loose by the "Ayub-Momen' Regime".

The Awami League leader told the people that those leaders who remained aloof from the people when they were laying down their lives to fight back the repression of the Government could not claim the votes of the downtrodden, peasantry and workers. "These political parasites should be given a crushing defeat in the coming polls".

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 13, 1970)

MUJIB CAUTIONS AGAINST ANTI-PEOPLE FORCES

SHIBCHAR (Faridpur), November 13 : Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Awami League, said here today the anti-people forces were active with fresh vigour to "frustrate" the coming elections because they realize that the outcome of the polls would go entirely against their agents in the field.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Addressing a massive public meeting the Awami League leader said the conspirators and vested interests of West Pakistan and the exploiters have lost whatever interest they had in the elections. They knew the results of the elections.

Sheikh Mujib cautioned the people against the activities of these conspirators and their agents in East Pakistan and charged that those anti-people forces were trying to provoke disturbances to frustrate elections.

Referring to the recent disturbances in Khulna, Dacca and other places the Awami League leader told the people that these were parts of the attempts to frustrate elections. He also appealed to the people, especially workers, to maintain peace and tranquillity in the face of provocation.

He said, "I will resist such designs by the conspirators. I am not in jail now" he added while warning the anti-people forces trying to sabotage the realization of the aspirations of the people.

Sheikh Mujib said he and his party were pledged to realize the rights of the people and full regional autonomy based on the six-point and the 11-point programmes. He said that they could fight it to the end to establish people's rule and appealed to the electorate to return Awami League candidates.

He said: "Bury the political parties and Mirjafars through the polls". He added that these people never hesitated to sell out the interests of the province for the sake of Ministerial jobs with the result that economic conditions of the common men and peasantry suffered steady deterioration.

The Awami League leader explained the party programme and said the elections were going to have vital bearing on the future of the people of Bangla Desh. He added Awami League was determined to put an end to the exploitation of the resources of the province to free the people from the clutches of vested interests.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was given tomultuous reception by the people, many of whom are from far flung areas when he reached the constituency where Awami League candidate faces the Provincial Chief of Jamiat-Ulema Islam, Pir Mohsenuddin, a former member of the National Assembly.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 14, 1970)

RALLY ROUND AWAMI LEAGUE

GOPALGANJ (Faridpur), November 14: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today renewed his call to the people to unite under the banner of Awami League for realising their demands. He warned that conspiracy by the vested interests was going on to foil the election by creating disturbances as they have understood what would be the results of the elections.

Addressing big public meetings at Gopalganj and Ramdia, Sheikh Mujib explained why and how he was detained for long years for raising people's demands. But, he added, no other leaders then voiced their demands in fear of jail; rather they led peaceful life with members of their own families.

At Ramdia, Sheikh Mujib criticising PDP leader Mr. Abdus Salam Khan said that the latter claimed money and he was paid for appearing in Agartala Conspiracy case and he tried to hand over the party to Punjabees when he was in Awami League. Sheikh Mujib dealt at length with the cause of disparities between the two wings of Pakistan, and said that people now wanted to free themselves from all sorts of exploitations. In this regard he explained his party

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

programmes and appealed to people to cast their votes in favour of Awami League candidates.

He expressed his determination to wipe out exploiters from the soil and to make the people masters of their wealth. "People wanted independence in the real sense of the term but privileged classes enjoyed and exploited all these years the fruits of our independence", he said.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 15, 1970)

NOBODY WILL BE ALLOWED TO SUCK BANGLA DESH

MOULVI BAZAR, November 15: Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman made his speech at the local Government High School playground at the end of the day in a gathering of over twenty thousand people. A pin drop silence pervaded all over the entire meeting area when they lent their inquisitive ears to the statement of Awami League Chief.

He (Sheikh) said: "I had no dispute with President Ayub—neither with property nor with business, yet sentence after sentence detained me in jail on different terms for long twenty-two months. Because I stood for Bengalees and spoke for Bangla Desh.

That was the only offence. The matter went up to Agartala as a result of conspiracy against me. By the Grace of Allah, I came out in exchange of blood of my brethren and of the blessings of you all. And now give me a chance to save your blood from being sucked by others.

I shall never allow anybody to loot out the wealth of Bangla Desh. He also said that had he been voted to power he would have set 25 bighas of land free from revenue.

He also added that Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists and Christians stand on the same platform as men on earth and as such all should get united to fight out their rights in their struggle for legitimate claims. He also said that neither Pakistan nor Islam will go.

What will go is the big bellies of capitalists. He once again reminded the people to take care of the so-called politicians who flash like weeds of trees (pargacha) for misguiding people in the name of religion.

While explaining the misunderstanding of "Joy Bangla" he said: A Punjabi can be called Punjabi, a Sindhi a Sindhi and a Pathan a Pathan, then why can't a Bengali be called a Bengali?

Had we not been Bengali before independence? According to his sentiment 'Joy Bangala' is the slogan of specific identity. He then called upon the people to raise their hands who would vote for Nawka-Pratik.

Almost all got their both hands up for a couple of seconds.

Thereafter, a boat made of gold was presented to Sheikh Mujib by local Awami Leaguers in token of their respect and affection. He accepted the boat with a word of gratitude and ended his speech with the words "Banglar Shampad Banglay Thakbe".

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 16, 1970)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MUJIB BLAMES GOVERNMENT FAILURE

Speech at Satkhira (Khulna) on November 18, 1970

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the Awami League Chief told the people that the flood control programme and host of others were the glaring examples of failure of the Government although there was no dearth of publicity on big plans for these in the past.

He said in an emotion choked voice that the loss of lakhs of lives in the cyclone and tidal waves and in preceding calamities unmistakenly demonstrated the Government's "betrayal" to people's cause. He said whenever people raised their voice against the injustices to the people of East Pakistan and demanded for positive steps to solve their problems the Government's invariable reply was in the form of suppression and imprisonments which reached climax during Ayub-Momen' regime.

He said Khan A Sabur was one of those pillars of the Ayub Government which snatched away birth right of franchise. Mr. Sabur had publicly opposed adult franchise when people demanded it back and had served as Ayub's Minister for long eight years until the Government was toppled by people about two years back.

The Awami League Chief appealed to the people to get rid of these leaders through the polls to assert their democratic rights. He also appealed to them to unite to weed out the anti-people forces and their agents once for all.

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—November 19, 1970)

MUJIB DEPLORES APATHY TOWARDS CYCLONE VICTIMS

Statement issued at Press Conference held in Dacca on November 26, 1970

I have just returned after an extensive tour of the calamity affected coastal areas spread Barisal, Patuakhali and Khulna. By now the world has come to know of the immensity of the devastation wrought by the terrible cyclone and tidal bore which ravaged those areas on the night of the 12th and the early hours of the 13th November, 1970. To you, the members of the press, the grief-stricken people of Bangla Desh will owe an eternal debt of gratitude for having brought into focus the catastrophic magnitude or the calamity which has struck us.

Today we estimate the number of dead to be almost a million: some estimates exceed one million. The stench of death hangs heavily over those areas, as thousands of corpses and carcasses still lie the unburied over 9 days. I have moved through those areas—the Paikgacha area in Khulna; almost the whole of Bhola, including Daulatkhan, Tajumuddin, Burhanuddin. Char Lalmohan. Char Fasson and the island of Monpura: the affected parts of Patuakhali district, including Kallaya and neighbouring areas in Bauphol P.S., different areas in Olapchipa P.S., in particular the Char areas and island facing the Bay of Bengal including the islands of Rangabil, Bara Baisdiya, Char Kajal and Pan Patti; and the stricken areas in Noakhali district, in particular Hatiya Island, Char Gazi, Char Abdullah and Char Alexander and other affected areas in Ramgati P.S. and Sudharam P.S.

I cannot find words adequate to describe the holocaust which the cyclone and tidal bore have left in their trail. Nor can I adequately convey in words the suffering and the misery of those who have survived. Whole areas have been totally depopulated. In many areas of Patuakhali, Bhola and Noakhali barely 20% to 25% of the total population has survived. The survivers have lost their homes, their crops, their cattle; in fact they have lost all their worldly belongings.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

They are without clothes, without shelter and in many of the areas without any food or drinking water. The wounds on their bodies are turning septic. They thus face death from starvation, exposure and disease.

What is, however, utterly appalling is the total failure of the Government to discharge its obligations at every stage. Despite the advance information available through SUPARCO and the weather satellites, almost two whole days before the cyclone struck, no proper or adequate warning was given to the unwary inhabitants of the coastal areas, left alone any attempts being made to evacuate at least some of them. After the cyclone, there was hardly any attempt to make an accurate estimate of the death toll or the damage. Absurdly low figures were put out by the Government. The initial Government reports gave out the death figure as being around 50!

A massive resque and relief operation, if launched within 94 hours of the occurrence, could have saved thousands of lives. Thousands of survivors could have been saved from death due to starvation, exposure and lack of medical attention. Had the Navy rushed into the area it could have rescued thousands who had been swept into the sea. The failure to launch such a relief and resque operation is unforgiveable. But the criminal negligence does not end here.

I have been to areas where even ten days after the occurrence of the cyclone, not an ounce of relief had reached to afflicted people. They have had to subsist on the root of trees. They have been drinking water, polluted by rotting corpses and carcasses, which has caused sores to form in their mouths. Dysentery has broken out on a wide scale and a cholera epidemic has begun to spread.

Private organisation, social workers and the scores of Awami League and Students' League relief teams, which have gone into the field, have been severely handicapped by the failure of the administration to ensure a minimum availability of transport and communication facilities. This acute shortage could easily have been overcome if the Government, specially a Martial Law Government, had made timely use of its ample powers to requisition launches and other river craft from other districts and to deploy these in sufficient numbers in the affected areas. The so-called "inaccessible" areas would then have no longer been so, since my own experience shows that even a small, broken launch such as the one I used, could reach almost every affected area, including those lying along the Bay of Bengal. As a result of these failures and bottlenecks, hardly any Government relief had reached the people even after a lapse of ten days of the occurrence of the cyclone.

Some activity

Today some activity is to be seen. Some helicopters are visible. The air-dropping, which previously only occurred on paper, seems to have begun. All this has started only after loud and repeated public protests were made throughout the province. Indeed even today the deficiencies would be monumental but for the vast quantities of relief materials which have poured in from all over the world. It is a sad reflection on our Government that the ravaged people of Bangla Desh today expect to survive only due to the generosity of the world community.

The world has sent us food, clothing, medicines and vital transport equipment, essential for carrying these implements of survival to our stricken brethren. The people of Bangla Desh will be eternally indebted to those countries who have so generously come their rescue in their hour of need. If whole-heartedly extend my thanks to the governments and people of all those countries for their prompt and humane response to the urgent needs of our people in the calamity-affected areas.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The generous assistance received from abroad only underlines the tardiness and callousness of our own rulers. At a time, when West Pakistan is enjoying a bumper wheat crop it is ironic that the first shipment of foodgrains to reach us is from abroad. While we have a substantial army stationed in West Pakistan, it is left to British Marines to bury our dead in Patuakhali. While we have army helicopters sitting in West Pakistan, we have to wait for helicopters to come for relief operations from across the earth from the United States, France and other foreign countries. Whilst China, the United States, USSR, the United Kingdom and other foreign countries were offering us assistance within a couple of days of the disaster being made public, it took our Central Government 10 days to allot Rs. 5 crores for relief of the cyclone-affected victims. If the Chinese and U.S. offer are evaluated at the market rate of foreign exchange, their financial assistance would exceed that extended by the Central Government. Whilst individuals and charitable organisations the world over are raising funds for relief the '22 families' who have have prospered on the blood of our people have yet to make any significant contribution towards relief. Indeed the textile mills of West Pakistan, which have exploited Bangla Desh as their principal market, have not even donated a yard of cloth for the shrouds of the dead. Is this why we have spent 72% of our common resources in West Pakistan over the last two decades? Is this why we have channelled 60% of our budget to the Defence Services? Is this why the jute-growers of Bangla Desh have starved so that the capitalists in Karachi and Lyallpur can prosper?

And where are those pillars of national integration, those self-appointed apostles of Islam, Maulana Maudoodi, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Mian Mumtaz Daulatana, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and other West Pakistani leaders today? They have not found the time to come even for a day to Bangla Desh to extent sympathy and succour to the survivors.

Our present experience has only brought into sharp focus and underlines the basic truth that every Bengali has felt in his bones, that we have been treated so long as a colony and a market. We have been denied our birth-rights as the free citizens of an independent State. All decisions of consequence are made in Rawalpindi or Islamabad. All powers vest in the Central Government and its bureaucrats. It is they who I accuse today of criminal neglect and discrimination against Bangla Desh, which has made us so vulnerable a prey to every vagary of nature. A million of our people are dead. Three million are today struggling for survival amidst death and devastation. We have lived with floods and cyclones since independence. Today after 23 years of shared nationhood we are without even plans for flood control. Ten years after the cyclone and tidal bore which had ravaged these same areas, we have to live through the same disaster, magnified a thousand-fold. At that time plans were put forward for building permanent cyclone-proof shelters, for replanning of our coastal villages, and improving communications facilities. A full decade later the plans remain buried among a pile of plans which have never been implemented. Rs. 20 crores could not be found in ten years for building these cyclone-proof shelters yet over Rs. 200 crores could be found for building those monuments of luxury and waste in Islamabad. Before a plan for flood control could be prepared, over one billion dollars could be allocated for building the Mangla and Tarbela dams in West Pakistan.

Full Regional Autonomy

We are confirmed today in our conviction that if we are to save the people of Bangla Desh from the ravages of nature, as of their fellowmen, we must attain full regional autonomy on the basis of the 6-point/11-point formula. We must have plenary powers to manage our economy. It is only when we can wrest away power from the ruling coteril and attain full regional autonomy on the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

basis of the 6-point/11-point formula that we can expect to solve our urgent problems, be they those of economic development, flood control or that of reconstructing the villages and rehabilitating the people ravaged by the cyclone.

Immediate measures must be taken to provide food, shelter, clothing, medicine and drinking water to every survivor in the coastal areas. A delay of a few more days will result in there being no survivors left to take relief to. A people's Government could have mobilised thousands of volunteers to ensure rapid and effective distribution of relief materials to those in need of it. Bureaucrats would not have dared to be as apathetic, as indifferent and as callous as they have been, if they had had to account for their actions to a people's Government.

If we are to save our people from the scourage of another cyclone and tidal bore, a massive programme of reconstruction must be undertaken. This will involve the construction of an extensive system of coastal embankments, of an adequate network of cyclone-proof shelters, of better warning and communication facilities. The survivors should be grouped into co-operatives, through which they should be supplied with cattle and power-tillers to replace the cattle that they have lost. They should thus also be provided with deep tubewells to produce winter crops, seeds and other agricultural inputs necessary to enable them to start a new life.

But all this can only be done, if we can attain full regional autonomy. We pledge today that what has happened to our brethren in the coastal areas must not allowed ever to happen again. This historic disaster has demonstrated to the world the tragic plight of the 70 million people of Bangla Desh. The feeling now pervades not just in towns and amongst the educated, but in every village home in every slum, in those islands amongst their dead, that we must rule ourselves. We must make the decisions which matter. We must decide how our resources are utilised. We must decide where to raise money. We must decide how our funds will be used. We will no longer suffer the arbitrary rule of the bureaucrats, the capitalists and the feudal interests of West Pakistan.

Power must be won by the people, whether it be through elections, or if elections are aborted, through the strength of an awakened people. The people have already voted in their hearts and in their minds. They have had enough of 'strong centres'. They have had enough of the crimes committed in the name of 'national integration'. The urge of the people of Bangla Desh for autonomy cannot be denied. For those of the rulers who think that the people's will can be ignored, let them be warned. Bangla Desh is now awake. It will give its verdict at the polls, if the polls are not frustrated. If the polls are frustrated, the people of Bangla Desh, will owe it to the million who have died, to make the supreme sacrifice of another million lives, if need be, so that we can live as a free people and so that Bangla Desh can be the master of its own destiny.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—November 27, 1970)

MUJIB RAHMAN WARNS AGAINST BID TO FRUSTRATE ELECTIONS

REMARKS MADE AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT DACCA on November 26, 1970

The Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told a Press Conference in Dacca yesterday that "if the polls are frustrated, the people of Bangla Desh will owe it to the million who have died to make the supreme sacrifice of another

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

million lives, if need be, so that we can live as a free people and so that Bangla Desh can be the master of its own destiny".

To a query by a foreign correspondent as to whether this could be interpreted as a call for "independence", Sheikh Mujib said, "No, Not yet".

Asked if by referring to the sacrifice of another one million Bengalees he meant to put up physical resistance, the Awami League chief said, "That I do not say now. My party is a constitutional organisation. We will start a constitutional movement. If they follow unconstitutional ways, people will follow their own course.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was giving his impression of the tour of the cyclone ravaged areas in the coastal belt at the Press Conference which was attended by foreign journalists.

He strongly opposed the postponement of the general elections as a whole because of the disaster. Elections he however said, could be postponed in the eight constituencies ravaged by the catastrophe for a few weeks.

Reply to a question as to what he would do if elections were postponed, the Awami League chief said he would consult his partymen to decide the future course of action. "Nothing, however, will go unchallenged," he added.

When his attention was drawn to the statements of some political leaders who had demanded postponement of the elections because of the catastrophe, he asked. "Who are these leaders"? He said that by asking for postponement of the elections, which he described as a referendum on his Six-Point Programme, these political leaders were only trying to perpetuate the Martial Law regime. "They want the Martial Law to protect their leadership. The same leaders had raised a hue and cry for postponement of the elections after the last flood. But what did they do to alleviate the sufferings of the flood-stricken people," he asked.

This time also, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman pointed out, except for Maulana Bhashani and Pir Mohsenuddin and himself no one of these leaders had visited the ravaged areas, particularly the off-shore islands.

On the question of demands of postponement of elections by some leaders, Sheikh Mujib also said, "You know bad students always ask for postponement of examinations". He said let the elections be held on December 7 and many of these leaders and their parties would not be there and these leaders would even forfeit their right to issue statements.

Asked if he was giving "Bengal's survival" priority over survival of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "We are the majority. We are Pakistan. Majority cannot be ignored."

Replying to another question he said that there could be unity of the country only if the interest of all was recognised. "If they neglect and ignore our interest and treat us as a colony and market how can there be unity. We feel we are being treated as a market", he said.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was asked if the Six-Point Programme was not a call for secession as has been alleged by some West Pakistani leaders. He said, "We are demanding regional autonomy and not independence".

Asked if regional autonomy on the basis of the Six-Points could be achieved through elections, he said if the people gave the verdict in favour of Six-Points, it would be achieved.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Awami League Chief was asked if he had any information about the "attempt to frustrate the elections", he said: "I can make a guess. I am a political being." Elaborating, he said, "a conspiracy has been going on against the people of Bangla Desh by the bureaucrats, the vested interest, the ruling cliques and a coterie for the last 22 years. If they are playing their old game now, they should know that they were playing with fire."

The Awami League Chief who repeatedly referred to the coming elections as "referendum on the Six-Point Programme", said that he did not think that the holding of the elections on schedule would hamper relief work in the Cyclone-affected areas.

He said there could be thousands of volunteers for relief work and even from the affected areas ten thousand volunteers could be mobilised for relief work.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman demanded release of all political prisoners, withdrawal of political cases to ensure a fair and free election. He however, said that even if that was not done (by the Government) his party would take part in the elections. He referred to the 1954 elections when, he said, 3,500 political, workers were in jail.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—November 27, 1970)

POLLS ON SCHEDULE
EAST PAKISTAN MUST HAVE MAXIMUM AUTONOMY

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S REMARKS AT PRESS CONFERENCE IN DACCA on November 27, 1970

President General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan told a Press Conference in Dacca last evening that general elections in the country will be held on schedule.

"Elections will take place" was his answer to a question by a foreign correspondent who wanted to know if the general elections would be postponed in view of demands by some political parties.

As for schedule of elections in the eight or nine constituencies which have been affected by the cyclone, the President said he had left the question to be decided by the Chief Election Commissioner.

The Election Commission, he said, was an independent body and the Chief Election Commissioner was already here to assess the situation to decide when to hold elections in the cyclone affected areas.

Replying to another question on how delayed the elections in the affected constituencies could be, the President explained that there was already a gap between the National and Provincial Assembly elections. Provincial Assembly elections, he pointed out, was not so important in the sense that the Provincial Assemblies will be operative only after the Constituent Assembly had framed a constitution. If the elections in the cyclone affected constituencies were postponed, the polls there would be like by-elections.

Martial Law to continue if constitution goes beyond LFO

Replying to another question the President said he would summon the National Assembly "as soon as possible". The stipulated period of 120 days for framing the constitution would begin from the day the session begins, he told another questioner.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

During the Press Conference at the Darbar Hall of the Governor's House the President replied to a score of question on election, relation between two wings and his opinion on the issue of Provincial autonomy.

He said he would not stand in the way of maximum autonomy for the people of East Pakistan. He said he would rather encourage it so that people of East Pakistan could have "full charge of their destiny, planning and utilisation of its resources" within the "concept of Pakistan".

He said although East Pakistan was one of the five provinces, because of its geographical distance of over thousand miles from the other wing it must have maximum autonomy to run her own affairs within the overall framework of one Pakistan. "After all I do not want to have five Pakistans".

The President was asked to comment on Six-Point Programme and the correspondent wanted to know if it would finally lead to separation between the two wings of Pakistan.

The President said he was not concerned with six or any other points. What was imperative was that people of East Pakistan have a lot more say in their affair than they had so far.

Replying to a question by another foreign correspondent the President said he did not believe there was any tendency of separatism in East Pakistan. They are the majority. How can a majority separate from a minority, he asked.

When the correspondent referred to criticism of West Pakistan in this province, and said he could interpret this as a tendency for separatism, the President "if you would have heard anything as such, this would not be the voice of my people". He said the people of East Pakistan were emotionally hurt because of the disaster which was only normal.

When a correspondent asked if the criticism of West Pakistan in East Pakistan did not put the continuing unity of the country to danger, the President said: I hope it is not. He said he did not want to defend the people of West Pakistan. But the fact was that there was an emotional upsurge there over this terrible disaster in East Pakistan.

He said he knew of one instance in which a weeping old woman had donated her life's savings made for performing the hajj towards the relief of the cyclone-affected people. He said even small children were moving throughout the days to raise donations for the victims of the catastrophe. East Pakistan were aware of this. He said he knew that vast majority of the people of this brotherly feeling that the people of West Pakistan had for them. It was only those who had lust for power who talked of such things.

He appealed to such leaders to have a broad national view. Nobody should take political advantage from such a situation.

Replying to a question on the Constitution, the President made it clear that Martial Law would continue if the proposed Constitution was not framed in conformity with the five basic principles contained in the Legal Framework Order.

The President said the general elections were being held under LFO an instrument of Martial Law and all political parties are taking part in the elections after its acceptance.

If after the elections they (parties) refuse to accept the LFO, as far as I am concerned I will take it that they have not taken part in the elections. Martial Law continues and it shall continue.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

At one point the President was asked if the criticism against his Government regarding relief operation had been politically motivated. General Yahya said he was not an aspirant or participant in politics. He said the people of Pakistan must form their own Government. He was under obligation only to see that the proposed constitution assured integrity, safety and security of the country.

He said that the sovereignty will be given to the National Assembly only when he has handed over the power. Until then everything is under cover and umbrella of Martial Law.

The President who on a number of occasions advised the critics of his Government to "come to power as quickly as possible through elections," said he would like to hand over the responsibility of the administration to the people's Government as soon as possible. "I want to hand over power to people's Government. I am a soldier, and I want to go back to soldiering".

President's attention was drawn by foreign correspondents to criticisms by political leaders and the national Press on the relief operation. He said I accept these criticisms from my people. My only request is that they be constructive.

* * * * *

Criticism of the Central Government by political leaders came in for quick retorts from the President. When a foreign correspondent wanted President's comment on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's allegation of "criminal negligence" on the part of the Central Government, General Yahya said: I did not bring the cyclone. It was not my fault. My fault begins taking shape only when I do not do anything for the surviving people.

When another correspondent referred to Sheikh Mujib's charges of callousness on the part of the "guilty bureaucrats", the President said his advice would be: Let them come to power as quickly as possible.

About Awami League leader's assertion that a quick move by the Pakistan Navy could have saved many lives, the President said the allegation arose out of lack of information. "I hope they come to power and do better. I have tried to do my maximum.

(**MORNING NEWS**, Karachi and Dacca—November 28, 1970)

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION

on December 3, 1970.

My dear countrymen, Assalam-o-Alaikum.

In the second week of last month the coastal regions of East Pakistan were struck by an unprecedented cyclone. Words cannot describe the colossal damage caused in the affected areas. Destruction of human lives, livestock and material has been on a scale seldom known in history anywhere in the world.

Everything possible is being done to bring succour to the survivors of this terrible tragedy. The East Pakistan Government as well as the Central Government have spared no efforts in seeing to it that food, medicines and shelter are provided to the affected people.

The task is of gigantic proportions. But I want to assure you that it is being handled with utmost speed and efficiency.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I am also gratified to note the generous response of the people to this tragedy that has befallan their brethren.

I have been greatly moved by the universal upsurge of sympathy for us at this tragic time. The response from all over the world has been most heart warming. There have been spontaneous and generous offers of help and we are most grateful to the world community to the world leaders and to the several international agencies for their sympathy and assistance in our hour of distress and trial.

Let us pray to Almighty God to spare us from such calamities in the future.

I would now like to say a word or two about the forthcoming elections. We have come a long way since March, 1969. On the very first day I appraised you of my aim of transferring power to the elected representatives of the people.

I thank Almighty God, that in exactly four days, we shall achieve our goal of holding the first ever general elections in the country. As you also know we had to cross many hurdles during the last year and eight months. Our objective could not have been achieved if the Government and the people had not acted with patience and determination.

Many doubts were expressed regarding the sincerity and intentions of this regime but despite this we remained steadfast in our aim of bringing back democracy in our land. We are now about to complete the first phase of our plan.

My dear countrymen, let me appeal to everyone of you, to realise, at this most crucial period of our history the importance of our first general elections on the basis of adult franchise. Elect your representatives with care and wisdom. Vote for candidates who have the good of the people at heart and who are devoted to the ideology and integrity of Pakistan. For the first time in our national existence you have a chance to vote for the security of the country.

You must realise that this country was not created for individuals or for groups of individuals. It was created for the good of all its people. Choose your representatives to represent you and to serve you. The aim of these elections is not to transfer power to a few hands, but it is to transfer power to representatives of all the people of Pakistan. Any effort by any individual or group of individuals to acquire and then to cling to power for power's sake is doomed to failure. There is no permanency of individuals.

The only permanency is that of the nation, its values, its honour and its ideology. Individuals come and go but the nation, Insha Allah, will live for ever. To those who have offered themselves as candidates for the National Assembly, I would like to say that they should appreciate, that when elected their first task would be to make a constitution for this country.

The successful completion of this task would call for great patience and wisdom of a high order. They must, therefore, embark upon this great and noble task in a spirit of humility and dedication to the cause of those who reposed their confidence in them by voting for them.

Let me at this stage remind you that these general elections are being held under the provisions of the Legal Framework Order and under the overall cover of Martial Law.

The elections are only the first phase of our plan. The next phase will be the framing of the Constitution and the final phase would be the transfer of power to the elected representatives, Sovereignty would pass to the National Assembly on conclusion of this last phase and on lifting of Martial Law.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Needless to say, until this whole process is complete Martial Law will remain supreme in the country.

I would like to suggest to the elected representatives and in particular to the leaders of the political parties that they could usefully employ the period between their election and the first session of the National Assembly in getting together and arriving at a consensus on the main provisions of our future constitution.

This will call for a spirit of give and take trust in each other and realisation of the extreme importance of this particular juncture in our history.

We have seen many ups and downs during the last year and a half in the law and order situation in the country. But by and large, the situation has remained well under control. This was mainly due to the fact that the people and the Government, while exercising due patience, refused to tolerate excesses. This policy has served as well.

Indeed, it is because of this judicious blending of patience and firmness that we have arrived today at a stage when we can look forward to reasonably peaceful and orderly general elections on the 7th December.

Realise, of course, that the tempo of electioneering will remain at a high pitch until the stipulated time. I would therefore, like to caution political leaders, workers and indeed, the general public to remain within the bounds of law and while propagating the cause of their chosen candidates, constantly bear in mind the provisions of the relevant regulations.

The Government does not wish to be harsh, but on the other hand, it has every intention to see these elections through.

We shall, therefore, not tolerate any activity which jeopardises the peaceful conduct of the elections. All forces of law and order as well as the Armed Forces will see to it that those who either deliberately or otherwise obstruct the completion of this first phase of our plan of transfer of power, severly dealt with and are duly prevented from doing so.

These next few days are absolutely vital and I have ordered all concerned to be on their toes to prevent any untowards incidents.

In fact, as I am addressing you, the Armed Forces are already deployed in order to assist in the maintenance of law and order and to ensure a peaceful atmosphere during the elections.

The elections will result in triumphs for certain parties and candidates and disappointment to others. Such a situation tends to result in tension but I would like to warn all concerned, at this stage that in the interest of peace and tranquility and to ensure that the life of the common man is not disturbed it is necessary to show humility in victory and patience and understanding in defeat.

* * * * *

In the end I would once again like to stress the importance of having a peaceful atmosphere for the forthcoming elections.

These elections are a step towards democracy and tolerance is one of the basic requirements of the democratic way of life.

Khuda Hafiz. Pakistan Paindabad.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—December 4, 1970)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER III

AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

PAKISTAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS

Name of Party	No. of Seats Contested	PROVINCE-WISE RESULT						Indirectly Elected Women's seats	Total
		East Pakistan	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	Tribal Area		
Awami League	162	160	—	—	—	—	—	7	167
Pakistan People's party	122	—	64	18	1	—	—	5	88
All Pakistan Muslim League (Qaiyum)	132	—	1	1	7	—	—	—	9
Muslim League (Council)	119	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	7
Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Hazarvi Group)	93	—	—	—	6	1	—	—	7
Markazi-Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Thanvi Group)	Not known	—	4	3	—	—	—	—	7
National Awami Party (Wali Khan)	61	—	—	—	3	3	—	1	7
Jamait-e-Islami	200	—	1	2	1	—	—	—	4
Muslim League (Convention)	124	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
Pakistan Democratic Party	108	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Independents	300	1	3	3	—	—	7	—	14
		162	82	27	18	4	7	13	313

EAST PAKISTAN PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS

	General Seats = 300	Indirectly Elected Women's Seats	Total
Awami League	288	10	298
Pakistan Democratic Party	2	—	2
Pakistan People's Party	—	—	—
Muslim League (Council)	—	—	—
Muslim League (Convention)	—	—	—
All Pakistan Muslim League (Qaiyum)	—	—	—
National Awami Party (Wali Khan)	1	—	1
Jamait-i-Islami	1	—	1
Nizam-e-Islami	1	—	1
Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Thanvi Group)	—	—	—
Markazi-Ahl-e-Hadis	—	—	—
Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Hazarvi Group)	—	—	—
Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Noorani Group)	—	—	—
Sind-Karachi-Punjabi-Pathan	—	—	—
Muttahida Mahaz	—	—	—
Baluchistan United Front	—	—	—
Pakhtoon Khawa (NAP)	—	—	—
Independents	7	—	7
Total No. of seats	300	10	310

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SIX-POINT PROGRAMME WILL BE REALISED

Mujib assures people

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, said here yesterday that he firmly believed he would be able to realise the six-point demand of the people of Bangla Desh. No power on earth would be able to frustrate the legitimate demands of Bangla Desh, he added.

The Awami League Chief was talking to a group of workers who came to congratulate him on the landslide victory of the party in the general elections at its office here yesterday.

Sheikh Mujib told the workers that the victory of the Awami League in the general elections was the victory of the oppressed and exploited people of Bangla Desh against the vested interests. It was a referendum on the six-point programme which envisaged an end to exploitation of man by man, region by region and the programme stood the test he said.

Sheikh Mujib said that the people of Bangla Desh had shown unstinted love for him. "I am grateful to them. I cannot forget their love for me", he said.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—December 18, 1970)

CONSTITUTION HAS TO BE BASED ON SIX-POINTS

Warning Against Manoeuvres to Create Economic Crisis

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in a statement issued here this evening said:

"I am overwhelmed by a deep sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah and to my beloved countrymen—the students, workers and peasants—for the unprecedented victory of the Awami League, both in the National and Provincial elections. I warmly thank the people for having given a historic verdict in favour of our six-point programme. We pledge to implement this verdict. There can be no constitution except one which is based on the six-point programme".

"I view with grave concern the spiralling rise in price of the daily necessities of life, such as rice, edible oil and other essential commodities. This seems to be part of a last, desparate bid by the vested interests to create economic chaos and thus to sabotage the peaceful transfer of power to the people. Let them be warned that the people will not spare those responsible for these criminal misdeeds. Indeed the economic system, which allows such exploitation, will have to be replaced by one which caters to the needs of our toiling masses".

"I am equally concerned by the grave threat of famine, which faces us as a result of wide-spread destruction of crops by floods and cyclones. I urge the Government to make immediate arrangements for sufficient stocks and distribution of foodgrains, and to inform the people of the action that is being taken in this regard."

Sheikh Mujib said: "I urge that the entire foreign exchange and other resources which have been sent for relief to the survivors of the cyclone-ravaged areas in Bangla Desh should immediately be placed under the exclusive control of the Provincial Governments. The exchange remittances received for such purpose should be given the benefit of the bonus rate. All foreign exchanges received must be earmarked exclusively for utilisation in the cyclone-ravaged areas of Bangla Desh".

"Since there are still persistent reports of bottle-necks in relief operation, being created by Central Government bureaucrats, I urge that a white paper be published immediately setting out in detail an account of all the foreign exchange and other resources received so far for relief and their utilisation. I would urge the President to direct that this should be done immediately in order to remove serious misgivings which have—arisen about this matter".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"We appreciate that the President has granted an amnesty releasing persons who had been convicted under MLRs of offences arising out of their political activities. We have always been demanding such an amnesty as also the release of all political prisoners including persons who have been convicted in cases arising out of their political activities. We would urge that the amnesty be implemented in full and that all persons, including students and workers, who are in jail in connection with offences arising out of political activities, should immediately be released. All pending cases arising out of political activities should also be withdrawn and all political prisoners detained without trial should be released.

"Grave and challenging problems, including those of hunger, unemployment, illiteracy and floods, among others lie ahead. We pledge to do everything possible, with the active support and co-operation of the people, so that we may look forward to a better future."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—December 20, 1970)

PEOPLE'S PARTY WILL NOT SIT IN OPPOSITION

NO CONSTITUTION WITHOUT OUR CO-OPERATION

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Lahore on December 20, 1970

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party declared in Lahore on Sunday that no Constitution could be framed nor could any government at the Centre be run without his party's co-operation. The PPP, he added, was not prepared to occupy the Opposition Benches in the National Assembly.

He said that the PPP could not wait for another five years and that it did not hold power, the pledges made by the party to the people would not be redeemed and their problems would not be solved.

Addressing a huge crowd outside the Punjab Assembly Chambers at the termination of his seven-mile long procession four hours after his arrival from Larkana, Mr. Bhutto said that he had all regards for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who had returned with great majority of the Awami League in the National Assembly, but, he added "majority alone doesn't count in national politics".

He said that the PPP had won majority in the provincial Assemblies of Punjab and Sind and added that the real power of the Centre lay in these two provinces. No government at the Centre therefore could be run without the PPP's co-operation, he added.

He said that the PPP would endeavour to frame a people's Constitution for Pakistan with maximum provincial autonomy for all provinces. One Unit had been dissolved and all provinces revived in West Pakistan. For giving autonomy to the provinces, the PPP's co-operation was essential he added.

* * * *

Earlier, he explained how the PPP fought against the Ayub regime and what hardships it had to undergo in its struggle to overthrow dictatorship. In this connection he referred to the efforts of former President Ayub Khan to perpetuate himself in power by convening a Round-Table Conference which he said, was a clear conspiracy against the people of Pakistan. That was the reason, he explained, that the PPP had refused to participate in RTC because it was the game of Ayub Khan to remain in power by conceding the principle of parliamentary form of government.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said that when the people were engaged in their country-wide movement against Ayub dictatorship, the reactionary forces had tried to stem the tide by raising the bogey of 'Islam in danger' only to save their jagirdaris, zamindaris, wealth and other vested interests. Some of these reactionary people had so much exploited Islam that they even dared to desecrate the Holy Quran by burning its copies only to blame the torch-bearers of the movement against the Ayub regime.

According to PPI, Mr. Bhutto also referred to a suggestion of a local English daily and said that if he remained in the opposition, how could he solve the people's problems, who would then bring down the prices and who would liberate the masses from the clutches of capitalists?

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—December 21, 1970)

AWAMI LEAGUE COMPETENT TO FRAME CONSTITUTION

MR. TAJUDDIN AHMED'S REJOINDER TO MR. BHUTTO'S STATEMENT OF December 20, 1970

The following is the full text of the statement issued on December 21, by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League, as a rejoinder to Mr. Bhutto's assertion that neither the Constitution could be framed nor a Central Government could be formed without active co-operation of his party.

The statement attributed to Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto that neither the country's Constitution could be framed nor a Central Government could be formed without active co-operation of his party cannot be correct. The Punjab and Sind can no longer aspire to be 'bastions of power'. The democratic struggle of the people has been aimed against such 'bastions of power'. The people have voted to establish a real democracy in which power vests with the people, and the legislature is constituted on the basis of the 'one man one vote' principle. In such a system a party enjoying a comfortable indeed an absolute majority as the Awami League does with a clear electoral mandate is quite competent to frame the Constitution and to form the Central Government. This can be done with or without any other party. Such co-operation as may be obtained will be for the Awami League to choose and will be sought on the basis of adherence to and acceptance of the principles and the programme of the Awami League, which seeks to establish a new economic and social order, free from exploitation.

An elected representative of a province cannot claim any special or superior status over that of any other province. To make such a claim is to hark back to the parochialism of the past when the Central Government was seen as the preserve of a ruling coterie drawn only from certain parts of West Pakistan. The people of Pakistan have rejected the past. If we are to move towards a better future, such claims should be avoided as they generate unnecessary and harmful controversy. The Awami League is fully aware of its responsibility to implement the will of the people of Pakistan and will spare no effort to do so.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—December 22, 1970)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

QUANTUM OF AUTONOMY BY MUTUAL ACCORD:

FORCE OF MAJORITY NO SOLUTION

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement on December 21, 1970.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, declared in Lahore on Monday that his Party stood for maximum provincial autonomy for all the Provinces, the quantum of which, he added, could only be determined in the context of national solidarity.

Mr. Bhutto was addressing a reception given at a local hotel by the workers of Lahore-III to felicitate him on his election to the National Assembly from that constituency.

The PPP Chairman said that the determination of the quantum of provincial autonomy was a complicated issue in respect of the framing of the Constitution and that it was for the National Assembly to resolve it. In principle, he said, all provinces in the country were entitled to enjoy maximum autonomy but it would be genuine only if it was determined in the context of national solidarity and with the blessing of the representatives of all the provinces.

Mr. Bhutto said that there would be no difficulty in framing the Constitution in less than 120 days if President Yahya, the Awami League and the People's Party arrived at a consensus on the determination of the quantum of autonomy. In case there was no agreement among the three, Awami League and the Pakistan People's Party could agree on a formula, although in that case there could be some difficulty in seeing it through. But if the two political parties failed to come to an understanding, the situation would get out of control. In no case, he said, the solidarity of the country could be compromised.

The PPP Chairman said that the quantum of autonomy could not be determined by the force of the majority in the House as in that case, the National Assembly would not be able to give a Constitution acceptable to both Wings of the country. Neither the Awami League nor the People's Party could be ignored in the making of the Constitution. It must be framed with the mutual agreement of the two main political parties of the country, he added.

He said that under the circumstances it was not possible to out-manoeuvre either the Awami League or the People's Party as both represented the people of the respective wings—ignoring one would mean ignoring the people of the wing it represented.

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that as the Constitution could not be framed without the co-operation and support of the People's Party, no Government at the Centre could be formed without the Party's blessings. The authority at the Centre, he said, would have to be shared between the Awami League and the People's Party to enable the two to execute the mandate given to them by the people.

He said that the People's Party could not be forced to sit in the opposition. It would sit in the Opposition only by its own choice. The PPP, he said, would join the Government, only if it felt sure that by doing so it would be possible to execute the people's mandate. If it came to the conclusion that the Government was that of the agents of capitalists and feudal lords and had been formed to protect vested interest, the PPP would never be a signatory to it. In that case it would be in the Opposition and would in that role endeavour to have the mandate of the people executed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The PPP Chairman said he saw no reason why both the Awami League and the People's Party should not share power at the Centre. Since both were to exercise the mandate of the people, he said, they could form "a grand coalition" to enable the Awami League to fulfil its promises to the people in East Pakistan and the People's Party in West Pakistan. He said that if in West Germany Willy Brandt of the Social Democratic Party and Walter Scheel of the Free Democratic Party could agree on a coalition, why should it not be possible for the People's Party and the Awami League to agree on a similar arrangement. That arrangement, he said, would be in the best interests of the country and would help frustrate any conspiracy against the two parties that the interested elements might plan.

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that the Western Press was trying to sell a sinister idea that since Awami League had gained majority in East Pakistan and the People's Party in West Pakistan, the former was to form the Government and the PPP was to be in the Opposition. It was a conspiracy against the people of the country. Neither wing could be deprived of its due share in the governance of the country. He said that East Pakistan had been deprived of its share during the last 23 years with the result that there was a misunderstanding between the people of the two wings resulting in mutual hatred, largely promoted by vested interests. If the Awami League made an endeavour to keep People's Party out of power in West Pakistan, similar misunderstanding and disaffection might breed among the people of this wing. It was, therefore, imperative that the representatives of the people from both wings of the country should share authority.

* * * *

He said it was surprising that those who claimed to be the protagonists of democracy, urging its restoration, were not prepared to accept the verdict of the people. In this connection he mentioned, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan of the PDP who had recently stated that the people had taken a "wrong decision". If the Nawabzada sincerely believed in democracy, he should not have disputed the verdict of the people. More surprising, he said was the fact that some of the leaders of the defeated parties had wired to the President urging him to reject the verdict of the people. It would have made little difference to the people. If they believed in democracy, they should have accepted their defeat gracefully.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—December 22, 1970)

CRISIS IF CONSTITUTION NOT FRAMED

MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S STATEMENT IN HYDERABAD on December 24, 1970

Mr. Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto, Chairman, Pakistan People's Party, said here today that if constitution could not be framed within the prescribed time the country would face a great crisis.

* * * *

He said that people voted for PPP in great majority in West Pakistan and for Awami League in East Pakistan. Both these parties, he observed, have to share the responsibilities of the country as the majority parties.

He reiterated that no Central Government could either be formed or function without the co-operation and support of People's Party.

* * * *

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said people voted for PPP and if it did not share the responsibilities it would mean that people were deprived of their rights.

* * * *

He said that his party was "the sole representative of the people of West Pakistan like the Awami League in East Pakistan, and therefore it could not be deprived of sharing power in the Government".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—December 25, 1970)

CONSENSUS OF ALL UNITS 'MUST' FOR FUTURE CONSTITUTION

MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S ANNOUNCEMENT IN KARACHI on December 27, 1970

Mr. Bhutto explained in Karachi yesterday that a general agreement and a consensus of all the federating units in a federation was a must for ensuring durability of any future constitution.

He cited the example of One Unit and said despite the fact that the mighty Bengal on the one side and the mighty Punjab on the other hand consented to the integration of West Pakistan, yet the One Unit failed because minority provinces of West Wing were unhappy.

He said that there was difference in running the affairs and making Governments on one side and the constitution-making on the other. He said that forcing of the majority of one party or region in the forming of Government did not matter much, but it would certainly mean much in the process of constitution-making.

He said if the majority party insisted on making a constitution of its own liking he would step aside. He however, said that in such an event, the People's Party would not be responsible for the consequences that would ensure.

* * * *

He said a federation "is one of the finest constitutional arrangements that the people can arrive at". Even homogenous States with same language and same race are talking of some sort of a federation now.

He said the question of federation could be decided keeping in view the quantum of autonomy to each federating unit. However, he said the autonomy should be viable and feasible within the national unity.

He said his being the largest single party from West Pakistan could speak on behalf of the people of West Pakistan.

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto reiterated that his party would resist any intrigue or conspiracy to make it sit in the opposition.

Explaining his earlier statements on the subject at his Press conference Mr. Bhutto said that his party can of its own free will decide to sit in the opposition, but cannot be forced to do this through intrigues.

He said that the reality of West Pakistan situation was that Pakistan People's Party had swept the elections and therefore it will not permit anyone to "chisel us out" of power and responsibility.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—December 28, 1970)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MUJIB BLASTS PROPAGANDA OF HINDU LEANINGS

SPEECH IN DACCA ON JANUARY 3, 1971

The Awami League Chief today dismissed as 'mischievous propaganda' the allegations that his partymen were not Muslims and that the Awami League had more Hindu leanings than Islamic.

Addressing a rally at Ramna, which started with a recitation from the Holy Quran, Sheikh Mujib sounded a note of warning against belittling the religion of Allah by using it for political ends.

He started his speech with a loud Assalamo Alaikum and posed a question: "Is there any objection anywhere against Islamic ways and system after Awami League leaders have been elected to both National and Provincial Assemblies? Are not the people going their own way of life and has any harm been done to Islam? Has Islam gone and are not the people professing this great religion?"

Sheikh Mujib said that he knew how and what amount of money was pumped into East Pakistan to carry out this propaganda.

The rally offered 'fateha' for those killed in different movements for the people's cause and kept its proceedings suspended on the advice of Sheikh Mujib during the Asr azan.

Sheikh Mujib said it was not the Awami League but those trading on Islam for their political and ulterior motives who were actually harming it.

At the end of his speech, Sheikh Mujib raised 'nara-i-takbir' slogan.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—January 4, 1971)

WEST PAKISTAN LEADERS' CO-OPERATION TO BE SOUGHT

CONSTITUTION BASED ON SIX AND ELEVEN-POINT WILL BE FRAMED

Mujib's confident statement in Dacca on January 3, 1971.

The Awami League chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said in Dacca on Sunday that the future constitution of the country would be framed on the basis of Six-Point and Eleven-Point Programmes.

Sheikh Mujib was addressing a mammoth public meeting at the Race Course on the occasion of oath-taking of the newly-elected MNAs and MPAs belonging to the Awami League.

The Awami League leader however, said that he would seek co-operation of the people's representatives of West Pakistan in framing the constitution.

Shiekh Mujib said that after June 7, last year, it was his first apprearance before the people at the Race Course. He said that the elections were over and the people of Bengal won in their first phase of struggle through the elections. He reminded the people not to think that the demands of the people were fulfilled in this election alone.

Co-operation

"For being the absolute majority party in the Assembly I would not like to say that we did not want co-operation from the representatives of West Pakistan in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

framing the constitution," he said. "Surely," he said, "We want co-operation and help of the West Pakistani representatives in framing the constitution. But there could be no compromise on fundamental matters of policies."

In this respect he pointed out that the Six-Point and Eleven-Point programmes were no more his or his party's properties. Referendum was held on the Six-Point and Eleven-Point programmes. Awami League could not amend it now he mentioned. None would be able to stop us framing a constitution on the basis of Six-Point programme, the Awami League Chief declared.

Giving an account of the treatment meted out to the people of Bangla Desh in the past, the Sheikh said that the people here were considered to be second class citizens, and their loyalty to the country was questioned "We had suffered many an injustice. We know how it pinches. Therefore, we would do justice to the people of West Pakistan".

Giving an account of the past sacrifices of Bangla Desh, he said that being the majority people "we allowed Karachi to be the capital of Pakistan and from the quota of this province six West Pakistan leaders were given Constituent Assembly seats".

"Again", he said "We would frame a constitution for the country as we are the representatives of the majority of the people of the country. The people of Pakistan would accept that constitution. Those who want to put an obstacle on its way would be elminated".

CONSTITUTION BASED ON SIX-POINT

Conspiracies

In his 50-minute speech Sheikh Mujib referred to some of the incidents after the elections and said that the conspiracies for frustrating the elections which were going on before the polls were going on still. He said that the killing of newly elected 26-year-old Awami League MPA Ahmed Rafiq in Pabna, murder of Mamtaz in Khulna and the death of Harun were some of the proofs of that conspiracy. He said that Ahmed Rafiq was killed in the darkness of night. He had received 13 knife injuries; Mamtaz was called out of his house and murdered and "my young brother Harun was knocked down by a jeep and killed".

Calling upon the people to be ready for future struggle he said that it might so happen that "I may be eliminated while fighting for realising the demands. In that case it would be your obligation to continue the struggle".

Yahya thanked

Sheikh Mujib thanked President Yahya for fulfilling his (Yahya's) commitment in holding the elections. However, he said that there was a section among his (Yahya's) subordinates who were still conspiring to undo the election results. Sheikh Mujib said that some of the conspirators came to Dacca recently and held a secret meeting. The Awami League Chief asked the Presidentity of Bangla Desh and those "conspirators", otherwise, he warned that people of Bengal would confront those elements with bamboo sticks.

Continuing he said, "We have emerged as the absolute majority party in the elections not only in Bangla Desh but also in the whole country. So, the right to rule the country is ours". He said that he and his party would protect the rights of the poor people of the Punjab, Baluchistan, Frontier and Sind. There is no difference between the suffering humanity of Bangla Desh and those of other provinces, he observed. However, the Awami League Chief emphatically said that there was no compromise with those who had exploited Bangla Desh for the last 23 years.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He further said that neither he nor his partymen were in politics for simply being made ministers or prime ministers. He said that he and his party were in politics for serving the cause of common man, for establishment of the rights of the masses. They did so as they tried to make sacrifice for the people.

Caution to officials

Sounding a note of caution to the high officials of the Government the Awami League Chief said that the officials should change the mentality they had grown in the last decade during Ayub Regime. He said that the high officials could not adjust with the common people; they remain as big bosses. "If you do not change your attitude towards the common man, we would only point out the people your residence, and tell them he is not a good man, throw him out. We are not going to take steps as taken by President Yahya against 303 high officials," he said.

Move to combat Awami League

Referring to the role of different quarters at the time of elections, he said huge amount of money came to this province for the purpose of combating the Awami League. It was said that Islam was in danger. Was anybody stopped from offering his prayers and keeping fast after the elections, he asked. He said that those who involved the name of Islam unnecessarily in politics, deserved punishment prescribed in Islam—whipping.

Further he said that attempts were made in different ways to reduce the number of Awami League MNAs and MPAs in the elections. Once the move was made with the help of PDP after the merger of four organisations and then in the name of Islamic Front. In the elections, however, all the weeds were cleared, he observed.

Speaking about his organisation he called upon his party workers to make every village and mahalla a fort of the Awami League. He alleged that Awami League workers were being stabbed in the darkness of night by terrorists and their agents. He called upon his workers to be prepared to fight such terrorists. He advised them to prepare bamboo sticks and sticks out of "sundari" to fight them. Sheikh Mujib said that revolution could not be made through dacoity.

To his workers, he said, "You keep your sticks ready but do not use those until I give order". He reiterated "I am a Muslim and not a Christian. If I am hit I will retaliate." He asked his workers not to hitfirst.

The Sheikh told the cheering crowd to bury alive any member of his party including himself if any of them betrayed this oath.

Addressing the women audience in the meeting, he said that the women-folk would no more be treated as second class citizens. If required, he said, a special law would be framed to give equal rights to women with the men-folk.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman demanded the release of all political prisoners and withdrawal of cases pending against political workers and students. "How long will you keep them in the jail. If you fail to release them immediately we shall do it very soon after going to power", Sheikh Mujib added.

Expressing his grave concern over the increasing criminal activities in the city Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that it was impossible to move safely in the city. He asked the concerned authority to take measures to ensure safety of the people.

Tributes to martyrs

At the outset of his speech he paid glowing tributes to the martyrs who had sacrificed their lives in the movements especially, he mentioned those who were

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

killed in the State Language. June 7 movements and in the mass upsurge of 1968 and 1969.

He said, "I alongwith the MNAs and MPAs promise today that the blood of the martyrs would not be allowed to go in vain".

He further said that the victory in the polls was not the ultimate victory. However he said that the victory in the polls was not the victory of his won or his party. It was the victory of the seven crore people of Bengal, nay the whole repressed people of Pakistan.

He said that the people of Bengal would never forget the martyrs who would be remembered in all ages.

Addressing the audience he said that there was no reason to be complacent on the basis of election results about the realisation of the demands. He said that it might so happen that the debt of the martyrs would have to be repaid in blood. He called upon the seven crore people of Bengal to be prepared for the future struggle, if needed.

Speaking about the elections, the Awami League chief said that "We had no money, no car, no wealth, but we had Iman (faith) and the common man with us, and that was our wealth".

(THE PAKISTAN OBSERVER—January 4, 1971)

MUJIB WARNS AGAINST OPPOSITION TO SIX-PIONT

PEOPLE'S VERDICT CANNOT BE CHANGED BY MNAS

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement in Dacca on January 4, 1971

The Awami League President, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said here today that after the seven crore people's verdict in favour of the six-point programme, the constitution must be framed on this basis alone. The members of National Assembly he added, had no right to change the six-point formula.

But the people of West Pakistan must be assured of the same quantum of autonomy as the people of East Pakistan, he said.

Sheikh Mujib warned if the six-point programme was opposed by any quarter in West Pakistan the responsibility for any consequences would be theirs.

The Awami League Chief said he was prepared to work for the improvement of the lot of poor people in West Pakistan. He assured the common man in Western Wing that he would do everything possible to improve their economic condition and wanted them to be with the Awami League in the struggle.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who was the chief guest in the 23rd anniversary of the founding of East Pakistan Students League here at the Ramna Green, emphasised that the fight within and outside the Assembly must be carried on to realise the people's rights. Even if "the conspirators" were compelled to hand over power to the people's representatives, the "machinations" would never stop Sheikh Mujib warned.

* * * * *

Victory of principle

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman warned the students and the people not to remain complacent. The victory in the elections, he said, was only the beginning of the struggle. "You have set only one foot on the road of struggle and not even both the feet", Sheikh Mujib said, It was neither a victory of AL nor of "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman" but of a principle, Sheikh Mujib added.

* * * * *

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Warning the forces of reaction and bastions of palace cliques, he said that neither encroachment on the culture of Bangla Desh nor mis-statement of facts in the name of writing history would be tolerated. From now on time had arrived to write correct history of the independence struggle and a monument would be erected at Jalalabad in Chittagong in memory of the martyrs who fought the English colonialists and laid down their lives.

* * * * *

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said the outcome of the elections demonstrated clearly that "Bengalis will always live as Bengalis". In the past, he added, the people of Bengal were subjected to humiliations whenever they tried to assert themselves as Bengalis.

Bengali Culture

The Awami League leader said in the past attempts were made to destroy the Bengali culture and tradition. Once attempts were also made to impose Arabic script but "we resisted it through movements". He added one could not conceive of a Bengali culture and literature without Rabindranath Tagore and Kazi Nazrul Islam.

He said although the Muslims of undivided Bengal alone gave unequivocal verdict in favour of the establishment of Pakistan in the 1946 elections, the contribution of the leaders of Muslim Bengal were not given due recognition in our national life. In this connection he referred to a documentary film on Independence Movement prepared during the Ayub regime.

The Awami League leader also referred to the rise of Bengalis against Britishers at Barakpore and the Chittagong armoury raid as the examples of the sacrifices of the Bengalis to achieve freedom.

* * * * *

The Awami League chief said East Pakistan fell victim to conspiracies one after another after Independence. But, he declared, the rise of the people against exploitation could not be held back for long. It was the people who finally win, he added.

* * * * *

Narrating the history of the Pakistan Movement Sheikh Mujib said that Pakistan had been created by Bengalis and regretted that dictator Ayub Khan had distorted this history in his "Friends Not Masters". He said that Ayub Khan did not know the history that the English people snatched away the throne of Bangla Desh from Sirajuwddowla, a Bengali, and Punjab from Ranjit Singh. The first Independence Movement (Sepoy Mutiny)was also led by the Bangalis he added.

Recalling the history of Titumir and its valiant fight against the foreign dominations, he advised the younger generation to go through the history of Bangla Desh. He said that the nations which did not know their own history could not flourish.

Regarding issuing of statements in newspapers by the persons who had been rejected by the people during the last general elections of the country, he said that they had no right to issue any statements whatsoever. On whose behalf they could issue statements, he asked.

He posed a question to the Radio and Television authorities as to whom they "are calling leaders and asked them whose leaders they are".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—January 5, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AWAMI LEAGUE ALONE COMPETENT TO FORM CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

CONSTITUTION ON SIX-POINTS TO ENSURE PEOPLES RIGHTS

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement at Patuakhali on January 11, 1971.

Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujib said yesterday that according to the verdict of the people his party alone was competent to form the Government both in the Centre and in Bangla Desh.

Framing the Constitution on the basis of the Six-Points programme would ensure the right of common men he said.

On the final leg of his election campaign tour covering the southern coastal belt, where the election was postponed due to the disastrous November cyclone, the Sheikh spoke at Pathargata, Darguna, Amtali, Khepupara, Galachipa and Patuakhali during the last two days.

In these affected areas, Sheikh Mujib was welcomed by the people with cheers and renewed enthusiasm after they heard that their leader was the target of a would-be assassin on January 7, at Dacca.

Reassuring his people of sustained struggle to achieve their rights, Sheikh observed that this time the exploiters had been stunned to see the consciousness of the people of Bangla Desh. Had they known the result of conceding voting rights to the people, certainly the former would not have allowed it, said Sheikh Mujib.

Reiterating his warning about the conspiracy against him and the people by interested quarters, he referred to the recent killings of the newly-elected MPA and an Awami League worker at Pabna and Khulna respectively.

He asked the people to equip themselves with bamboo lathis and wooden sticks for any eventuality. But "without my order you must not do anything", the leader cautioned the people in the same breath.

Referring to the recent attempt on his life, Sheikh Sahib said that there was nothing to be fearful of death since no one is immortal. "I will carry on my struggle" to achieve the goal, he asserted.

* * * * *

In the total rout of anti-people, so-called leaders, Mr. Nurul Amin escaped the notice of the people, the Sheikh pointed out. But this was too far and no further with these people, who acted as the lackeys of the vested interest in the last 23 years, Sheikh Mujib reminded his people. He was referring to some contestants to Awami League nominees from Convention Muslim League.

Asking the people to return his party nominees not as an individual candidate but as an Awami Leaguer, and Sheikh Mujib's representatives, he assured that they would be answerable to you.

* * * * *

Conspiracy

Sheikh Mujib said the exploiters and vested interests went for conspiracies one after another to suppress the demands of the people. They did not hesitate to dismiss popularly-elected ministry of Shere Bangla late A. K. Fazlul Haq and to jail late H. S. Suhrawardy at the fag end of his life, although he had made a big contribution to the creation of Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the services and economic field Bangla Desh suffered, he said and added "our resources were exploited and Bengalees were denied the right to enjoy fruits of the freedom".

He said the former President Ayub Khan took over through the back door to ruthlessly rule people after defranchising them, although it was through the votes of common men that Pakistan appeared on the map of the world. "We cannot forget the sacrifices of those who laid down their lives to fight against the oppressions," Awami League leader said, and added that he was jailed and later implicated in a concocted Agartala Conspiracy Case for taking a firm stand against suppression and exploitation. Many Awami Leaguers were also jailed, he added.

Assassination Bid

While referring to the recent attempt to assassinate him, he said "when they lost in the elections they adopted other methods to suppress the voice of the people of Bengal". He also spoke about the killing of his party's MPA elect from Pabna and a party worker in Khulna immediately after the polls.

Sheikh Mujib said, "They are mistaken that they can deliver goods to the country by killing people like thieves and dacoits in the darkness of night. I know the socalled revolutionaries and reactionaries. They will see its consequences very soon. These elements neither have faith in the people nor do they care for public opinion".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—January 12, 1971)

YAHYA AFFIRMS DESIRE FOR EARLY TRANSFER OF POWER

NATION CONGRATULATED ON PEACEFUL POLLS

President Yahya Khan's remarks at Dacca on January 14, 1971.

President Yahya Khan today reiterated his earnest desire to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people as soon as the constitution-making is complete.

Answering questions on his arrival here from Rawalpindi today, the President said he had not yet decided about the date on which the National Assembly would sit. "I will let you know when I decide on the date", he said.

President Yahya told a correspondent that the Legal Framework Order was a scheme of things for the transfer of power to the elected representatives, the process of transfer of power was based on it. The correspondent wanted to know whether the President was still firm on the Legal Framework Order and whether it stands. "If I have to change my mind not to transfer power then the Legal Framework Order will go," the President said jokingly.

The President said he could not say how long the Members of the Assembly would take to frame the constitution. It was upto them. It could be framed even in 10 days.

When a correspondent asked the President whether transfer of power could be expected to be complete by the end of 1971, sharp came the reply: "End of this year, why such a long time?" Further asked if power would be transferred immediately after the completion of 120 days—the time stipulated in the Legal Framework Order the President said "Inshallah, absolutely".

* * * * *

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The President refused to answer hypothetical questions. "Let it come first", was his reply when a newsman asked him if the Awami League as the majority party passed a constitution which was unacceptable to West Pakistan would he authenticate it. President Yahya Khan told the correspondent that he had already expressed his ideas. He could not answer questions which were hypothetical. In any case, it was far too early for him to answer such questions, he said.

Optimism

President Yahya expressed his firm optimism over the nation going through equally successfully in the second phase—the constitution making—leading to the transfer of power to the people.

"As far as my job is concerned, it is finished," he added while talking to the newsmen.

He congratulated the nation on peaceful elections in the country. "You have set an example in the world. You have shown great maturity", he added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—January 12, 1971)

MUJIB FUTURE PRIME MINISTER

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S STATEMENT AT DACCA
on January 14, 1971

Prior to his departure for Karachi on Thursday, President Yahya Khan told newsmen at the Dacca airport that he had useful discussion with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami leaders during his stay in Dacca for the last three days.

The President observed "What Sheikh Shahib said about the discussion is absolutely correct."

The President said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was going to be the future Prime Minister of the country.

A correspondent at this stage pointed out, "You are the President of the country now, we want to hear something from you about your talks with the Awami League Chief".

In reply the President said, "When he (Sheikh Mujib) comes and takes over I won't be there. It is going to be his Government soon."

A correspondent asked the President, "Sheikh Mujib had said that he was satisfied with discussions with you. Are you also satisfied?" The President said, "Yes".

Asked whether any date for convening of the National Assembly Session had been fixed, the President replied in the negative and said that many factors were involved in it. "I have discussed those with Sheikh Shahib. As soon as I decide (the date) I will let you know".

In reply to another question whether he was going to meet Mr. Bhutto this time, the President said, "I meet each and everybody. I have already met him (Bhutto) once. I am very tired. I am going for shooting of birds in Sind which is Bhutto's area. If he is there I will meet him also."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Asked when he was expected in Dacca again, the President said, "As soon as I can". He said he would have to come to Dacca for the National Assembly Session.

Replying to a question on economic situation, the President said that the economic condition was bad for so many reasons.

Addressing the newsmen the President said, "All I am going to ask you to propagate is that the economic condition of the country will not improve unless we all work hard."

He said "I inherited a bad economy and I am going to pass it over to Sheikh Shahib".

* * * *

The President today reaffirmed his confidence that the National Assembly will fulfil its task of constitution making.

He told reporters on arrival at Karachi airport from Dacca that he had "very good discussions" with the Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

* * * *

The President described his talks with Sheikh Mujib as very satisfactory and said that the Awami League Chief had also expressed his satisfaction over the talks.

He said that discussions are continuing and "Inshallah, we will move towards our ultimate aim." He added that he could not say anything beyond this at this stage.

(THE PAKISTAN OBSERVER—January 15, 1971)

CONSTITUTION-MAKING MAIN TASK

SOLIDARITY ALL PARTIES CONCERN

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Rawalpindi on January 13, 1971

The primary task that "we face today is how to keep the country together; it is the supreme task and, therefore, Constitution-making has the top priority". This is how the People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, summed up at a crowded Press Conference in Rawalpindi today his reaction to the present agitational activity in the country.

Nationalistic Approach

But he emphasised that as a "staunch nationalist" and a firm believer in the integrity of the country, he would put the country together. He would not allow the onus of failure in this behalf to fall on him, he stressed.

Mr. Bhutto said that he stood for a federation with maximum autonomy for the provinces. On this, he said, they all agreed and to achieve such a structure, consensus of federating units was necessary. "I am not underestimating the strength of the majority, but I am stating a general principle accepted all over the world," he told a questioner.

If the consensus of federating units was not required then why at all to have an Assembly Session? The majority party could frame a Constitution of its own

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accord, he countered a questioner. "I am not going to stand in the way, but to disintegrate the country, the responsibility shall not fall on me", he said.

If consensus of units was not desirable, then why not have a unitary form of Government, Mr. Bhutto further elaborated. If the country could exist with two Wings over a thousand miles apart, unitary form of Government could also function, then let the majority rule, he said. Mr. Bhutto stressed that "you cannot reverse your historical role" wherein it was stipulated that no province should rule the Centre exclusively.

He had already accepted the first of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Six-Points as that of a genuine federation. The 1956 and 1962 Constitutions failed because they did not create a genuine federation, and failed to accord equal powers to all provinces, he said. "We shall take up by and by", he said when asked to comment on the remaining five-points.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—January 14, 1971)

PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY WILL STRIVE FOR VIABLE CONSTITUTION

NO DEAD LOCK IN TALKS

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Dacca on January 30, 1971, at the conclusion of his three days talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, said here today that within national unity he and his party would go as far as possible to find a permanent formula for framing a viable and acceptable Constitution.

Mr. Bhutto, who yesterday concluded three-day talks with Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, told a Press Conference that he had come here to find the areas of agreement and search for common factors and try to rekindle the spirit of fraternity understanding and co-operation.

Mr. Bhutto said: "We have genuine difficulties, and we need time at least up to the end of February to make a comment on it."

He, however, said that he was neither satisfied with the talks with Sheikh Mujib nor were these talks a failure. "The dialogue should continue," he added "There was no deadlock in our talks," he said.

He said: "We understood each other's viewpoints and we would have to explain our viewpoints to our people and their representatives before we meet next time. The task was a challenging one and we will have to resolve many of our problems—a legacy of the past 23 years."

"How can you expect us to solve the problems of 23 years in three days ?" he asked.

* * * *

He could see a danger signal ahead for the nation, he said and added that he was in favour of dialogue and negotiation for overcoming what he described as "a national stake".

He said: "When necessary I will come to East Pakistan to continue such discussion with the leaders of the Awami League."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Bhutto analysed point by point the Six-Point Programme of the Awami League and the 11-point programme of the student community of the province.

Constitution should be based on consensus

Taking both the programmes together, he announced his acceptance for 12 of these 17 points—excluding the five which dealt with provincial autonomy on the basis of the Lahore Resolution and a Constitution on the basis of Six-Points.

He would not comment on them because "we have got genuine difficulty and we need time for consultation to see how far we can go for a consensus".

But he described as ideal the point No. 1 of the Six-Points so far as it advocated a genuine federation in a true sense. He said he was a firm believer in one Pakistan and his entire political philosophy was based on it.

The four points of the Awami League on which Mr. Bhutto made no comments pertain to the transfer of Provincial and Central subjects, currencies, foreign trades, federating states and their accounts.

The second point of the students' demands relates to the Six-Point Programme.

National Assembly Session

About the convening of the Constituent Assembly on February 15 as suggested by Sheikh Mujib, the PPP Chief remained non-commital, but said there was nothing wrong "if we take time up to the end of February at least".

Asked if he intended to suggest delaying the session to the President, he replied in the negative.

"Some essential things will have to be accomplished before we come to attend the session" he said. "We must meet the leaders of all shades of opinion in West Pakistan, including those of defeated parties. The Constitution of a country should be a national one and not of one Province, and as such there should be consensus and equilibrium".

He said, however, that he fully shared the anxiety of Sheikh Mujib for breaking the present transition which was giving rise to new problems every day. "But for the greater interest of the nation" he added "its solidarity, integrity and fraternity there is nothing wrong in asking this 15 days time to solve the difficult task we have here for a permanent and lasting solution of constitutional problem".

Mr. Bhutto said that it was not necessary to enter into the Constituent Assembly with an agreement on different issues because negotiations could continue even when the House was in Session.

Asked if, in his opinion, the Awami League with its present absolute majority in the House was competent to frame a Constitution, Mr. Bhutto said: "Legally speaking they can, but the question to be decided by the House is whether the Constitution will be adopted by a simple majority or by two-thirds majority. Since the question is of making a Constitution and our geographical position is peculiar, the majority adopting the Constitution should include a consensus."

In this connection, he cited the example of One Unit which he said, could not survive because the idea lacked a consensus of all the four provinces of West Pakistan. Parity was another question which had to be done away with because East Pakistan did not like it, he added.

When a correspondent wanted to know of the 'genuine difficulties' Mr. Bhutto was often referring to during the Press Conference, the PPP Chief invited him to visit West Pakistan and to see for himself these difficulties. He said: "we

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have not got a mandate like the Six-Points of East Pakistan, but we have to tell the people in West Pakistan so many things at so many places to come out successful in the elections. So our position is quite different and it needs consultation."

The People's Party Chief renewed his warning to the vested interests who, he said, had been trying to "frustrate an early transfer of power to the elected representatives of people".

He said that since the two winning parties were committed to the people on nationalisation, the industrialists had become active in this direction. Many of these anti-Socialists and exploiters, he added, were making frequent visits to both East and West Pakistan to achieve their goal.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—January 31, 1971)

MUJIB WARNS VESTED INTERESTS

BHUTTO EXPLAINS LEGAL POSITION

Statements by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Z. A. Bhutto on February 3, 1971, reacting to the blowing up of the hijacked Indian plane at Lahore.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Chief of the Awami League, has called upon the Government to hold an inquiry into the blowing up of the hijacked Indian plane at Lahore and "to take effective measures to prevent interested quarters from exploiting the situation for their nefarious end".

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in a statement issued in Dacca on Wednesday said that he was surprised to hear that the hijacked Indian plane has been blown up, adding that the incident must be deplored.

The Awami League Chief urged the people to be alert against the vested interests and to resist their attempts to exploit the incident to create abnormal conditions to sabotage the peaceful transfer of power to the people.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said "I was surprised to hear that the hijacked Indian plane at Lahore has been blown up. While the hijacking was a 'fait accompli', its subsequent blowing up must be deplored".

He said: "Prompt and effective steps by the authorities could have been taken to prevent its occurrence. It should have been realized that at this critical juncture in the nation's life, the creation of abnormal conditions can only serve the interests of saboteurs and conspirators against the people."

The Awami League Chief said: "The people should be fully alert to resist all attempts by the vested interests to exploit this occurrence in order to create abnormal conditions with the ulterior purpose of sabotaging the peaceful transfer of power to the people."

He said: "I would urge the Government to hold an inquiry into this matter, and to take effective measures to prevent interested quarters from exploiting this situation for their nefarious ends."

Bhutto explains legal position

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, said here on Wednesday that the people and Government of Pakistan were not responsible for the destruction of the Indian plane, hijacked by two young commandos on Saturday.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He was talking to PPI at the Lahore airport before flying to Karachi.

Mr. Bhutto said as for the legal aspect, the Indian plane was within our jurisdiction and it would have been disastrous if a Pakistan national had blown it.

But the plane was blown up by two young Kashmiri freedom fighters who were wagging a struggle against the Indian imperialism for the liberation of their home-land and as such the people and the Government of Pakistan were not responsible for its destruction.

The Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party further said the question of granting asylum to the two Kashmiris simply did not arise because they were not Indian nationals.

They have a right to stay in Pakistan

"As Kashmiris they have a right to stay in Pakistan," he said and added, "We are happy that these two brave youngmen will be with us".

Mr. Bhutto disclosed that he had asked his party leaders in Lahore to establish contact with the Jammu and Kashmiri National Liberation Front and "assist them in whatever manner they want."

When asked what sort of assistance did the PPP want to extend to the NLF, he said he had explained this to the party leaders of Lahore. When further asked did the assistance include helping the NLF in organisational matters, he said, "you can talk to the party men."

* * * * *

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 6, 1971)

AWAMI LEAGUE IS DETERMINED TO FRAME CONSTITUTION ON SIX, ELEVEN-POINT PLAN

MUJIB REGRETS DELAY IN CONVENING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION

Statement in Dacca on February 9, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, regretted today the unnecessary delay in convening the National Assembly and said it seemed another conspiracy to deprive the people of their own Government.

* * * * *

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman reiterated that his party was determined to frame a constitution on the basis of its six point programme.

He said: "We want to frame a constitution and we shall frame it on the basis of six-point programme. Those who would accept it, let them accept and those who won't (accept) let them not accept it."

The Awami League Chief said that his party was in majority in Pakistan, and it could frame a constitution. But still it sought the co-operation of others. He said: "If anyone refuses to co-operate, it will be his responsibility."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that people had reposed confidence in his party and "only the representatives of the people are competent to frame a constitution for the country." "No one else has that right (to frame the constitution)" he said.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman referred to his party's victory in last December elections and their expectation to frame a constitution to help the induction of a people's Government to solve their problems and said "conspiracy is still going on."

He said, "Pakistan's politics is the politics of conspiracy and intrigue. Conspiracy has not yet stopped, it is still going on. But since the Bengalees have learnt to shed blood none can stop them any more. We must frame the constitution on the basis of six points."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, "The Awami Leaguers are true to their promise and they don't go back on their promise." If necessary, we will again suffer jail term, but we can't deviate from the principle." He said that he and his party men were not afraid of anyone except God, adding that if the ruling clique had thought they could frighten them, they were mistaken.

In this connection he referred to "jail-zoolum" of Ayub regime on him and other Awami Leaguers. He told the Awami Leaguers that the struggle had not ended, it had only started and asked them to remain prepared for sacrifice for the sake of posterity.

Shiekh Mujibur Rahman restating his party's stand on framing the constitution referred to the oath taken by his party MNAs and MPAs at Ramna Race Course for framing it on the basis of six-point and 11-point programmes.

He said that in the joint meeting of the Awami League Parliamentarians in the National and Provincial Assemblies and in the Party Working Committee meeting during the middle of February "decisions would be taken on our future course of action."

The Awami League Chief referred to the acute food shortage, price spiral in the province and recent cyclone devastation, and said "we can't allow our people to die and to be exploited." He listed various problems being faced by the people and said that his party wanted to take away the resources from the exploiters and distribute those among the people. He said that after elections they had hoped to frame a Constitution, and to take over the responsibility of administration and "to go all-out to solve the problems of the people."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that the ruling clique and the exploiters had created such multifarious problems in different spheres of life that even if his party came to power it would be terribly difficult to solve those problems immediately. He said that Bengal had been turned into a market and colony, and its food problem had been made so acute that the province was now having an annual deficit of 2,000,000 tons of foodgrains.

The Awami League Chief asked his partymen to remain prepared, adding: If time comes I will give a call to you. Power has to come to us and none can stop it. When power comes to us, we will go all out to solve the problems of our people."

He said he was hopeful of a bright and prosperous future of the Bengalees. "We will succeed because we are fighting for truth."

* * * *

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 10, 1971)

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MEETS ON MARCH 3

DACCA IS VENUE—President's Order

Official announcement, dated February 13, 1971, summoning the National Assembly to meet in Dacca on March 3

The President, General A. M. Yahya Khan, has summoned the National Assembly to meet in Dacca on March 3 for framing a Constitution for the Country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

According to an official announcement, the 313-member Assembly for which country-wide general elections on the basis of adult franchise were held in December last, will meet at 9 a.m. on March 3 in the Provincial Assembly building in Dacca.

The brief announcement said, "The President, General A. M. Yahya Khan, has been pleased to summon the National Assembly of Pakistan to meet on Wednesday, March 3, 1971, at 9 a.m. in the Provincial Assembly Building, Dacca, for the purpose of framing a Constitution for Pakistan."

* * * *

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—February 14, 1971)

CONSTITUTION TO BE BASED ON 6 AND 11 POINTS

REITERATION BY AWAMI LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE
SUMMONING OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY A STEP FORWARD

A report on the East Pakistan Awami League Working Committee Meeting on February 14, 1971

The Working Committee of the East Pakistan Awami League today noted with satisfaction that the National Assembly had been convened by the President to meet on March 3 and considered it has a step forward towards achieving the goal of Constitution-making.

The Working Committee which met here with the Party Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in the chair, discussed at length the economic and political situation and matters relating to the framing of Constitution. The Working Committee did not formally adopt any resolution, but the Party Secretary, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, briefed newsmen at the end of its four-hour deliberations.

The Working Committee reiterated its determination to frame the Constitution on the basis of Awami League's six-point programme and the Student Action Committee's 11-point programme. It also discussed the outline of the Constitution that the party would introduce in the National Assembly in the form of a Bill. Mr. Tajuddin pointed out that the constitution would be framed on the basis of the outline—the basic principles as he called it. The peculiar problems of certain regions of West Pakistan had to be examined in the light of discussions with the West Pakistan leaders and incorporated in the constitution, Mr. Tajuddin said.

Mr. Tajuddin said they were worried over the delay in convening the National Assembly. There was good reason for this anxiety. He said President Yahya Khan was committed to call the National Assembly Session. It must be said to the credit of the President that he had so far not backed out of any commitment and fulfilled all. So when there was delay in calling the Session of the National Assembly there must have been some reason for it, Mr. Tajuddin said.

Plane Hijacking

The Working Committee also discussed at length the hijacking of Indian aircraft and its subsequent blowing up and the developments that followed, including the Indian ban on overflights of Pakistani aircraft over her territory. Asked if the Working Committee discussed the hijacking of Indian plane, Mr. Tajuddin replied in the affirmative and said "it is a vital matter which has led us to a state of confrontation with India."

The Party Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is expected to deliver a major policy statement spelling out the stand of Awami League on constitutional issue to-morrow.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

About the constitution, he will reiterate the declared party stand that it must be based on six and eleven-point, but possibly with a more firm voice.

Awami League as the majority party in the National Assembly considers itself fully competent to frame the constitution. It welcomes co-operation from all in order that there is a consensus, but is unmistakably clear in its mind that such co-operation should come on the clear and explicit understanding that the six-point programme is the basis of the constitution.

* * * *

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took the Working Committee into confidence on the talks he has so far held with the West Pakistani leaders, including the People's Party Chief, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Mr. Tajuddin briefing newsmen said the Working Committee was fully satisfied with the manner in which these talks were conducted by the Awami League leaders.

The Working Committee expressed grave anxiety over the deteriorating economic situation, especially in East Pakistan. It also expressed anxiety over the spiralling of prices and the food problem.

The Working Committee of the All-Pakistan Awami League met this evening under the presidentship of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. West Pakistani leaders of the Awami League, who are on the Central Working Committee, were present in the meeting.

* * * *

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 15, 1971)

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN CAUTIONS AGAINST CONSPIRACY

TRANSFER OF POWER EARLY

Inaugural speech on February 15, 1971, at a joint meeting of the National Assembly and East Pakistan Assembly Members elected on Awami League tickets.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman asserted in Dacca on Monday that the future Constitution of the country would be framed on the basis of Six-Points and gave a call to those who believed in democracy to accept the verdict of the majority. He also requested President Yahya to ensure early transfer of power.

The Awami League President was inaugurating a joint meeting of the National Assembly and East Pakistan Assembly Members elected on Awami League tickets at the Institute of Engineers.

Addressing the meeting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman expressed his hope that President Yahya who had so long fulfilled all his pledges to the nation would not listen to "conspirators" who, according to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, were trying to create internal and international problems and chaos and confusions in the country in order to nullify the result of the elections.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman expressed his indignation at the fact that the Government had briefed six Ambassadors of foreign countries on international tension, but did not discuss it with the country's majority party which was going to take over the responsibility of running the country shortly. He thought that the Government should have talked with the majority in the matter.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman alleged that a conspiracy was being hatched to delay the transfer of power and create various problems in the meantime so that when Awami League would come to power it would become unpopular.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that the conspirators had forgotten that this was 1971 and not 1954 or 1952. He recalled that in 1968–69 when "we were in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

prison", the workers and peasants of this country had brought down Ayub Regime. Now that "we are outside the prison," they should understand what could happen.

Happy over summoning of National Assembly

Referring to the summoning of the National Assembly Session Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that they had been happy at this, because they would now be in a position to sit and discuss and pass the constitution. He asserted that only the elected representatives of the people had the right to frame the constitution. He said that none would be able to impose a constitution with the strength of a gun.

Sheikh Mujib called upon the members of the Provincial Assembly to mobilise public opinion in support of Six and Eleven Points in their respective constituencies when the National Assembly will deliberate on the draft constitution bill. He reminded the National and Provincial Assembly members that they had taken a public oath to fulfil the pledge made to the people.

People want food, shelter

He reminded the MNAs and MPAs that the people of Bangla Desh voted for them as they had a programme and principle. He said, "They voted for you since they want to live, they want food, shelter, cloth and medicine. They want to live like civilised men." He said that he demanded autonomy for achieving these very goals. He said that this autonomy was given a shape by Awami League in its Six Point Programme and by students in their Eleven Point programme.

Referring to his talks with various political leaders from West Pakistan he said "We want to talk to all."

About his talks with Mr. Bhutto "who came as representative of Punjab and Sind" Sheikh Mujib said, "He (Bhutto) was neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied at the talks. I was also neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied." Sheikh Mujib gave a call to Mr. Bhutto to accept the majority opinion.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman wondered what was there to discuss on Six Points which were an old issue. He recalled the repressions that had been let loose by Ayub Regime to suppress the Six Point Movement and reminded that people gave a verdict in favour of Six Points in a "referendum."

Stating that Six Points were for all provinces of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that since Awami League was the majority party in the whole country, it had a responsibility to save the common man in West Pakistan from exploitation.

Warning against bureaucrats

He alleged that some bureaucrats were conspiring to unite West Pakistan for bringing about a confrontation with East Pakistan. But these people did not know what politics was and would have been nowhere but for the guns, he observed.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was also bitter about a section of bureaucrats for their alleged collaboration with political leaders opposed to Awami League before the elections. He alleged that these bureaucrats had visited those leaders' houses with funds brought from Lahore and Karachi. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman alleged that some bureaucrats were still engaged in conspiracy "sitting on the soil of Bangla."

At the outset of his speech Sheikh Mujibur Rahman remembered those who laid down their lives for the sake of the people including the martyrs of the Language Movement. He recalled that on this day two years ago Sergeant Zahurul

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Huq, a co-accused in the Agartala Conspiracy Case, was shot dead while in detention.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced at the meeting that the draft constitution being prepared by the party would be discussed in a meeting of the party MNAs to be held on February 27.

Mujib authorised to take any decision

The joint meeting of Awami League MNAs and MPAs which was also attended by Central and Provincial Working Committee members, by a resolution, bestowed upon Sheikh Mujibur Rahman absolute authority to decide any course of action for achieving the goals of the party.

The resolution was moved by East Pakistan Awami League Vice-President Syed Nazrul Islam. It was supported by Khandker Mushtaq Ahmed, another Vice-President of East Pakistan Awami League.

Socialist economy under democracy

Syed Nazrul Islam speaking at the meeting said that his party would introduce socialist economy under a democratic political system.

Syed Nazrul Islam said that his party got the mandate of the people in favour of six points and also for establishing a society free from all sorts of exploitations. He observed that in achieving the goals for a changed society many odds might come. "But we must overcome them," he added.

Democracy and one Pakistan

Khandker Mushtaq Ahmed speaking at the meeting said that his party believed in democracy and one Pakistan. Time has now come for those who had called Awami League secessionist to show that they themselves believed in democracy and one Pakistan, he added.

Criticising the delay in summoning the National Assembly and in transfer of power Khandker Mushtaq said that according to democratic principles the majority party used to form the government just after the announcement of the election results. In this regard he cited the example of Britain.

Khandker Mushtaq said that those who claimed themselves to be democrats must recognise if they were not hypocrats, that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was the leader of the nation. He also maintained that the democratic camp in the world outside recognised Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the national leader of Pakistan.

Khandker Mushtaq Ahmed alleged that a section of bureaucrat's vested interests and "some invisible forces in the administration" were trying to create obstacle in the process of transfer of power. He warned those conspirators that Awami League would resist those forces at all cost. Indirectly criticising Mr. Bhutto, Khandker Mushtaq said: "Some people forget the geographical realities of Pakistan and whisper to others. Leave it to me."

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary, East Pakistan Awami League, while welcoming the MNAs and MPAs to the meeting, expressed his surprise at the fact that the summoning of the National Assembly took such a long time when the government itself wanted the constitution to be framed in only 120 days.

He said that Awami League was determined to continue relentless struggle till the demands were met. He said that the elected representatives of the people would have to show that they were worthy of the trust the people had reposed in them. He expressed grave concern at the economic problems facing the people.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. A. H. M. Qamruzzaman, General Secretary of All Pakistan Awami League, also addressed the meeting.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 16, 1971)

PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY NOT TO ATTEND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION IF AWAMI LEAGUE NOT FLEXIBLE—WANTS ADJUSTMENTS IN SIX-POINTS TWO-SUBJECT CENTRE NOT ACCEPTABLE

MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S DECLARATION IN PESHAWAR
On February 15, 1971

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of Pakistan People's Party, today declared that his party will not attend the National Assembly Session starting on March 3 at Dacca unless it was made clear to him and his partymen that there would be some amount of reciprocity from the majority party, either publicly or privately.

Addressing a crowded Press Conference he did not term his decision as boycott of the Assembly but said: "We can't go there only to endorse the constitution already prepared by a party and to return humiliated. If we are not heard and even reasonable proposals put by us are not considered, I don't see the purpose to go there".

Mr. Bhutto said that his party had accepted the first and the last points of the Awami League's Six Points (they relate to the basis of representation and the existence of people's militia in the provinces), but he could neither accept a "two-subject Centre" nor the point relating to currency. "I am not without hope about foreign trade and taxation", he added. Mr. Bhutto said that his party had also accepted 10 out of the 11 points of the students. It could not accept the point which said that there should be a sub-federation in the West Wing.

He, however, said, "I think we can work out something which will satisfy both of us. There is hope for understanding. But if we are asked to go to Dacca only to endorse the constitution which has already been prepared by Awami League and which is not to be altered an inch here and an inch there, then you will not find us in Dacca on March 2 when elections for women seats are to be held".

Mr. Bhutto said his party was of the opinion that the constitution based on the six points could not provide a "viable future for the country" Nevertheless Pakistan People's Party has tried to come as close to the Awami League points of view as possible, even upto the edge of precipice, whereafter there is destruction.

He said he had taken the decision as a big responsibility in the interest of the nation. The country is passing through a very critical phase and we may go one way or the other.

Mr. Bhutto said: "If we have to go just for formality we are not prepared". Asked if other leaders go there to help Awami League, he said: "Let them go," adding "but they will have to come back also".

He, however, said: "I will not come in the way of a constitution made by the National Assembly. Let them frame it with those who go there. The onus and odium will not then fall on Pakistan People's Party," he added.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He accused the Awami League of applying double standards for constitution. He said for normal procedures of leading to constitution making the party had followed normal democratic principles but for the constitution itself it did not accept the universal principle of a democratic consensus of all provinces. You can't apply double standard, he declared.

He said dictation or imposition of a constitution on West Pakistan will not be accepted. "We want East and West to live together in equality but that does not mean things should be thrust on us". Asked if an indication of a compromise was given to him by the Awami League in private and if it did not stand good, he said: "You can always come back".

Mr. Bhutto said that he had taken the decision after consultations with his party leaders and other political leaders of the West Wing.

* * * *

He said that his party had the greatest respect and admiration for the people of East Pakistan, and had in its foundation papers, conceded that the people of East Pakistan had been badly exploited and had a cause to feel aggrieved. It had been even insisted for the removal of the "internal colonial structure," he added.

The PPP Chief emphasised that if the Awami League had received a mandate on Six Points, in the elections, they should accept the People's Party's position that its success was based on economic programme and its stand on foreign policy. He stated that his party was convinced that the Six Point programme should be taken on a political basis and not on a "test tube" basis.

His party had abstained from taking any position on the Six Points, during the year-long election campaign, since it felt that a "dialogue" was necessary on them.

Mr. Bhutto also regretted over the failure of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to come to West Pakistan, because of the existence of "vested interests" here, and said that he could personally guarantee "fullest honour and protection" to the Awami League leaders.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto expressed his party's inability to attend the National Assembly session, beginning from March 3 in Dacca, in the absence of an understanding for "compromise or adjustment" on the six points.

Mr. Bhutto stated that his party had "gone as far as possible" on the issue of Six Points to ensure a viable constitution for the country. But, in the present circumstances, they would not be going to Dacca to frame a constitution but to "accept" a constitution.

"If I am given to understand that there is a room for compromise and adjustment I am prepared to go there even today", he added.

He added: "If there is a purpose to build up Pakistan, we are prepared to go to the Assembly even today".

Mr. Bhutto said that if there was a question of framing of the constitution, the consensus of federating units, was essential "but the position is that the constitution has already been framed" and the Awami League "wants us to endorse it", he said. The Awami League, the PPP Chief said, had adopted an attitude of "take it or leave it".

He added, we should have a guarantee that we would be heard and if our viewpoint was reasonable, it would be accepted. Participation in the National Assembly without such an understanding would further "vitiate" the situation.

Mr. Bhutto emphasised that if the things were to be taken on democratic basis, "you have to make scope for adjustments".

Mr. Bhutto also said that the participation in the present situation, might lead to a "deadlock" which was against national interests. "I do not want to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

deteriorate the position" he said—adding that he was only "objective and reasonable".

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that it was for the nation to judge as to what had been the stand of the People's Party in the past and "the nation always judges correctly". "We took no position on six points all through our election campaign", he said. On the other hand the six points had been criticised by many a leader in West Pakistan. The irony was that these very leaders were now praising the six points because the Awami League had registered a vast majority in the National Assembly.

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that there were many "misgivings" in West Pakistan about the six points. He reminded the Awami League leaders that when he had visited East Pakistan in October 1966 he had suggested an analytically critical dialogue on six points, as soon as possible. It created a stir in West Pakistan and the politicians demanded as to how he could hold a dialogue on six points.

* * * *

Bearing in mind the back-ground of our 23 years history, the six points, as they stood today, could not be worked viably. He had assured the Awami League leader that the People's Party would try its best to come as close to the precipice as possible and not beyond to accommodate the six points.

Discussing the consultations he has had within his own party, Mr. Bhutto revealed that there was a "divided view", on the six-points. Some of his partymen took "extreme" position,—that the party should fight it out—, and a very small number took the position that the Awami League programme should be accepted. But the majority of the party leaders supported the view that there should be reasonable adjustments to bring about a compromise.

The PPP chief said he had now completed his discussions with other leaders of West Pakistan and that at his partymen's meeting in Karachi on Feburay 20 and 21, "we will take formal and final position".

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that now the date of the Assembly session had been announced but he emphasised that before he and his party-men went to Dacca they would like to have an idea of the amount of "reciprocity" but this necessary pre-requisite was not yet known.

* * * *

He had hoped that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would come to West Pakistan and that he could have further talks with him. But now it seemed he (Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) was not prepared to do so, because the Awami League leader felt that the atmosphere was not "congenial" for him, to visit West Pakistan. There was a good deal of talk about the dangers he faced from the vested interests.

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that he did not know whether there was an element of "give and take" and of reciprocity in the Awami League position. If it was not proper for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to come here, it was even harder for Mr. Bhutto to go to Dacca. With the present state of relations with India, and in the light of the gradually threatening posture of the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi against Pakistan and bearing in mind the PPP's well known and clear stand on the relations with India "have I not the responsibility to be with my people here", he asked.

Mr. Bhutto went on to say "I can put myself in jeopardy, but it is a question of 83 party leaders, going to East Pakistan in the present state of affairs." He said that he could not put his partymen in a position of double hostage because of Indian hostility and their non-acceptance of six points.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He added that his party comprised of working people, who have to do a job and naturally they would like to know how long would they be away from their homes.

In the beginning it was announced that there would be only a ceremonial session in Dacca. But the position was not clear today, whether his party members were to stay there for a long period or only for a few days.

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that his party members were expected to go to Dacca in the present circumstances not to frame the constitution but to just "accept" it. "With this background we will not be there on March 3 in the Assembly".

He, however, added that if an assurance was given even privately that there would be give and take and there would be a purpose for us to be there to construct something together, then we would go.

Other leaders of West Pakistan he said, may go if they so desired, but the PPP members would go only if there was room for adjustment, and not to sign a dictated constitution.

Mr. Bhutto said that on the one hand the Awami League claimed the right to frame the constitution on the democratic principle of simple majority, and on the other it wanted six points because of the geographic peculiarities of the country. He said, it could not have it both ways. If they wanted their six points on the basis of geographical peculiarities, why should this factor not come into play in the framing of the constitution and the principle of the consensus of the federating units applied instead of the principle of simple majority.

However, he said that if the Awami League insisted on the framing of the constitution on the basis of six points, then the onus and odium of that constitution would not fall on the Pakistan People's Party.

He said that he did not want to deteriorate the situation but was stating what was objective, scientific and reasonable.

He said that he took full responsibility for the position he had taken and he would be prepared to face the barrel of a gun, for he had done so often in the past. But he said, he must save the people from the firing line.

Asked if he was boycotting the Assembly, Mr. Bhutto emphatically disagreed with the suggestion.

Mr. Bhutto said that he did not want to aggravate the situation. He conceded that in the past some West Pakistani leaders had dictated to East Pakistan, but he had nothing to do with it. What had happened in the past should not mean that this dictation should now be repeated on West Pakistan. West Pakistan had thrown up a new leadership which wanted to end the system of exploitation, not only in West Pakistan but also in East Pakistan, he said. A constitution imposed as a vendetta against Pakistan would not be accepted, he added.

To another question, Mr. Bhutto said that he would accept in good faith, an assurance from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on the question of give and take in the framing of the constitution, even if such an assurance was given privately.

Replying to another question Mr. Bhutto said that he was "satisfied" with his talks with the leaders of the NWFP. Mr. Bhutto met Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, President of the Pakistan Muslim League, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, President of National Awami Party and Maulana Mufti Mahmud, General Secretary, Jamaita-e-ul-Ulema-e-Islam, during his two-day stay here.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 16, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DECISION OF PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY ALONE

I HAVE NO RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR OTHERS

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Lahore on February 15, 1971

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, today said his earlier statement at Peshawar indicating non-participation in the National Assembly proceedings represented the stand of his party alone and added "it would not be fair on my part to speak on behalf of other parties".

Mr. Bhutto was asked if his decision not to attend the Assembly session represented some sort of consensus of political parties in West Pakistan because he had made the statement after meeting leaders of various political parties in Western Wing. He said it did represent the views of his party which had thoroughly discussed the question of the future constitutional set-up but "I would not say anything on behalf of others as it would not be fair on my part to do so".

Remarking that the question should be addressed to the leaders of other parties, he added "whatever they have to say they would do it in the next few days".

Mr. Bhutto was talking to newsmen at Lahore airport on arrival from Peshawar. He was received by the workers and leaders of his party.

When a correspondent pointed out that his party claimed to represent the whole of West Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto replied, "this is not a claim. This is a fact and a reality of life".

* * * *

Asked if he still considered West Pakistan a political entity, he said it was no longer a legal or political entity. There were four provinces which put together formed West Pakistan, he explained.

The correspondent pointed out that he had asked this question because he (Mr. Bhutto) accepted the reality of West Pakistan as a political entity because he recognized the People's Party as the representative of the Western Wing.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 16, 1971)

AWAMI LEAGUERS DISCUSS BHUTTO'S STATEMENT

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's comment on Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement of February 15, 1971

"Don't you think my speech at the Engineers' Institute in the morning is sufficient," was the reply of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when he was asked on Monday evening to comment on the statement of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto made in Peshwar the same day.

In an informal meeting at the party office the Awami League leaders discussed the statement of Mr. Bhutto on Monday evening. A copy of Mr. Bhutto's statement was brought to the Awami League office from a news agency for discussion. The complete statement of Mr. Bhutto could not however be gathered by the Awami League office from the news agency till 9 p.m.

Shiekh Mujibur Rahman was heard telling his party leaders at the end of the meeting that "we have done our job; let him (meaning Mr. Bhutto) do his own".

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 16, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DECISION IS IRREVOCABLE

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Karachi on February 16, 1971

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party said in Karachi last night that his Party's decision not to attend the ensuing session of the National Assembly was " Unshakable and irrevocable ".

He was talking to the A.P.P. on his return here from Lahore. He was asked if his party would review his decision in its two-day high-level meeting beginning in Karachi from February 20.

He said that whatever decision he had taken was final and added: " Anyone who goes to Dacca from West Pakistan whether in Khaki or in black-and-white does so at his own cost ".

Asked to comment on the opinion expressed by some legal and constitutional experts that his party's MNAs-elect would get their membership to the Assembly forfeited if they did not attend the National Assembly's inaugural session for seven consecutive days, Mr. Bhutto said it would be the " finest thing if that happens ". He said in that case he would be even more delighted to see that 85 seats from West Pakistan were vacated. " They are welcome to disenfranchise us—disenfranchise the people of West Pakistan ", he added.

Asked what would be his party's position in the election to the reserved seats fixed for March 2, the PPP leader said his party would take part neither in the election of women's reserved seats nor in the election of the Speaker. He said his party was not attending the ensuing National Assembly session at Dacca because it was wanting that some " reasonable things " should take place there.

In the absence of this, he added, it would not be worthwhile for his party to attend it.

* * * *

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 17, 1971)

ATTEND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, NURUL AMIN URGES ALL BHUTTO'S STAND DEPLORED

Statements by Mr. Nuril Amin Anu and other Political Leaders of the Two Wings on February 16, 1971

Mr. Nurul Amin, President of Pakistan Democratic Party on Tuesday appealed to the elected representatives of the two wings of the country to attend the session of the National Assembly to frame a constitution for Pakistan worthy of the nation founded by Quaid-e-Azam.

Giving his reactions to APP on Mr. Bhutto's Peshawar statement, Mr. Nurul Amin said: It is unfortunate that leaders of two majority parties namely Sheikh Mujib and Z. A. Bhutto, should have failed to arrive at an understanding on the broad principles of the constitution during the recent parleys in Dacca, although people had been under the impression from Press reports that the talks were progressing well.

Mr. Bhutto's decision not to attened the ensuing session of the National Assembly is not only hasty and unhelpful, but also tends to create misgivings amongst the people about the prospects of early transfer of power. His imaginary plea that his partymen will be double hostages in East Pakistan is highly objectionable.

" This is an uncalled for aspersion on the people of this region. The PPP Chairman's attitude, to say the least, is deplorable ".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Maudoodi

A Lahore message adds: The Amir of Jamaat-e-Islami, Maulana Syed Abul Ala Maudoodi on Tuesday described as improper an attempt to seek solution of constitutional problems outside the National Assembly and refusal to attend the session and thus creating a constitutional deadlook at this juncture.

In a Press statement Maulana Maudoodi said the proper thing was that all those who have been elected by the people as their representative should take part in the session, giving up extreme attitude.

All big or small parties who were in minority should not present their own drafts of the constitution. Only the majority party should present its draft and all those parts of the draft which were in consonance with Islamic character of the state, solidarity of the country, democratic principles, fundamental rights and equity to all regions and economic justice should be accepted and all other things which were in contravention of these principles should be opposed with strong and cogent reasons.

And if the majority party still insisted on the basis of its numerical strength it should be made clear that even if such a constitution was phased, it would not be a success and the majority party would be fully responsible for the results.

He said the present critical situation was the result of successive mistakes committed from late 1968 to the polling day. Now any step not taken in the right direction might put the very existence of the country into jeopardy.

Ataur Rahman

The Chief of the Pakistan National League, Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan termed Mr. Bhutto's stand as a move to divide the country.

He said that Mr. Bhutto should have attended the National Assembly session and taken part in discussion on the constitution. In case he had failed in his efforts then only Mr. Bhutto could take such a decision, Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan said.

Salam Khan

Mr. Abdus Salam Khan, former President of East Pakistan PDP thought that Mr. Bhutto's decision not to come to attend the Assembly was inappropriate. He said that for the purpose of transfer of power to people's Government and for framing of a constitution the participation of Mr. Bhutto and his party MNAs in the forthcoming National Assembly Session would be a wise decision.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 17, 1971)

MUSHTAQ LIKELY TO BE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER

MUJIB ELECTED LEADER

Report on proceedings of the Awami League Parliamentary Party in Dacca on February 16, 1971.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was elected on Tuesday, the Leader of the Awami League Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly.

Syed Nazrul Islam, Vice-President of the East Pakistan Awami League, was elected Deputy Leader and Mr. A. H. M. Kamruzzaman, General Secretary of the All Pakistan Awami League as the Secretary of the Parliamentary Party.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Awami League Parliamentarians elected Mr. Yusuf Ali of Dinajpur as the Chief Whip of the party. The two Whips elected were Mr. Abdul Mannan of Tangail and Mr. Amirul Islam of Kushtia.

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League who talked to the waiting journalists after the two and half hours close-door meeting of the parliamentarians did not disclose the proceedings of the meeting except the election of the office bearers of the parliamentary party.

Awami Leaguers tightlipped

Although the Awami League has been maintaining tight lip over the discussions at the meeting, it is gathered that the party chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman apprised the National Assembly members of the recent political developments in the country. The party chief is also learnt to have explained to the parliamentarians his party's future course of action in view of "attempts by certain quarters to frustrate the peaceful transfer of power."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman also had informal chat with the waiting newsmen for quite some time after the meeting was over. But he declined to comment on the discussions at the close-door conference. When a correspondent insisted on having his reaction to Mr. Bhutto's Peshawar statement of February 15 in which he had put pre-conditions to joining the National Assembly session on March 3, the Awami League leader said that he was still observing the developments.

The Awami League chief, however, added that he had spelled out his party's stand on the future constitution of the country in the joint session of M.N.As and M.P.As on Monday.

The Awami League Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly is likely to nominate Khondkar Mushtaq Ahmed as the Speaker of the National Assembly. Some admirers of Mr. Mushtaq Ahmed however prefer a Cabinet post for him. They are of the opinion that the post of Speaker would take him away from the party activities.

Prospective Central Ministers

Meanwhile, speculation is ripe in the Awami League circles about the future Cabinet members. It is thought that Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League will hold an important portfolio in the Central Cabinet and for that reason he was not given any post in the Central Parliamentary Party. The other members who are expected to get place in the Central Cabinet are: Colonel Osmani, Mr. Masihur Rahman, Mr. Kamruzzaman Mr. M. R Siddiqui, Dr. Kamal Hussain and Mr. Mohammed Idris.

As both Mr. Siddiqi and Mr. Idris hail from Chittagong, one of them is likely to be taken in the Cabinet. Other aspiriants for Cabinet posts are being assured of important positions either in the Provincial Cabinet or assignments abroad or posts in corporations, banks and commissions. Mr. Abdul Malek Ukil, a former Leader of the opposition in East Pakistan Assembly, may be bestowed with a post of Deputy Speaker in the National Assembly.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 17, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHUTTO'S PRE-CONDITION THREAT TO EAST PAKISTAN

Moulana Bhashani's statement at Cox's Bazar on February 16, 1971

Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, President of National Awami Party, said on Tuesday that Mr. Z. A Bhutto's pre-condition to attend the ensuing National Assembly session at Dacca was a "threat" to East Pakistan.

Addressing a big public meeting Moulana Bhashani said that East Pakistan would not succumb to the pressure or threatening of anybody. He said that neither East Pakistan wanted to rule anyone nor anybody would be allowed to rule us.

He referred to the recent hijac king of Indian plane and the subsequent action by India and said that as a result, prices of various items of daily necessities had shot up. He pointed out that it was another example like last Indo-Pak war that in the event of abnormal situation, West Pakistan could not come to the assistance of East Pakistan.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 18, 1971)

PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADERS SURPRISED— BHUTTO'S DECISION UNFORTUNATE

Statements of Nawabzada Nasurallah Khan and Mr. Salahuddin Khan on Bhutto's decision to boycott the National Assembly

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, West Wing chief of the Pakistan Democratic Party, has expressed his surprise at the People's Party chief Mr. Z. A Bhutto's decision regarding the abstention of his party members from participation in the forthcoming session of the National Assembly and said such a step was likely to hamper the democratic process in the country.

* * * * *

The PDP leader was of the opinion that instead of boycotting the session it would have been in line with the democratic tradition if the protest to be registered by Mr. Bhutto had been done inside the assembly by participation in the debate there.

He further said it was difficult to predict anything on the basis of Mr. Bhutto's boycott decision because the People's Party Chairman was in the habit of changing his stance with great rapidity. Only the other day the latter had said that he would have a dialogue with the Awami League chief inside the Assembly, he recalled.

* * * * *

A message from Rawalpindi says: Mr. Salahuddin Khan a member of the Central Committee of the Pakistan Democratic Party commenting on Mr. Bhutto's threat to boycott the National Assembly said that the decision is "unfortunate and surprising".

In a statement he said that the People's Party has been able to carve out a majority of seats in assemblies in the Punjab and Sind on the basis of some slogans. Mr. Bhutto made it clear time and again that the most important task before the nation was the framing of the constitution. But when the stage is set he has chosen to stay away from the assembly.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said that the timing of his announcement of boycott after he had rounds of talks with leaders of West Pakistan is very intriguing. Mr. Bhutto will surely have read the mind of Sheikh Mujib when he discussed things with him thread-bare in Dacca for the Sheikh had placed his cards on the table leaving no scope for doubt.

It is baffling that Mr. Bhutto did not speak his mind then.

He said that the assembly is a forum to ventilate grievances of or to project ones views without let or hindrance. History shows that opinion expressed in assemblies has influenced public thinking, he added. He said the People's Party secured about one-third of votes. Eighty per cent West Pakistanis and a sizeable number in East Pakistan are not enamoured of the six points and their opinion should not be allowed to be ridden rough shod. Therefore, Mr. Bhutto should give second thought to the decision and bring his thinking to bear upon discussions in the assembly.

(PAKISTAN OBSERVER—February 18, 1971)

NO ROOM LEFT FOR NEGOTIATION WITH AWAMI LEAGUE

PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY NOT GOING TO ENDORSE A 'DICTATED' CONSTITUTION

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's statement in Karachi on February 17, 1971

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party yesterday reiterated that if a "viable" constitution is to be framed for the country "all of us must have a hand in that".

He told a Press conference at the party's central office in Karachi that "under present circumstances" it was pointless for the People's Party to attend the ensuing National Assembly session beginning at Dacca from March 3.

He said that the PPP's MNA elect could not undertake the journey to Dacca merely to endorse a constitution in the making of which they did not have their say. He said that India's belligerent attitude towards Pakistan had created an abnormal situation in West Pakistan. There had been Indian troops movement on the Lahore border and in the adjoining areas and the Indian political parties were outbidding one another to take a "stronger position" against Pakistan. Such situations in the past Mr. Bhutto said had led to war between India and Pakistan. The situation was critical not only within but without also taking into account the situation in South-East Asia, particularly in Laos.

In the light of these circumstances, Mr. Bhutto said, the journey of the party's 85 MNAs-elect from West Pakistan to Dacca was not a simple matter, especially in view of the party's known views. It was the the first duty of the party members to be with their people in this situation, he said.

Mr. Bhutto said that the basic position today was that the Awami League says that there could be no compromise on its six-point programme and that it was a "final word and last position", He said, in reality, the Pakistan People's Party had gone to the precipice beyond which there was a fall.

The party, he said, had accepted all the demands of the students. Ten out of 11 demands had been accepted. The eleventh point itself belongs to the six-point programme, he added.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said the People's Party had said it at the very outset that it would step aside if its views were not accommodated on the issue of Constitution.

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that his party had tried its best to work out some agreed settlement and understanding with the Awami League. But, now, he added, there is no room for further negotiations with the Awami League.

The PPP leader criticised those who objected to his party's decision not to attend the National Assembly session and maintained that the PPP members should discuss constitutional issue in the Assembly. He said that in normal circumstances. Such discussions took place in the Assemblies. The members went collectively together with a blank slate. But here the situation was entirely different. The Awami League leaders had been making speeches showing the rigidly of their stand on the six-point programme, taking oath on that and repeatedly expressing their determination to frame the Constitution only within the framework of the six-point programme of the party. They also made their intention to this effect clear during their talks with him.

Under the circumstances Mr. Bhutto said if the PPP members went to attend the Dacca session and did not endorse the Awami League's Constitution they might be asked by the Awami League as to why they had come to East Pakistan. "Did not they know Awami League's views and stand on the Constitution previously".

Under such circumstances, Mr. Bhutto said, the Assembly would have been a "slaughter house." He did not elaborate on this point.

* * * *

Of the Six Points of the Awami League, Mr. Bhutto said, the "most difficult" was the one pertaining to foreign trade and foreign aid.

* * * *

To a questioner, Mr. Bhutto said that he was not worried if his party's decision not to attend the Assembly session would make the party members liable to surrender their membership to the House. Let the 85 seats from West Pakistan be vacated and let there be bye-elections to these seats. "We will recapture them all" he said.

Asked if there was any similarity in his party's decision not to attend the round-table conference in 1969 during the Ayub regime and the recent one, Mr. Bhutto said there was some element of similarity. He however, said that the present situation was much different from the previous occasion. "In the round-table conference, a hand pick of the establishment were there but in the Assembly there were representatives elected by the people."

He denied that his party's decision not to attend the assembly had any blessing from the present regime. He said that there was no question of any agreement "behind the scenes" between him (Mr. Bhutto) and anybody else. He however, said that it was the Awami League which had hailed the summoning of the National Assembly session by President Yahya.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 18, 1971)

NO POWER CAN ANY LONGER ENSLAVE BENGALEES

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's statement in Dacca on February 17, 1971

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman yesterday told a Shaheed Day function that the students, workers and people of Bangla Desh "have now

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

learnt to sacrifice their life and no power on earth could subjugate the Bengalees any more."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was speaking at a function last evening at Engineers Institute organised by the Dacca City Awami League to pay its homage to the martyrs of Language Movement of 1952.

The Awami League chief who was the chief guest at the function said that the blood of our Shaheeds have taught us to be united, self-reliant and conscious of our literature and culture. No nation, could be successful unless it had learnt to sacrifice life.

Recalling the history of the Bengali language movement of 1952; Sheikh Mujib said that it was not merely a language movement. The question of realising the cultural freedom of this country was also connected with this. He reiterated that the movement would continue till the Bengalis would be able to realise this cultural freedom. Nobody could stop it even with gun, he reminded.

Will Never Forget

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in his brief speech said that the culture of Bengal will continue as long as the Bengalis will remain alive. "I will never forget the February 21".

The Awami League chief urged the people to be conscious so that the blood of the martyrs does not go in vain.

The function was attended among others by A. H. M. Kamruzzaman, General Secretary of the All-Pakistan Awami League and Awami League MNAs and MPAs now present in Dacca.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi & Dacca—February 18, 1971)

MUJIB WANTS TO ENSURE RIGHTS OF ALL PROVINCES

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S INTERVIEW TO A CORRESPONDENT OF THE TEHERAN DAILY "KEYHAN"

TEHERAN, February 19: The Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, has said that he wanted not only East Pakistan, but all the provinces in West Pakistan also to secure their rights within the federal framework.

In an interview to a correspondent of the Teheran daily "Keyhan" recently in Dacca he said, "We want the whole nation to progress on the basis of justice and unity". A democratic Pakistan will be a strong Pakistan." he added.

Sheikh Mujib also talked on his foreign policy and said that it consisted of non-alignment combined with active friendship with all nations of the world.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman emphasised that those who described him as "a secessionist were slanderers of the meanest kind". He stressed that the redressing of the wrongs done to East Pakistan will strengthen Pakistan while the present system would weaken it beyond repair. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that Islamabad could not dictate the future of East Pakistan through remote control.

Speaking about his autonomy programme for East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, "Our programme is not aimed only at East Pakistan. We want provinces such as Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP to secure their rights twihin the federal framework."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The impoverisation of Bangla Desh is against the real interests of our brothers in West Pakistan as well. In the long run what is now localised poverty will spread to the whole nation. What we want is to end the capitalist system of monopolies and trusts that make a few people grow fat on the poverty of millions".

The interview said:

"Asked whether federal Pakistan would not enable India to "eat up" Bangla Desh, Mujib laughed heartily. "No one can eat anyone nowadays", he assured us. "India can hardly control her own Bengal and our people, though poor to the point of breaking, can still defend their independence."

"Look at Viet-Nam", he continued. "However is it that the mighty United States of America is so helpless when trying to impose her will on a nation of poor peasants? If America cannot eat up Viet-Nam, how can India dream of eating up Bangla Desh"?

Economic Policy

The "Keyhan" report of the interview published in the news paper this week reads: "Sheikh Mujib's economic policy consists of wholesale nationalisation of many key sectors including banking, insurance, heavy industries, foreign trade, jute and cotton transport and especially shipping. This, he believes, will break the power of the "coterie" enabling the federal units to plan their economics in a scientific way while giving the people a direct say in the affairs of the nation as a whole.

Foreign Debts

"Another feature of his economic policy is the liberation of Pakistan from the "cursed burden of foreign debts. We have been borrowing like mad in the past," he said. "And the loans we received only fattened a few capitalists and their agents in the administration while the masses have to bear the burden of servicing and repayment."

"He would also like the federal Government to guarantee full employment, basic necessities including food, and the eradication of illiteracy through an organisation similar to Iran's Literacy Corps.

His foreign policy consists of "non-alignment" combined with active friendship "with all nations of the world" and the solution of all disputes through peaceful means. He would like Pakistan to withdraw from both CENTO and SEATO but would like to see the RCD grouping Pakistan. Iran and Turkey together stay and be enlarged with the participation of "others, especially South-East Asian nations".

"He explains that the Kashmir dispute has been exploited by the "military caste" and "the capitalists" as an excuse for dictatorship and heavy expenditure on armament. "And yet", he adds, "We have not done our duty towards the people of Jammu and Kashmir".

Mujib would like to have "the best of relations with India". "We share a sub-continent" he says. "And whether we like it or not we have to live and trade together".

Friendship with China

"Friendship with China also forms part of Mujib's foreign Policy." "The friendship is dictated by the facts of geography and policies". he emphasises. "But this does not mean that we would change our system or outlook; we are a Muslim nation and shall never accept Communism."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On relations with Iran Mujib says that the historical, cultural and sentimental ties between the two countries are strong enough not to need "any lengthy talk". "Iran is the closest Muslim nation to us," he says, "and nothing can divide the two brotherly nations.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 20, 1971)

THE ENIGMA OF A POLITICAL PRIEST

COMMENTARY BY *HOLIDAY* 'DACCA WEEKLY' OF FEBRUARY 21, 1971, ON MR. Z. A. BHUTTO'S REFUSAL TO ATTEND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

There is possibly nothing wrong in Mr. Bhutto's refusal to accept the Awami League's six-point programme in toto as the basis for framing a constitution for the country. The right of dissent, after all, is the essence of a democratic policy.

The method that Mr. Bhutto has adopted for recording his "constitutional dissent" however would look less than constitutional if not macabre, to borrow a word from his endless stock of high flowing epithets, from whatever angle it is seen.

Gimmicks may add to the lustre of Mr. Bhutto's already overdramatised political career, but it is bound to lead the country to a point of no return at a time when "crisis" is no longer an unfailing, pass word to the magic world of power and glory.

Strangely enough it was Mr. Bhutto rather than the Awami League leaders who had cautioned his "dear countrymen" about the danger of any untoward move at this delicate time of our national life. In fact a docile Dacca press had to sit through a two hour long sermon from the Pakistan People's Party chairman on the need for a "fair moratorium" on the "delicate issue of politcal dialogues" between Mr. Bhutto and the Awami League for two to three months.

But apparently what is good for laity could not be applicable to the priest himself, so in about a fortnight's time after his passionate appeal for a "fair moratorium", Mr. Bhutto had to break it with a threat that his party would not attend the National Assembly session in the absence of an "understanding for compromise or adjustment" on the six points.

And then came the barrage of open and disguised threats and uncalled for insinuations. East Pakistan has never been close to Mr. Bhutto's heart (even though digging political graves may be futile exercises at this hour of "crisis"). But one can hardly forget that his basic appeal to the electorate in west Pakistan despite his repeated and ritualistic adherence to the concept of an integrated Pakistan, has been his potential as one man who could stand up to demands from a resurgent East Pakistan, particularly in the context of an electoral system on one-man one-vote basis. That the thesis of "bastion of power" made its advent early in the game betrayed the actual mandate that Mr. Bhutto knew he had received from a particular province in West Pakistan.

Queer though it may seem Mr. Bhutto was setting his own trap by advocating the "bastion of power" thesis. As he told the Dacca press there was nothing wrong in describing Lahore or Karachi as "bastions of power" because of the industrial growth in these two cities. A man who was elected by his own claim, to demolish all bastions of power committed himself to a power-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pattern which would guarantee the continuation of an old system which East Pakistan so passionately discarded in the general elections. Purely from an academic point of view Mr. Bhutto's passionate love for a "Strong Pakistan", which in Ayubian vocabulary would mean a strong centre, would be a paradox even judged by Mr. Bhutto's own political tenets. He wants Lahore and Karachi to continue as bastions of power. He rejects the idea of a zonal sub-federation in West Pakistan, but projects himself as the sole leader of a politically and geographically dead entity. He is apprehensive of disintegration if the centre was to be weakened by leaving it with only two subjects, but firmly asserts that even in the appointments of governors of the Punjab and Sind his party must have the final say in the matter.

What prompted Mr. Bhutto to go to the press hurriedly to assert the democratic rights of the people of West Pakistan as against the "dictatorial terms" of the majority party in the National Assembly is not easily understood. He has now denied any association with any section of the administration in turning a desperdo on the question of constitution-making. But one can hardly make any sense of his quick-changing mood unless Mr. Bhutto can present some convincing reasons for his party's non-participation in the National Assembly Session. So for his arguments have been meaningless verbiage, the only contents being uncalled for insinuation against the people of East Pakistan. Only a die-hard secessionist could talk in terms of double hostages and slaughter house. It should have occured to Mr. Bhutto for at least once that political assassination, if he had the Shahed Ali murder in mind, took place in West Pakistan as far back as in 1951. Also Dr. Khan Shahed did not die of coronary thrombosis.

Without being too harsh, one could as well be very objective about the political vascillation on the part of the PPP chairman in his short political career. But that he would make the entire nation run into a political maze is one thing which cannot be so easily conceded at this stage of a struggle by a people who have been long deprived even of a facade of democracy.

In his latest dramatic move, Mr. Bhutto has ruled out the possibility of any mediation by "any other party" for reapproachment between the PPP and the Awami League. The leader who claims "a theory of consensus" to be the ethical basis for his scheme of federation need not have been so harsh in dismissing arbitration by politicians whose parties may have been routed in the elections; but who have personally survived Mr. Bhutto's "revolutionary electoral surge" in the Punjab and Sind. After all, it was he who had publicly announced that he was prepared to call on Maududi in search of a consensus on constitution making. The fact of history is that he has, on his own, met Mr. Abdul Qayyum Khan and Mr. Mumtaz Daultana.

Mr. Bhutto has a clear choice in not accepting a constitution that would be based on the six-point of the Awami League. That however does not give him the freedom to preach a gospel of hatred and mistrust. The Awami League did not endorse the 1956 constitution, but that did not convert the consembly into a slaughter house. Fissiparous tendencies, as Mr. Bhutto should know well, are already there in the national life. Why should he with his self-avowed, "passionate love" for Pakistan prove to be the catalyst for a separation when what he needs to do is to practise "a fair moratorium" till the transfer of power?

(HOLIDAY, Dacca—February 21, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MUJIB OFFERS TO EXPLAIN SIX-POINTS

STATEMENT IN DACCA ON FEBRUARY 21, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has welcomed leaders of all political parties elected to the National Assembly to a detailed discussion of all the points of the Six-Point formula prior to the National Assembly Session. He told newsmen on Sunday that the leaders were welcome to come to Dacca four or five days before the National Assembly sitting and have full discussions with us on the Six-Point Programme.

He said, "If there was any need for clarification our representatives will be prepared to clarify and I am sure they will understand the points". He added, "I believe that most of them understand the Six-Points but there were some who were taking a different attitude with an ulterior motive".

Sheikh Mujib made his observations following a two-hour meeting with Jamiatul Ulem-a-e Islam (Hazarvi group) leaders Mufti Mahmud and Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi who met him at his residence. The two Hazarvi group leaders were present during Sheikh Mujib's talks with pressmen. Sheikh Mujib further told newsmen, "our stand is clear. The majority people of Pakistan has given its verdict on the constitution and we are committed to stand by it". "Constitution will be framed on this basis."

Earlier, the Jamiat leaders—Maulana Hazarvi and Maulana Mufti said their object to visit Dacca is to end the "deadlock". They said they had discussed with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for two hours on the basis of "love affection and brotherly feeling" on the political problems and constitutional issues.

The Jamiat leaders said they understood from the talks that Sheikh Saheb *was desirous to see Pakistan "united and strong"*. They said Sheikh Saheb believed that if the constitution was framed on the basis of Six-Points there was "no danger and no harm" to the integrity of the country.

They said Sheikh Saheb told them that he (the Sheikh) was prepared to discuss with all the political leaders on all the clauses of the Six-Points.

Maulana Hazarvi and Mufti Mahmud said in West Pakistan they had talked to the President General A. M. Yahya Khan, Mr. Z. A Bhutto, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Air Marshal (retired) Nur Khan.

After the discussions with them they (Jamiat) came to the conclusion that controversy over Six-Points had prolonged. The Jamiat leaders said it was time that the deadlock should be overcome.

Replying to a question the Jamiat leaders said they felt the people had elected their party's MNAs with the hope that they would attend the National Assembly Session.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—February 23, 1971).

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S STATEMENT

Issued to the press on February 24, 1971 regarding his party's programme, emphasising that Six-Point won't be imposed on the Western Wing

Following is the text of a statement issued to the Press by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of All Pakistan Awami League, at Dacca at a Press Conference today:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The fate of 120 million people is too serious a matter to be trifled with. It is time to call a halt to the kind of political histrionics which the nation has been made to witness during the last week. An artificial crisis is being deliberately fabricated in order to sabotage the making of a constitution by the elected representatives of the people and the transfer of power to them.

"The Awami League, mindful of its responsibility to the people of Pakistan, the majority of whom it represents, had thus far deliberately maintained silence, since it wished to avoid poisoning the atmosphere by bitter controversy.

"Consistently with its belief in democratic principles and processes, the Awami League has adhered to the view that vital constitutional issues should be resolved and indeed can only be resolved, through debates and discussions within the National Assembly.

"In pursuance of this objective, the Awami League has been calling for an early meeting of the National Assembly. It had also made itself available for discussions with every politcal party and leader.

"Along with my party leaders, I met President Yahya and explained the implications of the Six-Point constitutional formula, in favour of which the majority of the people of Pakistan had recorded a historic verdict.

Meeting with Bhutto

"Thereafter, I met the Chairman of People's Party Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, and my colleagues had several meetings with his colleagues. We impressed upon them that after the historic verdict given by the majority of the people of Pakistan in favour of the Six-Point federal scheme, this scheme was now the property of the people. The people had given a mandate to the Awami League to frame a constitution on the basis of this Six-Point formula and the party was irrevocably committed to carry out this mandate.

"We expressed our readiness, however, to make necessary clarifications in order to dispel any misgivings they might have about the impact of the Six-Point Scheme upon any of the legitimate interests of the Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan or on the viability of the federal government.

"The People's Party itself postponed serious and detailed discussions in respect of the Six-Point Scheme on the ground that they would first have discussions with their members in West Pakistan and, thereafter, return for further discussions.

"The Awami League, in the meantime, reaffirmed that while committed to framing a constitution on the basis of the Six-Point Scheme, it nonetheless sought co-operation from all parties to give to this country a durable constitution.

"In pursuance of this objective, we met Maulana Noorani of Markazi Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi and Maulana Mufti Mahmood, of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, and other leaders from the Western Wing.

"Simultaneously, we continued to press for the early meeting of the National Assembly, the convening of which in our view, was being unduly delayed, since over two months had been allowed to elapse before it was finally summoned.

Call for National Assembly Session

"When ultimately, the notice convening the National Assembly on 3rd March 1971, was issued it appeared for a moment that the forces of reason had prevailed over the dark conspiratorial forces, which always become active in Pakistan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

whenever the people are about to take over power through the democratic process.

"These anti-people forces had dismissed an elected Government in East Bengal in 1954, dissolved the Constituent Assembly in 1955, imposed Martial Law in 1958 and intervened to frustrate every people's movement thereafter.

"That these conspiratorial forces, however, are getting ready to strike once again is seen from the events that have followed since the announcement of the convening of the National Assembly.

"Mr. Z. A. Bhutto and the People's Party have suddenly started striking postures and issuing pronouncements, which reveal a tendency to subvert the constitutional processes by obstructing the normal functioning of the National Assembly.

"In this way, transfer of power to the people is sought to be sabotaged.

Pakistan People's Party Secretary-General's statement

"The Secretary-General of the People's Party is on record with the following statement:

"We have seen that it is not a matter of offended sentiment but a hard economic and political fact that East Pakistan is indeed a colony."

(Outline of a Federal Constitution for Pakistan, J. A Rahim, page 71).

"Yet some of the basic objections now being raised to the Six-Point programme, when carefully examined, appear to be nothing but calculated measures to perpetuate the colonial status of Bangla Desh. The colonial exploitation of the 70 million people of 'Bangla desh' and the transfer of its resources for the benefit of vested interests of the other Wing has been done principally through the control of foreign trade, foreign aid and foreign exchange by the Centre.

"Thus over 80 per cent of all foreign aid obtained has been utilised for the benefit of vested interests of West Pakistan. Over two-thirds of all imports made over the last 23 years has been into West Pakistan. Foreign exchange earnings of 'Bangla Desh' to the extent of over Rs. 500 crore has been utilised in West Pakistan. 'Bangla Desh' has been used as a protected market of 70 million for the benefit of a handful of industrialists of West Pakistan, who have been enabled to make gigantic profits. As a result of such ruthless exploitation, the economy of 'Bangla Desh' is in a state of imminent collapse. Haunted by the spectre of famine and denied the bare means of subsistence, the people of 'Bangla Desh' have been reduced to a state of total destitution. We can on no account allow this state of affairs to continue.

'Exploitation' the purpose

"Such exploitation would not have been possible unless foreign trade and aid have been with the Centre.

"In this background, the insistence upon the retention of foreign trade and aid in the Centre appears all too clearly to be designed not to secure the interest of national integrity but to ensure the retention in the hands of the Centre of the principal instruments required for the colonial exploitation of 'Bangla Desh'.

"This view is further confirmed by another proposition propounded by the People's Party.

"The principle of true federation (whatever that might mean, since no two federations are identical), has been involved in support of the demand for having

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a second house, in which it is proposed there should be equality of representation from all units."

"In other words, it is proposed that in a second house of say 100, 'Bangla Desh' should be represented by only 20. 'Bangla Desh', which has a majority of the population, is thus to be reduced to an insignificant minority.

"Indeed, the Rightist reactionaries of West Pakistan had never earlier dared to propose that the representation of 'Bangla Desh' be reduced to 20 per cent, but had contented themselves by calling for parity in representation.

"If the present proposal for equality of representation in the second house were adopted, then, even if 'Bangla Desh' were to have representation on population basis in the other house, it would still be reduced to a helpless minority. The Centre would thus continue to be controlled by the minority from the other Wing.

"If a Centre so constituted were to be vested with the power of foreign trade and aid, it could happily perpetuate the past pattern of colonial exploitation.

"The Central bureaucrats, whose narrow parochial outlook is all too evident in these proposals, would thus be able to continue to serve their masters, the vested interests of West Pakistan, whom they have faithfully served for the last 23 years.

"The proposal of an effective second House, in which the units are equally represented, is, therefore, in the context of Pakistan not a working model for a true federation but a mischievous contrivance designed for perpetuating the colonial exploitation of Bangla Desh.

Patent Distortions

"The other objections to the Six-Point formula which are being raised are patent distortions, which are designed to create misunderstanding between the people of Bangla Desh and the oppressed masses of the Western Wing. The Six-Point Scheme does not in any way leave the Federal Government at the mercy of the federating units, as is insinuated. It clearly contemplates adequate appropriations being made by the Federal Government of revenue and foreign exchange resources on the basis of express constitutional provisions, which would empower the Federal Legislature to impose a federal levy on the federating units. This levy would be a first charge on the resources of the units.

"Similarly, the objection that there would be insuperable difficulty in conducting foreign policy by the Federal Government if foreign trade and aid are left with the federating units is not genuine. For it has been time and again reaffirmed that the power in respect of foreign trade and aid would be exercised by the units "within the framework of the foreign policy of the country".

Unjustified Reaction

"The attempts to create bitterness between the people of Bangla Desh and the oppressed masses of the Western Wing is being carried to intolerable extremes. It is unfortunate that Bengalis have in effect been dubbed as 'enemies,' in whose midst the representatives from West Pakistan would feel themselves 'hostages'. Unwarranted aspersions were cast on Bengali Members of the National Assembly when the Assembly was termed a 'slaughter house'. All these extravagant charges were made only because the Session of the National Assembly had been called at Dacca. Such a reaction is as unseemly as it is unjustified, more specially since Bengalis for all these 23 years have been travelling to West Pakistan, where all the major Central organs of State were established. If the atmosphere is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

poisoned in this way, could not Bengalis legitimately question whether they should be called upon to go to West Pakistan?

Certain further pronouncements shed light on the perspective in which the above position is being taken. Writing in the *Pakistan Times* on February 20, 1971, a member of the People's Party has urged as follows:—

".....The people..... (must) state their correct position on the question of the integrity of the country and refuse any compromise on fundamental positions. And at least try to protect that part of the country which they can, when it no longer lies in their power to protect the entire country against an impending and overwhelming disaster. The correct political approach is to save what can be saved and not to offer or propose disintegration of the country.

"We must ask the Awami League to move away from its Six-Points, and if it does not do so, we must prevent it at all cost from imposing the Six-Points upon West Pakistan."

Two points

"Two points of significance are made. One is the utterly false charge that the Awami League is seeking to impose Six Points upon West Pakistan. The Six-Point Scheme is in essence a scheme for safeguarding the autonomy of the federating unit. If the federating units of West Pakistan do not wish to have precisely the same degree of autonomy as Bangla Desh or wish to cede certain additional powers to the Centre or to establish certain regional institutions, the Six-Point formula does not at all stand in their way. Nor indeed has the Awami League ever taken up the position that Six-Points could be imposed upon the federating units of West Pakistan!

'The other point which is strikingly presented is that if Bangla Desh cannot be retained on such terms as it was in the past, or such terms as are to be dictated by the minority from the other wing, that is, if it cannot be retained as a colony, and instead if Bangla Desh were to play its rightful role as the majority province, then West Pakistan should be 'saved'. But the question is saved 'from whom' and 'for whom'? Obviously, the author would like to see it saved from the Bengalis, who are irrevocably committed to democracy, and it is to be saved for the vested interests of West Pakistan, who would not survive in such a democracy and whose right to exploit the down-trodden masses of West Pakistan should be secured, even if they have to lose this 'right' so far as Bangla Desh is concerned.

Last bid

"There need be no doubt in the minds of the awakened people of Pakistan that the conspirators and the vested interests and their lackeys are embarking upon the last desperate bid to frustrate the adoption of a constitution by the elected representatives of the people and the transfer of power to them. Their desperation has reached a point where they are even willing to gamble with the existence of Pakistan while pretending to be concerned with national integrity. It is they who are about to inflict a mortal blow on the integrity of Pakistan by frustrating the last opportunity that the people of Pakistan have of evolving for themselves, through a democratic and constitutional process, a basis for living together.

'For this is what a constitution adopted by the National Assembly of Pakistan would be. We still remain prepared to make every effort in that forum, which is the only proper forum, to discharge our historic responsibility to give to this

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

country a durable constitution. In this task, we invite the co-operation of each and every member of the national assembly from every part of Pakistan.

'Let the oppressed people of Pakistan and the awakened masses—the peasants, workers and students—of Bangla Desh prepare themselves to resist the conspiracy to obstruct or to frustrate the democratic process. It will be the sacred duty of the awakened masses of Bangla Desh, the Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan to resist them. I will urge the awakened masses of Bangla Desh to prepare to resist the anti-people forces by every means possible, so that they can be rooted out from our soil.

"We renew our pledge today to lay down our lives, if necessary, so that our future generations do not have to live in a colony, but can live in freedom and with dignity as the free citizens of a free country".

Sheikh Mujib, answering questions at his Press Conference, said that "there was no question of adjustment on the six-point programme as, especially after the elections, it became the property of the majority people" of the country.

He said that his invitations to the leaders of political parties of West Pakistan was for offering clarifications on the six-point programme, if necessary. He told a questioner: "There is no question of adjustment here". But, the Awami League Chief said his Party would not stand in the way of any 'arrangement' the West Pakistan Provinces may like to make for handling certain subjects common to them.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said his Party was not in favour of imposing any arrangement on them. It were the units in West Pakistan, who could themselves choose the arrangement whether subjects like State Bank, international trade and others should be left with the Centre, an autonomous body or units.

The Awami League Chief, however, said as the majority party in the country his Party had also the responsibility for the Provinces of West Pakistan. If they fail to evolve any such arrangement "we have our own scheme", he added.

No imposition

The Awami League Chief said: We are ready to give the Provinces of West Pakistan autonomy on the basis of the six-point programme. But, we do not want to impose anything on them. We are leaving it for them to decide and if they want our help, we are ready to extend it."

Replying to a question about preparation of a draft Constitution to be placed before the National Assembly, he said he had already invited the leaders of West Pakistan for discussion on the issue to find a solution. He also referred to discussions with some leaders of West Pakistan.

Replying to a question, Sheikh Mujib said his Party could not be held responsible if the People's Party leader 'changes his stand'. He referred to the statement of Mr. Bhutto, at the end of their last round of talks here, and said the PPP Chief was to come to Dacca to hold further talks after having discussions with his Partymen and others in West Pakistan.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said there could be no question of assurance for any one to attend the Session of the Assembly. 'The question of it (assurance) does not arise', he said, adding that the representatives of the people, i.e., the elected members had the right to attend the Session.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Meeting with Yahya

Sheikh Mujib replied in the negative, when asked if he was aware of any move for shifting the date of the session of the National Assembly from March 3. Asked if there was any possibility of a meeting between him and President Yahya Khan, the Awami League leader said: 'It may take place.'

* * * *

Asked if the Assembly could be called a "national" forum, if some Parties from West Pakistan boycotted the Session, Sheikh Mujib said that the National Assembly was summoned by President Yahya Khan. It was their moral obligation to attend. If someone was sick or otherwise 'it can't wait.'

Sheikh Mujib said that Mr. Bhutto, as stated by himself, was to come to Dacca for further talks with him on the constitutional issues after his visit to West Pakistan. If he backed out "I can do nothing".

He added that Mr. Bhutto was the leader of 83 and he (Mujib) was that of 160.

No Nomination

Asked if he was going to nominate his successors as Mr. Bhutto did, Sheikh Mujib said the birth of the Awami League was not the result of an accident or nomination. The Awami League grew through struggle, and it had a chain of leadership he added.

When asked whether to him the existence of Pakistan was at stake, the Awami League Chief said that he was tired of hearing such things.

"We don't think it is as serious," he said that the bogey of integrity of the country being threatened was raised whenever the Bengalees voiced their legitimate demands in the last 23 years. In this connection, he referred to the language movement and other phases of struggle.

No Nonsense

"Bengalees are better Pakistanis than many of them who raised such bogeys", he said, and added that he was not going to tolerate any such nonsense any more.

He said that the so-called champions of integrity never cared to see the people when they suffered from the disastious cyclone and tidal wave in November, when one million people had perished. He said that those so-called national leaders failed to come although foreigners from all corners of the world came.

Sheikh Sahib was replying to a question on a Press report that, being a national leader, he was not visiting West Pakistan.

The Awami League Chief, in this connection, added that his Party had nominated candidates in the Provinces in West Pakistan, and had also visited West Pakistan before the elections. As against that, he said those clamouring for integrity had no office in East Pakistan or cared to visit East Pakistan when in distress.

The People Alone

When asked to comment on a statement about the existence of three forces—Awami League, PPP and Armed Forces—in the country, Sheikh Mujib said that his Party recognised the strength of the people alone.

"We believe in the people alone," he added.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To a question whether he was hopeful of Mr. Bhutto's participation in the N. A. session on March 3 here, the Awami League chief said: "Ask Mr. Bhutto".

Sheikh Mujib referred to the observation of Mr. Bhutto about "double hostages" and "slaughter house," and asked: "Is it not an insult to the 70 million Bengalees and the elected representatives of the people? Has not the loyalty of the Bengalees been questioned? We cannot allow the people of this part of the country to be insulted in such a manner."

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—February 25, 1971)

---

6 POINTS FEDERAL SCHEME

A just and rational solution to Pakistan's constitutional problems

Since 1947 no Constitution has been framed by the elected representatives of the people of the different federating units which constitute Pakistan. In a country which is made up principally of five federating units the Constitution is, in essence, a compact which is the basis, voluntarily determined, for living together.

The further peculiar features which affect the question of Constitution making are:

(1) The physical separation of over 1,200 miles between the two wings of Pakistan;

(2) The fact that the eastern wing has over 54 per cent of the population.

Such problems as these peculiar features present for constitution-making are further aggravated by the fact that over the last 23 years a small coterie from certain sections of the western wing has successfully usurped powers and built up a power structure which has enabled that small minority ruthlessly to exploit the people of the majority province as also the common people of the other four provinces. Consequently, in such important instruments of Government, as the central bureaucracy and also the armed forces, there is a gross imbalance in the representation in the Central Government. The majority province has hardly 10 per cent representation in the armed forces and not more than 15 per cent in the central bureaucracy.

It is in the background of these basic realities, which are hard facts, that the federal scheme represented by the 6 points should be understood. The Six-Points federal scheme represents a just and rational solution to the constitutional problems of our country.

Basic Interests

The first of the Six-Points emphasises the fact that the character of the Constitution must be democratic and federal. This point admits of no controversy and no one has had the temerity to raise a dissident voice against this.

The remaining points spell out in specific terms the nature of the federation which is envisaged. It is a proposition which hardly admits of controversy that no two federations are identical. Every federation represents an attempt by the federating units, as distinct organised groups, to associate and form into a larger group in order to serve certain common purposes. The precise powers which are to be enjoyed by the federal institutions is a matter which can only be determined by the functions which it is considered to be in the common interest to entrust to the federal institutions. It is a fallacy to suggest that there

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is some ideal model for a federation to which all federations should conform. Indeed there is no such ideal model. Federal institutions are like all other human institutions, intended to serve human ends.

It should be understood that a Constitution exists for the people. The needs or interests of the majority people cannot be subordinated to some abstract ideal such as a true federation.

Having regard to the realities outlined above it is the mature judgment of those who have presented the Six-Points Federal Scheme before the nation that only a federation based on such a scheme can safeguard the basic interests of the people of the different States, which constitute Pakistan. The majority of the people of Pakistan have accepted this view in the last general election in which they have given an overwhelming verdict in favour of the scheme.

By so doing the people of the most populous province of Bangla Desh have clearly registered the view that their interests could only be safeguarded by having a federation on the basis of the Six-Points Scheme. The essential features of the scheme are that the Federal Government should concern itself with defence, foreign affairs and currency (subject to certain safeguards to be devised within the framework of the federal reserve system with a view to preventing the flight of Capital).

Trade and Aid

It is clearly intended that the management of the economy should be taken away from the federation. For twenty-three years' bitter experience has shown that centralised management of the economy has been the principal instrument of exploitation and for the creation of economic disparities, whose existence today is one of the main sources of discord among the different provinces.

Consistently with this idea of giving the federating units control over their economies and their economic resources, the Six-Points programme contemplates that complete control of taxation, fiscal policy and monetary policy should vest with the State Governments. It is also for this reason that foreign exchange earnings, foreign trade, the right to negotiate and obtain foreign loans, foreign aid should be with thet Sates.

The question of vesting the federating units with the power of negotiating foreign trade and aid is currently being presented as the most objectionable feature of the Six-Point programme. The principal objection is that if the federating units are allowed to negotiate foreign trade and aid, then it will be impossible to conduct a coherent foreign policy. This objection overlooks, or chooses to overlook, the chear commitment in the Six-Points programme that the power in respect of foreign trade and aid will be exercised "within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be a federal responsibility". Various constitutional and administrative mechanisms can be devised and adopted to ensure that the foreign trade and foreign aid transactions are carried out within the framework of the foreign policy of the country. Indeed even today representatives of such provincial agencies as the West Pakistan WAPDA negotiating foreign aid.

A further objection which is raised is that Awami League is seeking to impose Six-Points on West Pakistan. The Awami League has never taken up this position. It certainly concedes the principle that the provinces of West Pakistan can claim the same measure of autonomy as Bangla Desh. Indeed should they claim less, or wish to cede more powers to the Centre or to regional institutions, the Six-Point Scheme does not stand in their way at all.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is clearly recognised that if any two or more provninces wish to co-ordinate or co-operate in an organised manner in any sphere of their common concern they are entirely free, if they so desire to establish institutions designed to advance such common purposes.

Finally, the Six–Points programme contemplates that each State should maintain a militia and para-military forces. This again is a recognition of necessity. In view of the peculiar geography of the country it has been seen that the States, in particular Bangla Desh, have suffered from serious deficiencies in the matter of defence. In times of emergency, it is left in an exposed and in a near helpness condition. The conferment of the power of maintaining militia and paramilitary forces would thus make a vital contribution to the security of each State, and thus would provide greater security for Pakistan.

Thus, the Six-Points programme is a rational strategy whose object is to remove from the federal sphere the main sources of discord. The tug-of-war over resource allocation, if this is left to the Centre, would tend to rend the Centre apart. Each State should be the master of its own economy and resources. The main sources of grievances and injustice would thus be removed. No State could be exploited by another. A federal framework would thus be established in which the States can live together in the basis of justice and sharing together of responsibility in respect of matters of common concern. Defence and foreign affairs and currency (subject to the safeguards mentioned) can be fruitfully left to the Federal Government. All other matters should be left with the States since it would be in the interests of efficiency, social and regional justice to so leave these matters with the States.

The minority

There is no question of the majority of Bangla Desh imposing the scheme on the rest of Pakistan. It is clear that the majority wish to live together with the people of the Punjab, Sind, NWFP Province and Baluchistan on the basis of a Federal Constitution based on the Six–Points formula. If the others wish to surrender more powers to any institution, voluntarily estabilised by them, the Six-Points formula does not stand in their way, provided it is the desire of the people of those States. The minority, however, cannot in reason or on the basis of any principle seek to insist that more powers must be ceded to the Federal Government by the majority province.

The position, therefore, that emerges is that Bangla Desh, which was in the vanguard of the Pakistan movement, has given its verdict that Pakistan should exist as a federation based on the Six-Points programme. Those who constitute the minority can certainly seek appropriate safeguards for their legitimate interests, but they cannot impose their conception of "Pakistan" on the majority, since the minority conception presents a concept of Pakistan designed only to serve the vested interests and the ruling coterie and not the interests of the overwhelming majority of the suffering masses of Pakistan.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 28, 1971)

AWAMI LEAGUE'S DRAFT CONSTITUTION INCORPORATE 6 POINTS

Alternative for West Wing units on autonomy

The Awami League's draft constitution embodying its Six-Point programme, was today placed before the Parliamentary Party for its consideration. The draft

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

as approved by the party, will be introduced in the National Assembly in the form of a constitution bill.

There was no official statement from the Party giving an outline of the draft but it is understood that the Six-Point programme has been incorporated in the draft. It also reflects the exposition of the Six-Points given by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in so far as he said that Six-Points would not be imposed on the provinces of West Pakistan.

It is gathered that in certain chapters relating to the quantum of autonomy, alternative provision has been made for the Provinces in West Pakistan.

The draft contains 188 Articles and 10 Schedules and provides for a unicameral federal parliament.

It is understood that it has been proposed to set up a Federal Co-ordinating Body to maintain liaison between the federating units.

As regards federal levy, it has been provided that Bangla Desh will pay at the rate of 27 per cent, the Punjab will pay little over 40 per cent, Sind 23 per cent and so on. This arrangement will be reviewed after every five years by a Federal Finance Commission.

The draft it is learnt, has made foreign aid and foreign trade provincial subjects with the provision that the Centre can contract foreign aid and loan for federal subjects, it has been laid down—Sheikh Mujibur Rahman pointed out in his recent Press conference—that the power in resepct of foreign trade and aid would be exercised by the units "within the framework of the foreign policy of the country".

It is proposed to have a Reserve Bank for each region with a Federal Bank at the Centre to control currency.

It has been provided in the draft that the capital of the federation will be alternately in Dacca and Islamabad.

The Parliamentary Party, which met in a local hotel behind closed doors with the party leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the chair, discussed the draft for three and a half hours and set up a 30-member Committee which later met for five hours to scrutinise it clause-by-clause and make recommendations if any. The Committee which will again meet tomorrow morning to continue its "examination" of the draft had completed consideration of the Preamble and the chapter dealing with the Fundamental Rights when it rose.

The Parliamentary Party which heard its leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, also took stock of the developments in the political situation with special reference to the posture taken by the People's Party vis-a-vis constitution making.

* * * *

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman also attended the meeting of the Committee for sometime. The Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party Syed Nazrul Islam, presided over the meeting of the Committee.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—February 28, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MUJIB WILLING TO ACCEPT ANY GOOD WORD OR SUGGESTION

WEST WING MNAS INVITED TO JOIN IN CONSTITUTION MAKING TASK

No imposition of Six-Points

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, emphasised today that all members of the National Assembly as the elected representatives of the people should attend the session and take part in the framing of a constitution. "We must sit and discuss and frame a constitution", he said while replying to an address of welcome presented by the Dacca Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

In an oblique reference to Mr. Bhutto's pre-condition for attending the Assembly session, the Awami League Chief said he had no power to give any assurance to anyone. "Who am I to give any assurance", He asked.

He said if an individual member of the Assembly said any reasonable thing, it would be accepted. He also reiterated his assurance that Six-Points would not be imposed on any one.

The Awami League Chief said the Six-Point Programme had not been presented for the people of Bangla Desh only. "Whatever rights and autonomy we want for Bangla Desh we want the people of the Punjab, the NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan also to enjoy". He emphatically said the Six-Points were not his property any more—it belonged to the people—and, therefore, he had not the right to amend it in any form whatsoever.

Referring to the talk of "dictatorship of the majority", Sheikh Mujib said those who had raised this bogey in fact wanted to establish the dictatorship of the minority.

Obviously referring to Mr. Bhutto's remarks, the Sheikh said those were not only objectionable but had also created apprehension about the future. He said if 160 members from East Pakistan, like Mr. Bhutto's 83, refused to attend the National Assembly session, he did not know what would happen.

The Sheikh said conspiracy was going on even after the election results, to foil the gains of the election. He warned if any attempt was made to create hindrance in the process of democracy he would not be responsible for the consequences.

Socialistic economy

The Awami League Chief said he was determined to establish a Socialistic economic order in the country, not through revolution but through evolution, the economy would be people-oriented so that the ordinary people—the workers, cultivators and the like—got economic justice. He also said he would not allow monopoly and cartel in East Pakistan. There would be no 22 families in Bangla Desh, he said.

The Sheikh was the chief guest at a reception held in his honour and in honour of the newly elected members of the National and East Pakistan Assemblies. Held on the lawns of the East Pakistan Assembly Building, the reception was attended by members of the diplomatic corps, officials and elite of the town.

* * * *

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Awami League Chief referred to the continued conspiracies being made to foil the transfer of power to the people and said if obstructions continued, they would be responsible for its consequences.

"We will die but will never surrender" he emphatically declared.

Sheikh Mujib declared amidst cheers that Pakistan would continue to stay and so the Bangla Desh, the Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan. What would cease to exist would be exploitation of man by man.

While discussing in detail the continued exploitation of the people of Bangla Desh during the last 23 years, Sheikh Mujib said that they believed in Socialism. He said that without Socialist pattern of economy, 70 million people cannot live in an area of 55,000 square miles.

Period of exploitation

Sheikh Mujib said that the 23-year post-independence period was an era of exploitation, frustration and gloom for the people of Bangla Desh who had turned into utter destitutes. He said that had the "Quaid-i-Azam, the founder of the State, would have been alive today, he must have said that he did not want such Pakistan."

People, he said struggled and made tremendous sacrifices to achieve freedom in the hope of having a better life. But instead, they were exploited all these years so much that their very backbone had broken. Who were responsible for this continued exploitation? He asked.

The Awami League Chief said that the Province was beet with all-round problems. Seventy lakh people are unemployed in the Bangla Desh and there was unending flight of rural populace to the urban areas in search of employment and food. He said that during 23 years, not even 15 per cent people are in Central Government services and Armed Forces from Bangla Desh. He said that representation of the people of Bangla Desh in Central Services would be made on population basis.

This however he said, could not be achieved overnight but within a stipulated period. He expressed his determination to solve unemployment problem. 'We will not allow people to die of starvation", he added.

Sheikh Mujib said that although East Pakistan earn bulk of foreign exchange after independence 80 per cent of the foreign exchange was spent in West Pakistan. He said that it was through deliberate measures, the flourshing handloom industry of Bangla Desh had to face extinction resulting in 20 lakh persons unemployment to ensure protected market for the finished goods of West Pakistani mills. In the name of protection, the people of Bangla Desh had to purchase cloth at a price six times higher than that of the imported cloth from Japan and other countries.

He said that jute, the backbone of the economy of the Bangla Desh, had to loose export market through a deliberate defective policy.

Tea was no more exported from East Pakistan as it finds its way to Middle Eastern countries through backdoor. He said that tobacco, another cash crop of the Province was facing crisis. He added that by imposing duty on salt manufactures, thousands of people had been rendered jobless to the benefit of salt producers of West Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nationalisation

Sheikh Mujib once again declared that banks and insurance companies would be nationalised for the good of the poor people. He said that 22 families had their firm grip and monopoly over their banks, opening letter of credit on telephone, whereas the middle class traders were denied of any such benefit from the banks. Those capitalists used to have their deposits in West Pakistan and draw overdraft in East Pakistan.

Turning to the capitalists, he said that they came to Bangla Desh with meagre capital and turned into millionaires within this period. How they have amassed such fantastic assets, he asked and said that it was all through exploitation as the money had not fallen from the heaven.

Sheikh Mujib said that whenever poor workers raised their demands for pay increase, they were beaten in the name of maintenance of law and order.

Imbalance

Speaking about the economic and other imbalance between the two Wings, the Awami League Chief said that there were only 600 beds in hospitals in East Pakistan having 56 per cent country's population whereas there were 26,000 beds in West Pakistan. Who is responsible for such state of affairs, he asked.

The Central Government, he said, should not have allowed such state of things to take place.

Sheikh Mujib said that people from Bangla Desh had been going to West Pakistan during all these 23 years. He said that one had to go to Karachi to obtain a permit for even simple matters relating to business and for jobs. The Awami League Chief said that he himself had to stay for three months in Karachi for Constituent Assembly.

Call to traders

Turning to the business community, Sheikh Mujib said they in the past had failed to rise to the occasion and did not side with these workers, peasants and students during struggle for the realisation of the legitimate rights of the people of Bangla Desh.

He hoped that they would not fail if in future the people of Bangla Desh plunged themselves into a struggle for establishment of their rights. Otherwise, he said, "you will cease to exist, or even if you exist you will live just like slaves."

He told the non-Bengali businessmen in Bangla Desh that it is wrong to say that his party will not allow them to trade in Bangla Desh after realisation of the Six-Point Programme. "You trade here and we never tell you to leave here. But please stop the flight of capital" he requested them.

Slogan explained

Sheikh Mujib said that the "Joy-Bangla" (victory of Bengal) was not a political slogan. Sheikh Sahib said that the slogan was a slogan for autonomy, economic and social freedom of Bangla Desh. It was also a slogan for the right of living and freedom of culture he added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi, March 1, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WAIVE 120-DAY LIMIT OR PUT OFF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION ONLY TWO WAYS OUT

Mr. Z. A Bhutto proposed on Sunday two alternatives to resolve the present politcal crisis postponement of the National Assembly session or removal of the 120-day time limit for the Assembly to frame a Constitution.

If either of these alternatives was accepted, he said he would proceed to Dacca "tomorrow" to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to resolve the pre-session deadlock.

Mr. Bhutto warned that if the session of the Assembly was held on March 3 as scheduled without PPP's participation, he would launch a popular agitation from one end of West Pakistan to the other. "If the elections to women's seats take place on March 2, there will be a general strike from Peshawar to Karachi", he declared.

Mr. Bhutto made it clear that he had never opposed Six-Points although the programme was not acceptable to him personally. He narrowed down his disagreement to *foreign trade and foreign aid*, which could not be entrusted to the Provincial Governments. Both the subjects were concomitants of Foreign Affairs and should be in the charge of the Federal Government if the Centre was to be effective. Some arrangement, he, however, said, could be made in respect of currency and taxation. He could not give in on foreign trade and aid.

Refutes Allegation

The PPP Chairman vehemently refuted the allegation levelled by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that he had been conspiring to create impediments in the transfer of power. Describing the allegation as a "lie", he said it was unimaginable that he could be in league with bureaucrats or the capitalists or the Regime or foreign powers, because all of these had shown consistent hostility to the People's Party.

Mr. Bhutto began his address by saying that he had always established liaison with the people in every emergency that had arisen. He had done it in the past and had always taken all his decisions after consulting his people. The public meeting was an occasion in the same context. Since the country was facing a grave crisis, he had the same venue for his meeting where the Quaid-i-Azam had made a demand for Pakistan 30 years ago. It was for the preservation of that Pakistan he was struggling and would offer any sacrifice for it.

Mr. Bhutto said that since January last year when political activity was revived he and his Party had never criticised or condemned Six-Points. He had not made it a personal issue and had attributed no motives to the leader of the Awami League as other politicians from West Pakistan had done.

He said that Six-Points were made known by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at the National Convention in Lahore in 1966. The leaders who participated in that Convention had outright rejected them.

He said that he as Foreign Minister had advised President Ayub Khan to tackle Six-Points at the political level as they contained seeds for serious differences between the two Wings of the country. He had urged him to find a solution acceptable to East Pakistan. But he had ignored his advice and instead of using "political language" had threatened to use the "language of weapons".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Exploitation

Mr. Bhutto said that he had tried to enter into a political dialogue with the Awami League while agreeing with it that elimination of exploitation was a common objective.

He maintained that the People's Party was the only Party which had accepted in 'likhat' (writing) that East Pakistan had been exploited. But the exploitation had not been confined to East Pakistan. The people of West Pakistan had suffered equally on that account. They were equally poor and down-trodden and the workers, peasants and intellectuals of West Pakistan had suffered at the hands of exploiters who were common to both Wings.

The PPP chief said that he had toured East Pakistan and the poverty he saw in Chittagong, Khulna and Noakhali, existed also in D. I. Khan, D. G. Khan and in Lahore. It was unfair to say that the people of West Pakistan had exploited the people of East Pakistan.

According to him, the exploitation was the result of the capitalist system and unless that was demolished, the people of both Wings would continue to be exploited. That was the reason the PPP had struggled to change the economic system of the country and replace it by Islamic Socialism. No constitutional point could end exploitation.

Mr. Bhutto said that the solidarity and the sovereignty of the country should be preserved to end exploitation. If the country distintegrated, there would be nothing left to save from exploitation. The country had been created by the Quaid-i-Azam and for which 30 lakh Muslims of the sub-continent had offered their lives. It was not easy to break up the country and he would not let any one do it.

The PPP Chairman, said that the people were talking of the interests of Bengal, Punjab, Sind, Frontier and Baluchistan. But nobody talked of Pakistan which was to be made an Islamic Socialist Republic. In case the country was divided into five separate States, the two nation theory on which Pakistan was created would be nullified. In case it was the intention of some one to create different independent States in Pakistan, let it be said so clearly.

Federal System

Mr. Bhutto said that the East Pakistani leaders wanted a Federal Constitution for the country and the PPP agreed to it. But in that case the Federal Constitution must be endorsed by each federating unit. And furthermore which federation in the world had a unicameral legislature, he asked.

He said that it was being suggested that the PPP should accept the normal democratic procedure and debate the Constitution on the floor of the House. But it should not be forgotten that an extraordinary situation had arisen because the Awami League had already drafted a Six-Point Constitution and wanted the Assembly to rubber stamp it. At the same time, a 120-day limitation had been imposed for the framing of the Constitution.

He said he had refrained from indulging in personal attacks as other leaders in West Pakistan had done. But it was unfortunate that the leaders of East Pakistan had levelled allegations against him. He said that he had suggested a political dialogue on Six-Points as he wanted to avoid a deadlock in the National Assembly and if it occurred the country would face an extremely grave crisis.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Bhutto said that he had never talked of "strong Centre" as he believed that it was because of a strong Centre that East Pakistan had suffered exploitation. He wanted an 'effective Centre' although with minimum number of subjectis, which was in the interest of the country. He said it was being suggested that the Centre should only be responsible for defence and foreign affairs and foreign trade and foreign aid should be the charge of the Provinces. He wondered how defence of the country could be managed and independent foreign policy could be pursued without the Centre having control over foreign trade and aid. Without foreign trade and aid being in the charge of the Federal Government, Pakistan would not be able to survive.

Mr. Bhutto said that he was sure that some arrangement was possible in respect of currency and federal taxation, but he could not reconcile himself to the position in which the Provinces would independently control foreign trade and aid. If that was allowed and all five Provinces were to have their own policies in respect of foreign trade and aid, the country would become a hotbed of intrigue by foreign powers.

Equal Autonomy

The PPP Chairman said that he was prepared to accept a federation in which all the federating units could enjoy equal autonomy. What was not acceptable to him was that one Province should have more autonomy than others. If East Pakistan was to have autonomy, similar quantum of autonomy should be provided for Punjab, Sind, Frontier and Baluchistan.

Mr. Bhutto said that it had been pleaded that the two wings of the country had two separate economies. It was subsequently maintained that their politics was different too. And finally it was being suggested that they should have two separate Constitutions. He said that if Pakistan was one country, it must have one integrated Constitution. One document containing two different Constitutions for East and West wings would be an oddity which would not be acceptable to the people.

* * * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that he had been accused of hurling insults on East Pakistan. Exception had been taken to his statement in which he had said that the PPP Members would be 'double hostages' in East Pakistan and that the National Assembly would be a slaughter house for them. He said he could not afford to be away from West Pakistan for 120 days when Indian troops were massed on the West Pakistan borders. His duty was to be with his people when their security was threatened. He had described the Assembly as a slaughter house because of the 120-day limit which would set the bomb ticking from the moment the house went into session.

* * * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that his insistence on an understanding between the major parties on the constitutional issues was well intentioned. He said he had kept the door open for negotiations and would be prepared to proceed to Dacca if the necessary assurance was given to him that his point of view along with reasonable suggestions would be considered dispassionately. He said that assurance, if given by the Awami League, would be considered by the Central Committee of his Party and if it agreed to, he would participate in the session. But under the existing circumstances the PPP Members would not be present at Dacca on March 3. He said if the session was convened on March 3 without their participation, the PPP would launch a popular movement throughout West Pakistan.

Mr. Bhutto said that if the elections to the women seats took place on March 2, there would be complete general strike in the length and breadth of this wing of the country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Alternatives

The PPP Chairman proposed at the end of his address three alternatives to resolve the present deadlock. He said that the President could dissolve the National Assembly which would not be acceptable to him at any cost. That would mean the continuance of the Martial Law indefinitely which was not desirable. That situation would create a very dangerous crisis for the nation.

The other alternative was the postponement of the Assembly session scheduled to be held on March 3. If that was accepted, it would give him time to discuss the constitutional issues with the Awami League. In that case, he said, he would not lose a minute to go to East Pakistan to have a dialogue with "the elder brother".

Yet another alternative was that the time limit of 120 days imposed on the National Assembly for the framing of the Constitution should be removed. That would give an ample opportunity to his Party to debate fully the constitutional issues which had caused the present deadlock. If the time limit was removed, he would rush to Dacca "tomorrow". Mr. Bhutto said that former Constituent Assemblies had taken years to frame Constitutions. The 1956 Constitution was prepared after the National Assembly had debated it for seven years. The 1962 Constitution was the result of a three-year debate. It was surprising that in the case of the present Assembly, 120 days' time limit had been imposed.

Mr. Bhutto said if the two alternatives—postponement of the session and the removal of the time limit—were not accepted, the present deadlock would continue. That would mean the end of democracy in the country.

(**PAKISTAN TIMES,** March 1, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER IV

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

YAHYA PUTS OFF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION

Text of President Yahya Khan's statement on March 1, 1971

The following is the text of President Yahya Khan's statement:

"Today, Pakistan faces her gravest political crisis. I therefore consider it necessary to appraise you of the situation and the action that I propose to take to resolve our present difficulties.

But before I do that let me recount to you the steps that I took, from the day that the responsibility for the administration of this country devolved on me, to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people.

In my very first address to the nation I had indicated the need for the smooth transfer of power. Since then we have moved forward step by step towards the achievement of this aim.

In spite of there being Martial Law in the country I did not ban the political parties and in fact permitted full political activity with effect from the first of January 1970.

Later in March 1970 the Legal Framework Order under which elections were to be held, was duly notified. All other work, including delimitation of constituencies and preparation of electoral rolls, was completed with speed.

The election campaign which was long and arduous, ended up in, what we may all claim with pride one of the most peaceful and well-organized general elections on the basis of adult franchise.

As you know, the elections were finally completed on 17th January 1971.

Just prior to the elections in my address of the 3rd of December, 1970, I had suggested to the leaders of the political parties that it would be useful for them to employ the period between the elections and the first session of the National Assembly in meeting each other and arriving at a consensus on the main provisions of our future constitution.

I had, at the time, indicated that to be successful these meetings would call for spirit of give and take, trust in each other and realisation of the extreme importance of this particular juncture in our history. Appreciating the great significance of such exchanges of views between political leaders I tried to facilitate the process by giving them enough time to do so.

I therefore, decided to fix the third of March as the date of the inaugural session of our National Assembly.

In the past few weeks certain meetings between our political leaders have indeed taken place. But I regret to say that instead of arriving at a consensus,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

some of our leaders have taken hard attitudes. This is most unfortunate. The political confrontation between the leaders of East Pakistan and those of the West is a most regrettable situation. This has cast a shadow of gloom over the entire nation.

The position briefly is that the major party of West Pakistan, namely, the Pakistan People's Party, as well as certain other political parties, have declared their intention not to attend the National Assembly session on the third of March, 1971. In addition, the general situation of tension created by India has further complicated the whole position. I have, therefore, decided to postpone the summoning of the National Assembly to a later date.

I have repeatedly stated that a constitution is not an ordinary piece of legislation but it is an agreement to live together. For a healthy and viable constitution, therefore, it is necessary that both East and West Pakistan have an adequate sense of participation in the process of constitution making.

Needless to say I took this decision to postpone the date of the National Assembly with a heavy heart. One has, however, to look at the practical aspects of such problems. I realized that with so many representatives of the people of West Pakistan keeping away from the Assembly if we were to go ahead with the inaugural session on the 3rd of March the Assembly itself could have disintegrated and the entire effort made for the smooth transfer of power that has been outlined earlier would have been wasted.

It was, therefore, imperative to give more time to the political leaders to arrive at a reasonable understanding on the issue of Constitution-making. Having been given this time I have every hope that they will rise to the occasion and resolve this problem. I wish to make a solemn promise to the people of Pakistan that as soon as the environments enumerated earlier become conducive to Constitution making I will have no hesitation in calling the session of the Assembly, immediately. As for myself, I would like to assure my countrymen that I shall do everything in my power to help the political leaders in achieving our common goal with even handed justice which I have all along been doing.

"In the end, I pray to Almighty Allah to guide us all in acting according to the dictum of the Father of the Nation, namely, faith, unity and discipline. I appeal to the political leaders and all my countrymen to exercise the utmost restraint at this grave hour of our lives."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 2, 1971)

MUJIB'S CALL FOR EMANCIPATION OF BENGALEES

Talk with pressmen after the parliamentary party meeting at Hotel Purbani, on March 1, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, while talking to the pressmen immediately after the parliamentary party meeting at Hotel Purbani following the announcement of the postponement of the National Assembly session, said that he would make all sacrifices for the emancipation of the 70 million Bengalees.

He further said that a united fight has to be put for ending the colonial treatment to which Bengalees have been subjected for the last 23 years.

The Sheikh said: "Only for the sake of a minority party's disagreement the democratic process of constitution making has been obstructed and the National

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Assembly session has been postponed *sine die*. This is most unfortunate as far as we are concerned. We are the representatives of the majority people and we cannot allow it to go unchallenged".

Sheik Mujibur Rahman announced a programme for the next 6 days which included observance of complete strike today in Dacca and a country-wide strike on the 3rd March the date earlier fixed for the National Assembly to meet. On the 7th March a public meeting will be held at the Race Course Maidan in which the Awami League Chief shall announce the final programme. The Sheikh uttered a note of warning: "You will see history made if the conspirators fail to come to their senses". In a determined voice Sheikh Mujib declared:

We are ready for any consequence. I have mentioned many times the fact that a conspiracy is going on in this country. There was a General Election and the people have elected us to serve them and we have a responsibility towards them. But in spite of the clear verdict in our favour, the conspiracy has struck its root.

The majority of the elected representatives of the people are from Bangla Desh and in collaboration with the elected representatives from West Pakistan with the exception of Bhutto's and Qayyum's Parties, we were quite capable of framing the Constitution. We cannot betray our people and we cannot betray the trust the people have placed on us. We shall continue our struggle until we achieve our goal. You know that there is Martial Law in the country. But the Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party has threatened the members of the National Assembly from West Pakistan who were willing to come to East Pakistan to attend the session that they would be liquidated if they come to East Pakistan to attend the National Assembly Session. Mr. Bhutto has taken the Law in his own hands. Is the Law and Order situation only meant for the poor Bengalees?"

Sheik Mujib continued "We want co-operation and we have told them repeatedly that they should come to the National Assembly where we will be able to discuss the framing of the constitution for five days at a time and hold discussion for another five days. Democracy demands that the voice of the majority should be accepted. But in our case, the minority party has always had the upperhand. I suggested that 15th February be set for the opening of the National Assembly, but the Assembly was called for in the first week of March in accordance with the wishes of the minority party.

"This is nothing but a conspiracy which has been played for long 23 years in this country and is still going on only to exploit the 70 million people of Bengal. It is intended to keep Bengal as the colonial market and we are fighting for justice and fairplay and we shall continue fighting until we achieve our goal".

In reply to a question whether he would proclaim unilateral Independence, Sheikh Mujib said "You Wait". When asked by correspondent whether he was consulted before the postponement of the National Assembly, he said, "No".

To a question of another correspondent regarding the unarming of the Police force at Rajarbagh Police Lines Sheikh Mujibur Rahman expressed his ignorance about it and requested the Press to publish any information they may have in this respect.

When asked whether he apprehended arrest of his Party members, he said that they were ready for any consequences. Many times they had courted arrests before. He added, "My people are with me and let us hope for the best and prepare for the worst".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When asked whether he will oppose Censorship if imposed on the Press Sheikh Mujib replied, "I oppose everything that curbs the freedom of the people".

He informed the press that members of the Awami League Parliamentary Party renewed their pledge to fight to the end and make any sacrifices to achieve the rights of the people. He categorically declared that any sacrifice was too small for the emancipation of the people of Bangla Desh. He also informed that he would discuss latest developments with Maulana Bhashani, Md. Nurul Amin, Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, Professor Muzzaffar Ahmed and other leaders, as soon as possible.

Replying to a question about the fate of non-Bengalees living in Bengal, the Awami League Chief said, "they are sons of the soil, they should think this soil as their own and they must join with the people here".

To a question as to what West Pakistan should do Sheikh Mujib said, "they should also rise to the occasion and protest against this conspiracy."

In course of his talk Sheikh Mujibur Rahman stated that Mr. Bhutto had always been acting in the most irresponsible manner. During the Round Table Conference called by Ayub Khan, he declined to attend. Bhutto had also refused to participate in the elections but subsequently agreed to participate. Now he has refused to attend the proceedings of the National Assembly and in all these instances he was given decided preference over the leader of the majority party. Sheikh Shahib stated, "So far as I am concerned, my people have given a verdict on the Six-Point programme and we shall form the constitution on the basis of Six Points and Eleven Points".

(**THE PEOPLE**, Dacca—March 2, 1971)

MUJIB STRONGLY CONDEMNS FIRING—BANGLA DESH CANNOT BE SUPPRESSED AS COLONY ANY MORE

Press statement issued on March 2, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in a Press statement issued last evening, strongly condemned the killing of unarmed persons at Farm Gate and urged the government to desist forthwith from this reckless course. He reminded that Bengalees could not be suppresed any more and they would no longer tolerate exploitation as a colony or as a market.

Sheikh in his statement said, "Unarmed boys have been fired upon today. At least two have died, and several more are seriously injured. They have been shot at because they along with the rest of the people of Bangla Desh had stood up to protest against the gross insult inflicted upon Bangla Desh by the powers that be. I strongly condemn such firing and urge the elements who are seeking to co-confront the people with force to desist forthwith from this reckless course. They should be reminded that firing upon unarmed masses amounts to genocide and is a crime against humanity. They should know that if Bangla Desh is a fire, as it will be if such confrontation continues then they will not be able to escape the flames.

"We, as the elected representatives of the seventy million people of Bangala Desh, were ready to sit with the representatives from the Western Wing on the 3rd March for the purpose of constitution-making. Indeed some of the representatives from the Western Wing had already come to Dacca. But then a sudden and unwarranted intervention prevented this sitting from taking place.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The intervention was prompted by an intransigent minority group, which as the protector of the vested interests of the western wing and their bureaucratic lackeys, had declared that the sitting should not be held except on terms dictated by them. They had even gone to the length of nakedly threatening to "deal with" other west wing representatives who dared to defy such dictation. Such denial of the rights of the representatives of the majority of the people at the behest of an undemocratic minority is an intolerable insult to the people.

Since the people of Bangla Desh would not submit to such dictation or intimidation they are now saught to be confronted by force. It is tragic that planes which might have carried elected representatives from the Western Wing, should instead be engaged in lifting military personnel and arms. If these measures are intended to cow down seventy million Bengalees, the spontaneous demonstrations of the will to resist displayed throughout Bangla Desh since yesterday should prove to the world that Bengalees cannot be suppressed any more and that they are determined to be the free citizens of a free country. They will no longer tolerate being exploited as a colony or a market.

"At this critical hour it is the sacred duty of each and every Bengalee in every walk of life, including government officials, not to co-operate with anti-people forces and indeed to do everything in their power to foil the conspiracy against Bangla Desh.

"Now that representatives have been elected by the people are the only legitimate source of authority, all authorities are, therefore, expected to take note of this fact.

"In the circumstances, there is no justification for the continuation of Martial Law or military rule by a single day. I, therefore, urge the immediate withdrawal of Martial Law, an immediate end to the 'confrontation' and the removal of obstacles to the exercise by the people's representatives of the power, that is rightfully theirs.

"Our movement will continue till the above demands are met and till the people of Bangla Desh realise their emancipation.

"I am announcing our programme of action till 7th March and am issuing the following directives to our people:

(*a*) Province-wide Hartal to be observed on each day from 3rd March 1971 to the 6th March, 1971 from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. in all spheres including government offices, secretariat, High Court and other courts, semi-government and autonomous corporation, PIA, Railways and other communication services, transport, private and public, all mills, factories, industrial and commercial establishments and market. Exemptions are to be extended to: Ambulances, press cars, hospitals, medicine shops, electric and water supply. All persons are urged to observe the Hartal in a peaceful and disciplined manner and to ensure that no untoward incident such as looting, burning, etc., takes place. In particular people should be alert against agent-provocators and should remember that everyone living in Bangla Desh, no matter where he originates from or the language he speaks is for us a Bengalee and their person, property and honour are our sacred trust and these must be protected.

(*b*) 3rd March which was to have been the day for the sitting of the National Assembly should be observed as a day of national mourning, on which occasion I will lead a procession from Paltan Maidan at 4 p.m. immediately after the conclusion of the meeting being held by Students League.

(*c*) In the event of radio, television or newspapers failing to cover our version of events or our statements, all Bengalees serving in these agencies should

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

refuse to co-operate with such gagging of the voice of the seventy million people of Bangla Desh.

(*d*) On 7th March 1971 at 2 p.m. I shall address a mass rally of our people at the Race Course Maidan, when further directives will be issued.

(*e*) I would urge our people to continue with our common struggle in a peaceful and disciplined manner, I would remind them that any breach of discipline would be against the interest of our movement and will serve the interest of agent provocators and the anti-people forces."

(THE PEOPLE, Dacca—March 3, 1971)

EPAL REACTION DISPROPORTIONATE PPP HAS NEVER REJECTED 6 POINTS

Text of the Statement issued by Mr. Bhutto at a Press Conference at Karachi on March 2, 1971.

Pakistan People's Party has all long championed the cause of the oppressed people in both Wings of Pakistan and it has been the only Party in West Pakistan forcefully and unambiguously to expose the nature of the exploitation under which the people have been suffering these many years, particularly those in East Pakistan.

The new capitalist class that has come into being in Pakistan, have ruthlessly robbed the common people misusing foreign aid, the internal and external resources of Pakistan for monopolising wealth within their limited groups who happen to be mainly in West Pakistan.

The claims of great economic progress are based on dubious figures. It is established that the average Pakistani whether in West or East Pakistan, has grown poorer since the 'wonderful' planning under capitalist auspices began.

Acutely conscious of the fundamental problems of Pakistan, the People's Party has been demanding a revolutionary change in the whole economic and social structure of the country East Wing or West Wing, to remove the root cause of the misery of the oppressed masses.

BENGALIS' ROLE

"Pakistan was established in both Wings by the common consent of the people, and established as one nation, a homeland for the Muslims of this Subcontinent and a protection for the Muslims who remained outside in the other part. The fundamental basis upon which the State exists is unalterable. The Muslim people of Bengal suffered greatly for the ideal of Pakistan and contributed to its creation with their very blood. Many of them were slaughtered in Calcutta and many other places in Bengal.

In the sort of partition, the British, in connivance with the Indian Hindus, imposed upon Pakistan several historic areas of Muslim Bengal were lost to Pakistan. Lost were the contiguous area of East Pakistan where Muslims were in majority. Abandoned were also the Muslim people of Assam.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UNJUST TREATMENT OF EAST PAKISTANIS

And since partition, we were the first in West Pakistan to have candidly admitted in our foundation papers that the people of East Pakistan were unjustly treated and did not get their due share in the national economy.

God is our witness that all our efforts, since the election, have been directed to find a solution to the constitutional problem which would not only right the injustices done to the people of East Pakistan in the past but also enable the nation to live in harmony in all its parts.

We took the initiative of going to East Pakistan in search of an understanding with the Awami League so that a viable constitution could be framed. It has not been our attitude to reject the Six Points. On the other hand, we have consistently endeavoured to go as close to the Six Points as was logically and reasonably possible on the assumption that Pakistan would remain a single nation.

There we did not demand a strong Centre but only a Federal Centre that would have the character of keeping the country united federal State. We further manifested our 'bona fides' by mass mobilisation of public opinion in West Pakistan in favour of a constitution as close to the Six Points formula as possible.

In the Press conference of February 15 at Peshawar, we a had only asked for an assurance that there was room for negotiation and settlement. This stand we have reiterated time and again.

It is absurd that we have been charged with attempting to sabotage the transfer of power to the people by entering into a conspiracy with supposed dark force.

Pakistan People's Party represents the aspiration of the toiling masses of West Pakistan who were not a party to the exploitation of East Pakistan.

Indeed, we are the people of West Pakistan who cannot imagine to conspire to frustrate the transfer of power in which they will have the share. Let it not be forgotten that only recently the people of West Pakistan reposed this confidence in us by a democratic verdict.

REACTION

It is most unfortunate that a necessary postponement of the National Assembly session should have incited a disproportionate reaction in the East Pakistan Awami League. Surely, nothing is lost if the promise of United Pakistan is accepted, by the delay of a few days to enable the major parties of the whole of Pakistan to come to an agreement upon the nature of constitution that ought to last for years and years to come. The constitution should not be made the excuse to break up Pakistan. The very idea of a constitution is to preserve the State of Pakistan and the machinery in the Assembly, that is to undertake this momentous task is intact.

We demanded postponement of the National Assembly session only to provide the two major parties with an opportunity to have another dialogue. We are willing to have this dialogue anywhere at any time that the Awami League would like. If the Awami League fail to reciprocate, the onus for the consequences will not be on us.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 3, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WITHDRAW FORCES AND TRANSFER POWER

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's speech in a public meeting at Dacca on March 3, 1971

DACCA, March 3 : Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today urged the authorities to withdraw the forces from the city and hand over the power to the elected representatives of the people.

The authorities must realise that the people wanted self-rule and if they were resisted by force they would not hesitate to sacrifice their life, the Awami League Chief said while addressing a massive public meeting at Paltan Maidan here this afternoon.

He also issued directives to the people of Bangla Desh not to pay any taxes until and unless power was transferred to the people's representatives.

The massive public meeting was organised by the Students' League as a part of the province-wide hartal call given by the Chief of the Awami League.

"By obstructing the constitutional method the authorities have virtually compelled the people to shed their innocent blood for realising their legal rights. This is absolutely intolerable. I appeal to the authorities concerned to immediately stop this wrong course by withdrawing Martial Law and transferring power to the elected representatives."

The massive public meeting was presided over by the Students' League Chief, Mr. Nure Alam Siddiqi. The meeting was also addressed, among others, by the General Secretary of Jatiya Sramik League Mr. Abdul Mannan, the General Secretary of the Students League, Mr. Shahjahan Siraj, and the General Secretary of the Dacca University Central Students Union (DUCSU) Mr. Abdul Quddus Makhan.

In an emotion choaked voice, the Sheikh in his 30-minute speech, called upon the people to continue their struggle in a peaceful and organised manner.

He urged the people to be alert against agent-provocators and to maintain complete peace and discipline, otherwise the purpose of the movement would be spoiled.

He called upon the people from all walks of life to rise to the occasion and protect the life and property of everyone living in this part of the country, whether Hindu or Muslim, Bengali or non-Bengali.

Reminding the authorities that he as well as the people of Bangla Desh were ready to die for the realisation of people's legitimate rights, he declared in clear-cut terms that the people were ready to face all the eventualities.

He said that he would never betray the cause of the people of Bangla Desh even facing death.

The Awami League Chief said that the authorities had taken action against those who had been asking for peaceful transfer of power.

Announcing his programme of action upto March 7 next, he said that he would seek help and co-operation from all shades of opinion for the success of the movement.

He said that the hartal would be observed throughout Bangla Desh everyday from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. After the hartal the vehicles should be allowed to move. He suggested and urged the people to pay a bit more to the rickshaw pullers to cover their day's earnings.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He will address a mass rally at the Race Course Maidan at 2 p.m. on Sunday. He said that hartal was to be observed in all organisations, including Government offices, secretariat, High Court and other courts, semi-Government and autonomous corporations, PIA, Railway and other communication services, transports, all mills, factories, industrial and commercial establishments and markets.

He said that the forces were being maintained for protecting the country, and they could not be used against the common masses. Sheikh Sahib urged the authorities to pull back the forces to their barracks without further delay.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that he had no language to condemn the incidents that took place in the city last night.

Sheikh Sahib made it clear that the present situation in the country was not the creation of his or any other people of Bangla Desh, but of the conspirators who had been trying to sabotage the peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. The majority party had been even ignored while taking important national decisions, he said.

Sheikh Sahib advised each and every person of Bangla Desh to observe the hartal according to schedule in a peaceful and disciplined manner.

He, however, said that exemptions were to be extended only to ambulances, Press cars, hospitals, medicine shops, water and electricity supply.

Sheikh Sahib said that the speech at Paltan Maidan today might be his "last speech" and advised the people to continue their struggle in full swing even if he was absent. He said that there were a chain of leaders, among his companions who would be able to continue the struggle without any trouble.

The Sheikh who was earlier scheduled to lead a huge procession after the meeting, announced that the procession would not be led. Instead he led a prayer for the salvation of the departed souls of the martyrs who had, he maintained, died in the struggle for democracy.

Other speakers at the meeting called upon the people to maintain peace and harmony among the people, and desist from looting and other anti-social activities.

They declared in unequivocal terms that the people of Bangla Desh could not be suppressed any more and they must achieve their goal at any cost.

The meeting in a resolution condemned the firings in different parts of the city during the last two days and prayed for the salvation of the departed souls. It expressed its deep sympathy with the members of the bereaved families.

In another resolution, the meeting called upon the people from all walks of life to take active part in the movement for the realisation of the people's rights under the dynamic leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The meeting took a fresh vow for the establishment of a society in Bangla Desh, where there would be no exploitation and people would live in peace.

Sheikh Mujib gave call for "peaceful satyagraha" movement for the realisation of the rights of the people of Bangla Desh and appealed to the people to maintain peace for the success of the struggle.

Sheikh Mujib also appealed to the people to guard against looting and arson and to maintain peace at all costs. Any attempt to disrupt peaceful life must be resisted, because without strict discipline no mass movement could attain any success.

Sheikh Mujib appealed for communal peace and added the Biharis and non-Muslims "are our sacred trust".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He referred to the sacrifice of lives by Bengalis during the last 23 years and during yesterday's observance of hartal in the City.

He said "I do not know how many people died yesterday," adding that he himself heard the firing of machine-gun. He also led the prayer at the meeting for those who died. The dead bodies of a few persons, who died yesterday, were also brought to the public meeting.

Sheikh Mujib said he wanted to spell out the future course of action, and added if the attitude of the Government remained unchanged till March 7 he would give out his mind at the race course, where he is scheduled to address a public meeting. He said if he failed to turn up for any unforeseen reasons, there would be others to announce the future course of action.

He said the maintenance of discipline was the prerequisite for the success of any mass movement. Without discipline no movement could achieve any tangible results "no matter how many lives we sacrifice." He particularly reminded the volunteers of their responsibilities in this connection.

Sheikh Mujib said "we are not responsible for the present state of affairs". He said they as the majority party in the country were in favour of the National Assembly session on February 15, but Mr. Z. A. Bhutto wanted it to be deferred to the first week of March, and when it was summoned to meet today he (Bhutto) oppose it again.

The Awami League Chief regretted the stand taken by the People's Party chief on the session of the National Assembly, which was to begin today, and added although they "were ready to attend the session the use of arms was" directed at the Bengalis. He also referred to threats of PPP chief to set afire West Pakistan if the session was not postponed.

Sheikh Mujib, in an apparent reference to West Pakistan leaders, said "If you do not want to frame one constitution let us frame our own constitution and you frame your own. Then let us see if we can live together as brothers."

The Awami League Chief said the people of Bangla Desh freed him from jail at the cost of their lives and shed their blood in the last. "We are ready to make further sacrifices and give more blood." He added: "You cannot suppress the Bengalis by killing 70,000,000 Bengalis."

Sheikh Mujib said if he died his soul would be there to be happy to find the Bengalis free and that they have two square meals a day to survive.

Sheikh Mujib said he did not have any grudge against the poor people of West Pakistan. They had been trying to live together for the last 23 years but West Pakistan now wanted to secede because they knew it well by now that they could not perpetuate their exploitation on them.

The Awami League leader also called upon the Press not to obey any restriction on them, if any, and if they failed to resist it they should refuse to attend their offices. He told the Press that "it is a national struggle", and everyone's participation was essential.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 4 ,1971)

MUJIB REJECTS INVITATION

DACCA, March 3 : Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of the Awami League, rejected tonight the invitation of President Yahya Khan to attend the proposed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

meeting of the leaders of all the parliamentary groups in the National Assembly on March 10 in Dacca to solve the constitutional tangle.

Following is the full text of the statement.

"The radio announcement of the proposed invitation to the political leaders to sit with the President of Pakistan in conference in Dacca on March 10, coming as it does in the wake of widespread killing of the unarmed civilian population in Dacca, Chittagong and other places in Bangla Desh, while the blood of the martyrs on the streets is hardly dry, while some of the dead are still lying unburied and hundreds are fighting death in hospital comes as a cruel joke. This is more so since we are being called upon to sit with certain elements whose devious machinations are responsible for the death of innocent and unarmed peasants, workers and students.

"With the military build-up continuing with harsh language of weapons still ringing in our ears the invitation to such a conference is in effect being made at gun point.

"Under these circumstances, the question of accepting such invitations does not arise. I, therefore, reject such an invitation."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 4, 1971)

PUNJAB PAKISTAN FRONT'S PLEA TO DISOWN BHUTTO

Report of PPF's meeting at Lahore on March 3, 1971

The organising committee of the Punjab Pakistan Front, today expressed the view that the demand of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for the immediate withdrawal of Martial Law and transfer of power to popular representatives deserves the support and backing of all lovers of democracy and of Pakistan and urged the Punjab people to "disown Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's leadership to wrest back the democratic initiative", at present lost on account of what the committee described as Mr. Bhutto's perverse politics.

The meeting of the organising committee held at the residence of its convener, Malik Ghulam Jilani, here today placed on record its deep concern and sense of dismay at the "unfortunate decision" to postpone indefinitely the first session of the National Assembly which had been called at Dacca this month.

The committee was of the opinion that the decision was "completely unwarranted, uncalled for and unjustifiable."

In the committee's opinion the decision had been forced on the country by the "reckless and insupportable ambition" of one single person who claimed to speak in the name of West Pakistan although he held a clear majority in barely one of the four provinces of West Pakistan.

That this one province should happen to be the Punjab, was a matter which the committee regarded as a "shame and slur on the fair name of the Punjab". The committee was convinced that when the people of the Punjab were lured into voting for the People's Party, the party was totally uncommitted, whether for or against any specific constitutional scheme.

"The People's Party has completely abused the trust reposed in the party by the people of the Punjab, as also of such other parts of the country where the People's Party candidates were returned.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Indeed by its current anti-democratic stand the People's Party has already betrayed the cause of the people and proved itself unworthy of their confidence" it said.

This committee considered it imperative that the people of the Punjab should disown Mr. Bhutto's "perverse politics" and "unmistakably fascistic trend which he has come to personify."

"There is only one parallel to the manner in which Mr. Bhutto has slighted the National Assembly and frustrated what might have been Pakistan's last chance to acquire a democratic constitution—Hitler's putsch at the time of Weimar Republic and burning of the Reichstag" it remarked.

Aware of the extreme urgency and delicacy of the present crucial juncture in Pakistan's history the committee felt that the struggle for a democratic constitution in fact and in effect represented the struggle for the survival of Pakistan. It was inconcievable that a country which had nothing except an army to hold it together should endure indefinitely in the modern world. Keeping this in view, it said, to argue, as the leader of the People's Party has been doing, that a constitutional programme, which has the implicit as well as explicit support of by far the most populous province of the country, violates the integrity of the nation is to give away the game in advance and write off the very idea of national integrity. After all, who is the nation if the majority of the people composing it are already arrayed on the other side of its integrity."

The committee was of the opinion that the postponement decision had destroyed all avenues of democratic initiative and placed a veto on the national aspirations in the hands of one man who was obviously bugged by a pathological lust for power to the exclusion of all other considerations. This initiative must be wrested back for the people, the committee felt.

The committee, under these circumstances, said Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's demand for the immediate withdrawal of the Martial Law and transfer of power to popular representatives has become unexceptionable and deserves the support and backing of all lovers of democracy and of Pakistan."

(**THE DAWN**, Karachi—March 4, 1971)

TRANSFER OF POWER TO AWAMI LEAGUE NOW— ONLY SOLUTION OF CRISIS

Report of the Press Conference at Karachi Press Club on March 4, 1971, by Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan

Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan yesterday advocated "immediate" transfer of power to the majority party in the country in order to retrieve the present "close-to-disater" situation.

Addressing a hurriedly called Press Conference at the Karachi Press Club he said President Yahya Khan should invite Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and hand over power—"real power"—to him in line with the democratic processes and in the interest of preserving national integrity and solidarity.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He told a correspondent that the constitution-making job could wait. What now took precedence was the transfer of power to where it belonged, namely the single largest party in the National Assembly.

Mr. Asghar Khan flew into Karachi yesterday from Rawalpindi on way to Dacca. He had an appointment with Mr. Z. A. Bhutto in the City but the meeting, according to the Air Marshal (Retd.) could not take place due to Mr. Bhutto's preoccupations. Mr. Asghar Khan will fly out to Dacca this (Friday) morning to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

He said a hysteria had been deliberately built on six points and he considered it his duty not as a leader of men or head of a political organisation but as a citizen, to defuse it. In his view, the hysteria needed radical, surgical treatment as it was a classical method of delaying the process of ushering in democracy.

He expressed his sense of shock at the happenings in East Pakistan and said: "Our heart bleeds for our brethren there just as it would if the same happened to the people in West Pakistan".

He again emphasised that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should be immediately called upon to form the Government with all the requisite power and authority. "We cannot see our East Pakistani brethren being treated like this. Nor can we brook our dear country disintegrated", he declared.

The people in West Pakistan, he pointed out, must understand that their counterparts in the Eastern Wing had for long been smarting with a sense of deprivation and frustration. They must be allowed to enjoy and exercise power which after all is their right, he said.

Mr. Asghar Khan told a questioner that while Sheikh Mujib's position on constitution-making was fixed, that of Mr. Bhutto had been flexible in view of the latter's own admission that the People's Party had fought the elections on the basis of foreign policy and economic programme. Therefore, while magnanimity as a majority leader was expected of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Mr. Bhutto on his part should have shown greater understanding and harmony, he observed.

The Air Marshal (Retd.) however, made it clear he was opposed to the philosophy behind the six points and thought that such a rigid stand by the Awami League was not necessary. Nevertheless, an understanding was still possible in the larger national interests.

Asked what he would talk to with Shaikh Mujib, Mr. Asghar Khan said he would try to read his (Sheikh's) mind in view of the latest critical situation and see what best could be done to tide over the crisis.

West Wing's Concern

During his stay in Dacca he would also convey to the people in East Pakistan of the great concern of the people in West Pakistan over the latest developments and would impress upon the need for greater harmony, brotherly love and mutual forbearance.

Mr. Asghar Khan was highly critical of the way in which the political situation in the country was allowed to deteriorate progressively during the last three months.

In this, he noted, the responsibility lay on bureaucracy, vested interests, businessmen, and "some" politicians who all combined to thwart democracy in the country.

He said in reply to a question that it was in the global interests of the USA to have Pakistan divided. An effort was being made whereby it is West Pakistan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which is pushing East Pakistan to fall apart, and go in the lap of international conspirators.

Mr. Asghar Khan, however, made it clear that in that eventuality West Pakistan itself would not remain united and integrated, if one half of Pakistan was "finished".

He said he refused to believe there had been any threat of aggression from India. No grave emergency of this nature exists, he added.

Reiterating his plea for the transfer of power, the Air Marshal (Retd.) said that West Pakistan had ruled for 23 years and East Pakistan had immensely suffered. So if East Pakistan were now to rule Pakistan and exercise its democratic right, what if West Pakistan were to suffer a little.

However, he believed that in the transfer of power lay the good of the entire nation—both of East and West Pakistan.

While strongly opposing the action taken in the Eastern Wing against the movement for restoration of democracy, he said, "our hearts bleed when East Pakistani brethren are being killed with bullets".

Air Marshal Asghar Khan said the people in the Western Wing were strongly against the killings in the Eastern Wing and he for himself would not hesitate to give any sacrifice for the restoration of democracy in the country.

The retired Air Marshal said "Things have gone too far" and if power was not transferred forthwith by the present regime he would launch a movement in support of the East Pakistani people who were really 'frustrated' and disillusioned. He clarified that this was not a threat but 'a statement of fact'.

He told newsmen that he was leaving for Dacca today to acquaint himself with the existing conditions and 'the sufferings of the people'.

'The only way left to safeguard the integrity and solidarity of the country is to restore democracy in the country', he said emphatically, and demanded that the armed forces should go to the barracks.

He said he had thought it fit to leave the national and constitutional problems to the elected representatives for solution, but "the events had moved so fast and so rapidly" that he could not keep aloof and considered it necessary at this stage to come forward and contribute his bit for the solidarity and integrity of the country.

Retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan said that he proposed to meet the leaders of the majority parties and discuss national problems and it was in this background that he was leaving for Dacca to meet the East Pakistani brethren there.

Regrettable Attitude

He regretted the attitude of "certain leaders in West Pakistan" towards the problems of the East Pakistani people and deplored that some of them were saying openly that "the military regime was preferable to them than the power being transferred to East Pakistani leaders". He observed that this attitude was undemocratic and harmful.

He expressed himself against the postponement of the National Assembly session and said "it seems that the proposed Round Table Conference of the leaders of parliamentary groups called by President Yahya Khan is also not taking place".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bhutto and Round Table Conference

He pointed out the similarity in the round table conference called by former President Ayub Khan and the proposed meeting called by President Yahya Khan and said like the previous RTC this meeting had also been called on March 10.

He remarked that the only difference between the then and the proposed RTC was that Mr. Bhutto had refused to attend the previous RTC while the PPP chief was the first now to announce that he would attend the proposed RTC.

He expressed surprise at the handling of the national affairs and said Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was recently acknowledged as the "Prime Minister" of Pakistan and nothing wrong was seen in the Six-Point programme of the Awami League.

Asked if he agreed with the PPP chief Mr. Bhutto that there were three forces, i.e., Awami League, PPP and military forces, Asghar Khan said "it is an unfortunate remark."

Stressing the need for maintaining the solidarity of the country, he said for the survival of West Pakistan itself, it was necessary to maintain the territorial integrity of the country.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

RTC: HAZARVI BACKS MUJIB'S DECISION–BHUTTO CRITICISED

Speech by Maulana Hazarvi at Jabees Hotel on March 4, 1971

Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi, General Secretary, Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam (West Pakistan) yesterday endorsed the decision of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman not to attend the proposed conference of the leaders of Parliamentary Parties in Dacca on March 10.

The better course, in his view, would have been to convene the inaugural session of the National Assembly and then postpone it for 10 days during which efforts at political and constitutional conciliation could have been initiated by President Yahya Khan.

Maulana Hazarvi, who was speaking at a reception held in his honour at Jabees Hotel, emphasised that constitution-making was a job done inside the Assembly and not in the public. It was wrong on the part of Mr. Bhutto or Sheikh Mujib to take an uncompromising stand on constitutional matters beforehand.

He criticised Mr. Bhutto of talking in the "language of ultimatum" and thus causing a crisis which could have been averted through mutual love, tolerance and understanding.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, he pointed out had shown a good deal of accommodation in his last statement. The same day Mr. Bhutto had talked in a rather provocative tone in Lahore. Had the Sheikh's spirit of accommodation and amity been reciprocated, a meeting of minds could have been possible in another round of Bhutto-Mujib meetings, he added.

Maulana Ghulam Ghaus said the people of West Pakistan had full sympathy for their brethren in East Pakistan during their present trying times. He hoped that even at this crucial hour some way out would be found so that Pakistan's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

integrity and solidarity remained intact and Islamic bonds between East and West Pakistan strengthened.

* * * *

Bhutto condemned

Maulana Hazarvi regretted that Mr. Bhutto in his Lahore speech should have thought it fit to threaten the West Pakistan MNAs who went to Dacca to attend the National Assembly session (without his prior concurrence).

Mr. Bhutto, he pointed out, should not forget that the One Unit had been undone and every Province had its elected representatives. Mr. Bhutto could not, therefore, claim to be the spokesman of West Pakistan and, hence, he should not talk as authoritatively as he does on political and constitutional issues or threaten the MNAs-elect.

Maulana Ghulam Ghuas reiterated his warning that foreign powers and vested interests were hand in glove in their bid to disintegrate Pakistan. In this context he named an envoy of a Big Power moving all over the country and calling on the various political leaders.

The Government, he said, should take note of foreign influences at work and guard against the foreign agents who were trying to sabotage the country's integrity and independence.

* * * *

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

'POSTPONMENT UNDEMOCRATIC'—NAP HARTAL CALL

Meeting of Baluchistan Provincial National Awami Party (Wali Group) at Quetta on March 4, 1971

At an emergent meeting of the Baluchistan Provincial National Awami Party (Wali group) held in the party's office in Quetta, under the chairmanship of Mr. Mohammad Hashim Khan Ghilzai, the postponement of scheduled National Assembly session at Dacca on March 3, for an indefinite period was termed as "deplorable and undemocratic."

At the party's resolution, today, the party demanded immediate summoning of the N.A. session to settle the constitutional matter.

The proper place for settling the constitutional matters was the National Assembly, any such matter discussed outside the house, away from the public eyes or in the drawing room, amounted to deceiving the people, added the NAP resolution.

The present postponement of NA session has created a feeling of unrest amongst the people and complete chaos all over the country.

The resolution demanded the announcement of a definite date for summoning the NA session so that the powers could be transferred to the chosen representatives of the people in a democratic manner, after framing the constitution.

Yet another resolution accused the vested interests and "a group of trouble-makers" of indulging in sabotaging the plans for peaceful transfer of power and emergence of democratic Government.

The resolution accused the same elements of putting hurdles and hitches in the return of democratic rule in Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Earlier the Baluchistan Provincial National Awami Party unanimously decided to a token hartal all over Baluchistan on March 12 to protest against the postponement of the NA scheduled session.

The hartal has been called from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. on March 12 during which peaceful protest processions would also be taken out.

Prominent Baluchistan NAP leaders are also expected to address the processionists at vantage points, it was further gathered.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER URGED

Meeting of the workers of the Bangla National League at Dacca on March 4, 1971

An emergent meeting of the workers of the Bangla National League today demanded the withdrawal of Martial Law immediately and handing over of power to the elected representatives of the people.

Presided over by the General Secretary of the League, Mr. Oli Ahad, the meeting discussed at length the present political situation in the country in view of the sudden postponement of the National Assembly session.

The meeting saluted the memories of those who had been killed in different parts of Bangla Desh during the last three days' fighting for the cause of the people.

It called upon the leaders of all political parties to form a front to fight for the cause of the people of Bangla Desh.

The meeting decided to hold a public meeting at Paltan Maidan on Saturday next. A procession will be brought out after the meetings.

The General Secretary of the East Pakistan Convention Muslim League, Mr. A. N. M. Yusuf, today called upon the President to convene the National Assembly session on March 10 to enable the majority party to frame the country's constitution, thus facilitating the transfer of power to the people.

In a statement here today, Mr. Yusuf said that the proposal for a Round Table Conference of the Parliamentary Party leaders was meaningless and the convening of the NA session on March 10 was the only course open in the present circumstances.

Khurshid's Call

In Rawalpindi, Mr. M. Khurshid, President, Punjab Awami League and a former Defence Secretary, has said that according to democratic procedure the business of the constitution must be discussed in the National Assembly and insistence on pre-Assembly discussions will merely aggravate the situation.

Commenting on the prevailing situation after the Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's refusal to attend the conference of the political leaders scheduled to be held on March 10 at Dacca, he said in a statement here today that at this stage everything should be done to restore normalcy so that troops can be withdrawn to their normal situation as soon as possible.

Mr. Khurshid said that every thinking person in the country is earnestly looking for a way out of the present impasse. He said it would be fruitless at

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

this stage to go into the rights and wrongs of the postponement of the National Assembly session.

He said to allay fears and to prevent further deterioration in the present situation, it seems that only positive step would be an immediate announcement of the date for the National Assembly meeting. He said it may also be considered whether the period of 120 days may be extended. He said this would give ample time for discussions to be held on the floor of the House between all political parties.

Maulana Mohammad Abdur Rahim, Deputy Ameer, Pakistan Jamaat-i-Islami today demanded immediate transfer of power to the majority elected representatives of the people.

In a statement issued here today, Maulana Rahim said that the proposal for a conference of the leaders of the parliamentary groups instead of summoning the National Assembly under the present situation in the country was nothing but a cruel joke to democracy.

Begum Sufia Kamal and Mrs. Maleka Begum, President and Convener of Purbo Pakistan Mahila Parishad respectively today demanded immediate summoning of the National Assembly and transfer of power to the people's representative.

While condemning the postponement of the National Assembly session Begum Kamal and Mrs. Maleka in a joint statement appealed to the people to carry out a peaceful movement.

They also urged the women-folk to attend their protest meeting to be held at the Baitul Mokarram premises on March 6.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

NATION ON VERGE OF DISASTER DUE TO BHUTTO'S POWER POLITICS

Press statement by Malik Ghulam Jilani, Convener of the PPF on March 4, 1971

Malik Ghulam Jilani, Convener of the Punjab Pakistan Front, has called for setting up immediately a platform to dissociate the people of Pakistan, including many members of the Pakistan People's Party from the "mad game of brazen-faced power politics in which Mr. Bhutto has indulged and brought this country to the verge of immediate disaster".

In a Press statement here today, he dubbed the move for the new Round Table Conference as an "ill-starred initiative" and said the time which had slipped past and the blood that had been split in the streets of Dacca during the past two days was irretrievable.

He said: "My heart is bleeding over this tragedy as much as the hearts of those whose kith and kin have been slain. In fact it is bleeding still more, for in their case they have the consolation of pride and martyrdom for a cause, whereas I have nothing but a burning shame on behalf of those whose brutal folly has brought about this blood-spilling".

Malik Ghulam Jilani said neither third party mediation nor Round Table Conferences, nor even a National Assembly could redress the stark tragedy that started the country in the face. The time had come, he said, when all efforts and all energies must be concentrated exclusively on the immediate transfer of power to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

popular representatives. In the absence of an agreed constitution for the country as a whole, this could only be done through the provincial assemblies which must be called into session forthwith and asked to assume their proper functions, he said.

Confused Reactions

The PPF Convener said he had read with deep interest the mingled, even somewhat confused reactions of important personages to the President's invitation to the top twelve in the country to attend a conference at Dacca on March 10. After Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's summary disposal of the move, the fact was that it hardly deserved any further reference.

He was critical of the national Press and said if it had been at all competent to discharge its traditional functions, all the publicity given to the RTC and other people's reaction to it might have been easily stopped after the Awami League Chief's reaction had become known.

Malik Ghulam Jilani said, "there are of course those who have followed the age-old practice of welcoming anything that bears the seal and stamp of the reigning authority. There is nothing either surprising or in anyway noteworthy in what the Khan-e-Azam Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan or the dancing figure of the land of Moenjodaro have to say about it. Whatever need be said about it might as well be left unsaid. It goes without saying. But there are others, many of them well-meaning and genuine patriots, who have spoken out their minds in a state of frenzied anxiety over the preposterous decision to postpone the National Assembly and the situation, bordering on the insane, that has been created as a result of this decision which is in fact not a decision at all but a mere shirking away from decision".

He said it was no use losing one's sanity even in grief, more particularly at a time when sanity was precisely what was needed and what was lacking. "When I say that the time that has been lost is irretrievable, what I mean is that neither a conference of mock-dignitaries nor even a full-fledged session of the National Assembly can undo the loss that has been incurred" he observed.

Malik Ghulam Jilani said all sincere, patriotic and right-thinking people must now concentrate first on ensuring immediate transfer of power to elected representatives of the people, and secondly on the adoption of concrete specific measures on behalf of the people of West Pakistan to proclaim their innocence in what was happening in the East Wing for the last couple of days. They must make it clear to their East Pakistani brethren as well as to the rest of the world that "they have been duped and used as decoys in a nefarious design of which they were kept deliberately ignorant when they were asked to cast their votes for the National and Provincial Assemblies", he said.

The PPF chief said we of the Punjab Pakistan Front have called for a convention of all rightminded politically inclined people in this Wing to record their disapproval and denunciation of a man who has abused their trust and betrayed Pakistan in the clearest possible manner.

Malik Ghulam Jilani believed this was the only clear-cut path that could lead the country out of the present crisis which was at once moral and political and penetrated to the deepest recesses of the nation's soul. There was no other way, least of all the way of force he added.

He said every day we were being reminded of the dangers that knocked at our doors from across the borders. The army should have enough to do to withstand these threats. Its energies could hardly be spared at this crucial hour for civil needs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Events today move at "supersonic speed", he said. "This means that before I can hear what is happening, it has happened. Swift calculated, correct action is the need of the hour—nay the minute and the moment. If this is not forthcoming and if we continue to prevaricate, I do solemnly warn that the doom that has hovered over our heads each single day which we let pass in our folly may finally overcome us and crush whatever hope there might be of our posterity leading a better, happier and freer and more honourable life than we did in our time".

Bar Members appeal

Meanwhile, four prominent members of Lahore High Court Bar Association here today appealed to the President of Pakistan, Gen. Yahya Khan to summon the session of the National Assembly on or before March 7.

Mian Mohammad Yasin Khan Wattoo, Malik Mohammad Jaffer, MNA-elect, Mr. Abid Hassan Minto and Sahibzada Sher Ali Khan, in a joint Press statement, said that the postponement of the Assembly session had widened the gulf between the people of the two Wings, and confrontation instead of conciliation had resulted due to it.

In this hour of crisis and alarming situation in the country, they continued, no citizen of Pakistan could afford to be a silent spectator to the situation.

They said the need of the hour was to create an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding between the people of Pakistan and to frame a viable constitution and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. The critical political situation, they feared, would serve foreign powers to exploit it for their global interests.

They appealed to the old politicians of the country to come forward for rapprochement between the parties. Some solution must be formed out for the maintenance of the integrity of the country, they added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

MUJIB CONGRATULATES PEOPLE FOR STIRRING RESPONSE TO HIS CALL

DIRECTIVE TO BANKS, OFFICES TO DISBURSE SALARIES

Text of the statement on March 4, 1971 at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of Awami League has asked the Government and non-Government offices where employees have not yet been paid their salaries, to function between 2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m. for the purposes of disbursing salaries during the next two days of Hartal.

In a statement issued tonight, he said that the banks should also function during these hours (2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m.) for the purpose of cash transaction within "Bangla Desh" only including payment of salary cheques.

The Sheikh congratulated the heroic masses of "Bangla Desh" for the stirring response to the call to protest against the conspiracy to perpetuate exploitation and colonial rule. He said people must remember that no people have attained freedom without extreme sacrifice and therefore asked them to remain prepared to continue their struggle for emancipation at any cost.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said:

"I congratulate our heroic masses for the stirring response made by every man, woman and child of Bangla Desh to our call to protest against the conspiracy to perpetuate exploitation and colonial rule. The people of the world should know of the courage and determination with which the unarmed civilians of Bangla Desh—workers, peasants and students—have demonstrated against the denial of their rights—even in the face of bullets.

"I also congratulate our resolute people for having withstood the hardships and sacrifices which the continuing hartal imposes on them. They must, however, remember that no people have attained freedom without extreme sacrifice. The people therefore must remain prepared to continue their struggle for emancipation at any cost.

Exemptions

"While the hartal is to continue on the 5th and 6th March from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., it is necessary to extend the following exemptions:

(1) Government and non-Government offices where employees have not as yet been paid their salaries should function between 2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m. for the purpose only of disbursing salaries.

Banks should function within these hours (2-30 to 4-30 p.m.) for the purpose of cash transactions within Bangla Desh only in respect of salary cheques not exceeding Rs. 1,500. No remittances should be effected outside Bangla Desh through the State Bank or otherwise. The State Bank should take necessary action in this connection.

Ration shops and food suppliers should utilise this opportunity for their transactions.

(2) The following essential services are exempted:

(*a*) Hospitals and medicine shops (*b*) Ambulance cars (*c*) Doctors cars (*d*) Press (*e*) Press cars (*f*) Water supply (*g*) Gas supply (*h*) Electric supply (*i*) Local telephones and trunk telephones with other districts of Bangla Desh (*j*) Fire service (*k*) Sweepers and scavenger trucks.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 5, 1971)

ARMY WITHDRAWN TO BARRACKS—EAST WING PROTEST CONTINUES—FIRING IN TONGI, RAJSHAHI

Announcement by Martial Law Authorities on March 5, 1971

The Martial Law authorities have decided to withdraw the army to the barracks today. According to an announcement the action follows. "No incident of lawlessness since the lifting of curfew on Thursday evening".

The announcement further said, "Following Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's appeal for peace, there has been considerable improvement in the general law and order situation during the past 24 hours".

It may be recalled that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in his speech at the public meeting at Paltan Maidan on Wednesday, had demanded immediate withdrawal

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of forces from the city and transfer of power to the people's representatives. Since then leaders, political parties and other organisations have been demanding the withdrawal of troops.

Meanwhile, complete hartal was observed here as well as other parts of the province today, in response to the call of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Today was the fourth day of the hartal in the capital and its suburbs and the third day in the province. The Awami League Chief has already announced that the hartal will continue till tomorrow.

Today, however, banks and other offices functioned for two hours in the afternoon for the disbursement of salaries to employees. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had directed yesterday that banks and offices could function today from 2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m. for this purpose. He had also exempted certain other institutions and certain types of vehicles from the operation of the hartal.

Tongi firing

The known death toll of Tongi firing this morning rose with the death of two more persons in the Dacca Medical College Hospital later today.

Earlier, one dead and 15 injured were brought to Dacca Medical College Hospital after security forces allegedly opened fire on the demonstrating workers of Telephone Industries at Tongi. One injured died soon after admission and the second one succumbed to injuries after operation.

Rajshahi firing

In Rajshahi one person was killed and four injured in firing during a procession here on Wednesday.

A spokesman of the district administration told PPI this afternoon that trouble took place twice in front of the telephone exchange office at Malopara and once in front of the Medical College on the day.

He said that after the incident curfew was clamped in the town from seven in the evening for 11 hours on Wednesday by the local Martial Law authorities. With a break of three hours, he said, curfew was reimposed from ten in the morning of yesterday to seven in the morning of today.

According to reports reaching here today, complete and peaceful hartal is being observed here since March 3 in response to the call given by the Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Curfew

A ten-hour curfew was imposed in Rangpur town from this evening. According to reports reaching here, the 21-hour curfew which was clamped there from 5 p.m. yesterday was earlier lifted at 11 a.m. this morning.

A ten-hour curfew was also clamped in Rajshahi beginning from 7 p.m. today.

Hartal

An eight hour hartal was observed in the city and other parts of Bangla Desh today in response to the call of Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, protesting against the sudden postponement of the National Assembly session.

The hartal which was complete and peaceful in Dacca city was for the fourth consecutive day in the city and its suburbs, and for the third consecutive day in other parts of Bangla Desh.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The eight-hour hartal beginning at 6 a.m. will continue till tomorrow. No untoward incident was reported from any parts of the city today but there was firing by the security forces at Tongi, ten miles off the city.

All Government and non-Government offices, autonomous organisations, mills and factories, banks, insurance companies, educational institutions, courts and other establishments remained completely closed during the hartal in the city. All means of transport except a few doctors' cars, Press cars, peace committee cars and ambulances, remained off the roads. Train, steamer, launch and internal plane services also remained suspended during the hartal.

The Awami League has directed the banks to make payments in respect of cheques drawn for the purpose of disbursement of salaries even if the amount exceeded Rs. 1,500 provided that the wage register showing the total amount to be drawn as salaries was produced along with the cheque.

According to a Press release of the party, the banks have also been allowed to pay the bill if it was certified by the trade union of the organisation concerned.

According to an earlier directive, the banks had been prohibited from making payment in respect of cheques drawing more than Rs. 1,500.

Food godowns have also been permitted to remain open beyond 4-30 p.m. if necessary to complete delivery.

The remarkable feature of today's hartal was that many medicine shops remained open during the hartal period and many Government and non-Government offices functioned for about two hours in the afternoon for disbursing salaries to the employees.

The State Bank and other scheduled banks here also worked for two hours in the afternoon for the purpose of drawing salaries and extending facilities to the ration shop dealers.

Banks work

Ration shops and other food suppliers utilised the banking hours between 2-30 p.m. and 4-30 p.m.

The relaxation after the eight hour general hartal was made on the directive of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for facilitating the people to draw their salaries and arrange regular food supply.

Unprecedented rush was witnessed in all scheduled banks here long before the opening at 2-30 p.m. People remained in queue for long time to get a chance to withdraw money, mainly salaries.

When a PPI correspondent visited the State Bank here at Motijheel at 4-30 p.m. (the closing time), several hundred people were there in queue for utilising the banking hours. Ration shop dealers and food suppliers mainly crowded the counters at State Bank.

Mr. S. E. Kabir, Director of the Central Board of Directors, was found busy with other officials near the counters in supervising the transactions.

It may be mentioned here that the State Bank has created a new record by transacting cash in the afternoon.

Meetings

A large number of meetings were held and processions brought out in Dacca and also other cities in the province on the day.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

After 2 p.m. life in the city returned to normal. A skeleton bus service pulled in the street. Some of the shops and business houses opened after the hartal period.

The Students' League and the Awami League brought out a bamboo procession from the Baitul Mukarram and paraded the city streets. They also held a meeting before the Baitul Mukarram.

The students of East Pakistan University of Engineering held a meeting at the University premises to protest against the postponement and "the killings of unarmed civilians". They also paraded the streets in processions.

The Students League, Students Union (Motia group) and Bangla Chatra League have offered prayers for the salvation of the departed souls. They also endorsed the view for the continuation of the struggle for achieving the legitimate rights of the people.

Shops in some of the shopping centres including Jinnah Avenue. Baitul Muharram Stadium and New Market remained closed even afer the hartal hours.

The Pakistan Writers Guild also held a meeting and expressed concern over the postponement of the National Assembly session. They also brought out a procession and paraded the city street.

The Khilgoan Land Distribution Committee also organised a rally in the evening before Baitul Mukarram.

House wives, girl students and teachers of Narayanganj city also held a protest meeting and paraded the streets shouting the demand for immediate withdrawal of Martial Law from the country. They expressed solidarity with the movement launched by the people in response to the call of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The East Pakistan Government College Teachers' Association also expressed its strong resentment at the postponement of the Assembly session. In a meeting held here today, the Association said that this would hinder the peaceful transfer of power. They also condemned the killing of unarmed people of Bangla Desh. The meeting also pledged support to the Awami League chief.

According to Jatiyo Sramik League, quite a few factories and mills went into production following a decision of the League.

The members of East Pakistan Union of Journalists (EPUJ) will stage a demonstration tomorrow afternoon to demonstrate solidarity with the people's movement and in protest against recent restriction imposed on the Press.

The General Secretary of EPUJ. Mr. Kamal Lohani, today appealed to the members to assemble at the Press Club at 3 p.m. from where a procession will be taken out. The procession will be followed by a mass rally at Baitul Mokarram.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 6, 1971)

CASUALTY FIGURES : CONFLICTING REPORTS IN DACCA

Report regarding death tolls in demonstrations in Dacca.

In the absence of any official figure, actual death tolls in demonstration against the postponement of the National Assembly session were still to come

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

out on the fourth day, today, of the non-violent non-co-operation movement called by the Awami League chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The Dacca dailies this morning came out with conflicting figures of casualties saying in identical tone that "these figures are those which could be collected by individual efforts from probable sources". Same was the position about the injured.

"Morning News" reported that 600 people had been admitted into hospital in Chittagong with serious injuries. There were 26 injured in Khulna, newspapers said. In Dacca, Press reports said, more than 300 were injured.

These casualties were the result of firing and counter-firing as well as direct clashes and arson, these reports said. The injured included some policemen also.

Meanwhile, Awami League volunteers have tightened up their non-violent move by organising peace committees at the towns of disturbances. They are reiterating Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's call for peace and demanding judicial enquiry.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 6, 1971)

DACCA BACK TO NORMAL : 5-DAY HARTAL ENDS

Press report regarding five-day hartal to protest against the postponement of the National Assembly Session.

The five-day hartal to protest against the postponement of the National Assembly session in response to a call by the Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, ended today.

The hartal today was for eight hours from six in the morning.

Trains and domestic flights of PIA remained suspended since Tuesday. Similarly cinema houses and studios remained closed.

During these days, all educational institutions were closed and black flags are fluttering atop all buildings in the city.

After the hartal period the city life returned to normal conditions. Buses and vehicles reappeared on the streets.

Scores of meetings and rallies were held today and processions brought out from various parts of the city. Elsewhere in the province public meetings were held and protest processions were taken out.

The commercial banks remained open for two hours for cash transactions, according to an earlier directive of the Awami League chief.

Journalists Rally

The East Pakistan Union of Journalists (EPUJ) brought out a procession from the Press Club and held a mass rally before Baitul Mokarram.

Addressing the rally, the President of Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists, Mr. K. G. Mustafa congratulated the heroic people of Bangla Desh in their struggle for establishing the rights of the people.

He said the ruling clique had been engaged in conspiracy against the whole population of the country. He urged the people to unite against them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Mustafa called upon the journalists all over the world to correctly project the struggle of the people here so that public opinion could be moulded in favour of the just struggle of the people of Bangla Desh.

He urged the journalists to reflect truly the struggle of the people in their work and said they should not be deterred by the restrictions. He appealed to the journalists of West Pakistan to support the struggle of the people of East Bengal.

The Bangla National Awami Party (Wali group) held a public meeting at New Market. The meeting was organised to protest against the killing of the unarmed civilians and launch a movement to realise the rights of the people.

The meeting was presided over by Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed, President of the party and addressed by Mr. Mohiuddin Ahmed and Begum Motia Chowdhury.

In their speech, the speakers said that people must continue movement as the vested interest and conspirators were active. They expressed the determination that the goal of the people would be achieved.

The East Pakistan Students Union also organised a meeting at Shaheed Minar to protest against the killing of the "unarmed civilians" and the postponement of the National Assembly session.

Bangla Chhatra League held a rally before Baitul Mokarram and the Dacca Motor Drivers Union held another rally at New Market.

Under the auspices of the Women's Branch of the Awami League, a meeting of the women of the city was held at Shaheed Minar in the afternoon.

The meeting presided over by Mrs. Badrunnessa Ahmed condemned the 'killings' of the civilians and expressed solidarity with the movement of the people.

They also brought out a procession which paraded the city streets.

The Bangla National League held a public meeting at the Paltan Maidan. The meeting strongly condemned the 'killings' of the unarmed civilians.

The speakers urged the people to continue their movement at all cost and expressed the hope that the right of the common man would be established despite the opposition of the vested interest.

At a gathering of the artistes at Bangla Academy, complete solidarity with the struggle of the people was expressed. The artistes decided to restrict their participation in the programmes of the radio and television in view of the present political situation.

The meeting, which was addressed among others by actor Mustafa and Hassan Imam also called for mass oriented cultural activities in the province.

The teachers of the non-Government schools in Dacca and Narayanganj held a rally at Shaheed Minar in the evening.

The Dacca Central Students Union brought out a torch procession from the Baitul Mokarram in the evening. They paraded the city streets raising slogans against the 'killing' of the people and demanding the establishment of the rights of Bengalees.

Those who brought out the procession included the Bangla Airways Union, Udichi, a cultural organisation, and Rajabag Tannery Workers.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 7, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TIKKA KHAN, GOVERNOR OF EAST PAKISTAN

Announcement on March 6, 1971 by Chief Martial Law Administrator

The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator has appointed Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan as Governor of East Pakistan, it was officially announced here today.

A notification issued by the Cabinet Division said: "The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator has been pleased to appoint Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, S.Pk., as Governor of East Pakistan in pursuance of the proclamation of the 25th day of March, 1969, read with the Provisional Constitution Order."

Another notification of the Cabinet division issued today said that Vice-Admiral S. M. Ahsan ceased to be Governor of East Pakistan province with effect from the forenoon of March 1, 1971.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 7, 1971)

TEXT OF PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN'S BROADCAST

ON MARCH 6, 1971

Following is the full text of the address to the nation by the President, General A. M. Yahya Khan, broadcast over Radio Pakistan network today:

"My dear countrymen,

"Assalam-o-Alaikum,

In my statement of the 1st of March I had recounted to you the steps that I took to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people. In the same statement I had also said that I, on my part, would do everything possible to help our elected leaders in moving towards the attainment of our common goal—which was and which continues to be, a smooth transition towards a democratic way of life.

"As you would recall, in this direction my latest step has been to call a conference of the leaders of all parliamentary groups to meet me at Dacca on the 10th of March. Unfortunately, however, in total disregard of my genuine and sincere efforts to bridge the gap between the various points of view, the response to my call has been rather discouraging particularly from the leader of our majority party who, before the announcement over the radio, had given me the impression that he would not be averse to the idea of such a conference. His outright rejection was therefore both a surprise and a disappointment. As you are aware, Mr. Nurul Amin has also refused to participate. This in effect means that there would be no representative from East Pakistan in the proposed conference.

"You will thus see that from the time the elections were completed practically every step that I took in the process of transfer of power has in one way or another been obstructed by some of our leaders. I might also mention at this stage, that after the completion of elections on the 17th of January and after I had met the leaders of the two major parties and the leaders had met among themselves at Dacca I had invited them to come and discuss the situation with me on more than one occasion with a view to working out an acceptable method of moving forward. I regret to say that the President of Awami League did

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

not think it fit to respond to my invitations and we thus lost the opportunity of avoiding misunderstandings and of working out an amicable solution.

"As the resulting environments were not conducive to constitution making in that a very large number of West Pakistani representatives refused to attend the Assembly session on the 3rd of March, I came to the conclusion that having the inaugural session of the National Assembly on that date would be futile exercise and was likely to result in the dissolution of the Assembly itself. I therefore, tried to save the situation by postponing the date of the session. I had thereby hoped to achieve two purposes—firstly, to save the assembly and all the national effort that had gone into its birth and secondly, allow time for passions to cool down and a fruitful dialogue to take place. But instead of accepting the decision in the spirit in which it was taken, our East Pakistan leadership reacted in a manner which resulted in destructive elements coming out in the streets and destroying life and property. Needless to say, no Government could have remained a silent spectator in such a situation. It was, therefore, my moral obligation to take the minimum essential measures for protecting the lives and property of the innocent and otherwise peaceful law-abiding citizens who in the absence of any such measures would have fallen victims to extremist elements. I am, however sorry to say that lawlessness continues to be the order of the day in East Pakistan.

Misunderstand

"For some reason, the postponement of the date of the Assembly session has been completely misunderstood. Whether this is deliberate or otherwise I cannot say but one thing is certain this misunderstanding has become the rallying cry for the forces of disorder. When such forces become activated the main sufferers are the innocent citizens whose daily life is seriously disturbed and who are in constant danger of suffering bodily harm and even death. While realising that an application of adequate force can effectively bring the situation under control I have deliberately ordered the authorities in East Pakistan to use the absolute minimum force required to stop the law-breakers from loot, arson and murder.

"It will be seen that only one of my purposes behind the postponement of the session of the Assembly—namely the preservation of the Assembly itself, has been achieved. The other and equally important purpose of having a fruitful dialogue has, however, not been achieved. In the meanwhile innocent lives are being lost for which the bereaved families have my fullest sympathies and which in a situation that is not of my creation is the least that I can offer.

"As explained earlier, my efforts to arrive at a date for the opening of the National Assembly session in consultation with political leaders have been frustrated.

"I therefore, in my capacity as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of this country, feel duty bound to resolve this unfortunate impasse by taking a decision myself. I cannot wait indefinitely. I have consequently decided that the inaugural session of the National Assembly will take place on 25th of March. It is my sincere hope that this decision will elicit a patriotic and constructive response from all our political leaders.

"Since my efforts to get the leaders to arrive at a broad consensus on the process of constitution making have not succeeded, to those political parties who may have doubts about viability of the future constitution of Pakistan, I would like to say that no better assurance than the provisions of the Legal Framework Order is needed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Finally, let me make it absolutely clear that no matter what happens, as long as I am in command of the Pakistan Armed Forces and Head of the State, I will ensure complete and absolute integrity of Pakistan. Let there be no doubt or mistake on this point. I have a duty towards millions of people of East and West Pakistan to preserve this country. They expect this from me and I shall not fail them. I will not allow a handful of people to destroy the homeland of millions of innocent Pakistanis. It is the duty of the Pakistan Armed Forces to ensure the integrity, solidarity and security of Pakistan a duty in which they have never failed.

"Let us go forth with full confidence in ourselves and faith in Almighty Allah towards the goal we have set before us for achieving a democratic way of life and enable the elected representatives of the people to fulfil their duty which the nation expects of them.

"God bless you all.

"Pakistan Paindabad".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 7, 1971)

———

AWAMI LEAGUE TO ATTEND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION IF 4-POINT DEMAND IS ACCEPTED

Announcement of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's decision at a Public Meeting on March 7, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the majority party Awami League, today announced his decision to participate in the National Assembly session provided his four-point demand was accepted before the session.

Addressing a huge public meeting at the Ramna Race Cource Maidan here this afternoon, Sheikh Mujib listed his demands as (1) the withdrawal of Martial Law, (2) Sending of troops back to barracks, (3) Inquiry into the killings and (4) Transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

The Awami League leader announced the closure of all Government, semi-Government offices in Bangla Desh and stoppage of all rents and taxes until the demands of the Bengalis were accepted.

Sheikh Mujib declared that he did not want Premiership but the realisation of the rights of the people.

He outrightly denied having accepted the proposal for a meeting of the parliamentary party leaders of different political parties.

Background

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said that as the leader of the majority party he had suggested the inauguration of the National Assembly session on Feb. 15 but he said, the proposal of the minority party leaders had been accepted in summoning the Assembly for the first time on March 3.

He said, he was also not consulted before postponing the Assembly and also re-summoning it on March 25.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This negligence, he said, towards the leaders of the majority party was in fact a dishonour shown to the seven crore people of Bangla Desh.

Discussions Held

Sheikh Sahib said that he had discussions with various leaders for framing a durable constitution for the country. He also pointed out that he had made it clear that if a single member made any right suggestion on the floor of the House, he would be properly listened to and his suggestion considered.

"It is unfortunate", he said, "even after all this, we have been blamed for non-co-operation."

The Awami League Chief said that he had also sought help and co-operation from all groups in the National Assembly for framing the country's constitution.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared that "we can live like brothers if we solve our problems peacefully and amicably".

Sheikh Sahib said that he had invited President Yahya Khan to come here. Instead, he said, the Presdient held a five hour secret meeting with Mr. Bhutto and then made a statement summoning the National Assembly on March 25 without consulting him.

He took exception to putting all blame on him for allegedly not taking interest in the efforts of President Yahya and gave a resume of what he did in making a constitution co-operatively and in complete understanding with all who took interest in the matter.

In his 20-minute speech at the end of observance of protest week against the postponement of the National Assembly Session. Sheikh Mujib gave a brief account of the current political situation in the country and said they could not agree to attend the RTC-meeting on March, 10 ignoring the "bloodshed of the people".

The Awami League Chief referred to his talks with People's Party Chief Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and other West Pakistan leaders on constitution-making and said : "There is still time for us to live as brothers if things are settled peacefully."

Referring to his talks with the PPP Chief, Sheikh Mujib said the dialogue was not closed. He had also talks with other leaders of West Pakistan including Mufti Mahmud and Maulana Noorani. He added Awami League was prepared for further discussions on constitutional issues.

But, he deplored that Mr. Bhutto instead of continuing the discussion resorted to threats. The People's Party Chief, he said and called the National Assembly a "slaughte house" and that West Pakistan Members would become "double hostage" in East Pakistan.

The PPP Chief, he said, also held out threats of strike from Khyber to Karachi if the Session was not postponed.

Sheikh Mujib said 35 Members of the Assembly had already arrived in Dacca to attend the Session and they were ready to participate but, he deplored that the Session was postponed and unjustifiable blame was put on "us accusing us of unbending attitude".

People's Response

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said in response to his call for peaceful movement to protest against the postponement of the Assembly Session the people came

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

out on the streets. "But what we got? The arms bought at the cost of our money to defend the country were used against us."

He said whenever the people of Bangla Desh tried to capture power and become the master of their destiny "they pounced on us".

Sheikh Mujib referred to the sacrifices in the past and said "none can stop us from realising our rights when we are prepared to lay down our lives. We have learnt how to shed blood."

The Awami League Chief, however, asked the people to be on guard against the "enemies who are amongst us" trying to create disturbances. He said they must maintain peace and discipline and added: "It is your responsibility to protect the non-Muslims and non-Bengalis".

He said the Awami League had already taken measures to extend relief to those who had suffered in the movements. He said his party would try its best to help the people who suffered injuries and the needy.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

MINORITY GROUP OBSTRUCTING TRANSFER OF POWER

Statement issued by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 7, 1971 at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Preisdent of Awami League, said here today that he had never conveyed any impression that an RTC-type of conference should be held.

In a statement issued here today after a two-day closed-door meeting of the Working Committee of the party, the Sheikh also 'repudiated' that the Awami League in any way obstructed the transfer of power and added that the mjaority party certainly would not gain by obstruction.

The Sheikh said, I had only conveyed to the President that he should come to Dacca in order to see the grave situation prevailing in Bangla Desh.

It was pointed out, he added, that constitutional issues were best resolved within the National Assembly and its Committees rather than by secret negotiations and that once a National Assembly had been brought into being there was no justification for any RTC or secret parleys.

Sheikh Mujib said, "It is only too clear to the people of the country and indeed the world that it is a minority group of Western Wing which has obstructed and is continuing to obstruct the transfer of power".

* * * *

Recounting the measures taken during the last few days, Sheikh Mujib said that it now appeared that the "political confrontation" was soon to be followed by "military confrontation" if the majority did not submit to the dictation of the minority group.

He said neither democratic way of life could be established nor power could be transferred to the people if a minority group conspired with the vested interests to frustrate the democratic process.

He warned that if democracy was the ultimate casualty or the proposed transfer of power aborted, the responsibility would lie with the minority group and those who colluded with it.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He, therefore, suggested a seven-point formula for immediate adoption if the President sincerely desired that the National Assembly, as the sovereign body of the elected representatives of the people, should function.

The points are:

(*a*) *Immediate withdrawal of Martial Law.*

(*b*) *Transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.*

(*c*) *Immediate withdrawl of all military personnel to the barracks.*

(*d*) *Immediate cessation of the military build-up and the heavy inflow of military personnel from the Westerm Wing.*

(*e*) *Immediate cessation of firing upon civilians so that not a single bullet is fired with immediate effect.*

(*f*) *Non-interference by the military authorities in the different branches of the Government functioning in Bangla Desh and direction to desist from victimisation of Government officers and employees.*

(*g*) *Maintenance of law and order to be left exclusively to the police and Bengali EPR, assisted, wherever necessary, by Awami League volunteers.*

Background

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, "between the first of March when there was a sudden announcement of the postponement sine die of the sitting of the National Assembly and the sixth of March, the people of Bangla Desh have been subjected to military confrontation. There has been widespread firing upon unarmed civilians (workers, peasants and students) who had stood up to protest against the sudden and unwarranted postponement of the National Assembly. Those who have lost their lives during the first week are martyrs who died protecting the democratic rights of the people against arbitrary and unwarranted action of postponement sine die of the National Assembly".

Pakistan People's Party Role

He said: "It is said that the postponement of the National Assembly has been "misunderstood". I would like to ask the President whether or not this postponement was effected solely in response to the machinations of a single party—constituting a minority of the total members—against the declared wishes of the majority party and also those of numerous members from the Western Wing?

"We had suggested the 15th February as the date for the first sitting. While the minority group in question had indicated a preference for the first week of March. It was the minority group's view which was accepted and the Assembly was summoned on the 3rd of March. But then the same minority group raised objections to participation in the National Assembly. First, it took up the highly obejctionable position that its members would be in 'jeopardy' if they came to Dacca and that they would be double hostages". Thereafter, this party took up the position that it would only attend the National Assembly on the terms dictated by it. It then went on to strike another posture when its members recorded a decision to resign from the National Assembly. What was particularly surprising was that almost simultaneously an amendment appeared in the LFO enabling Members to resign before the first sitting. But then they decided not to resign. This party's intransigence reached its climax when on 27th February it declared that it would launch a mass movement if the National Asssembly was to meet without its partcipation. It went so far as to say that the people would take full "revenge on those who chose to attend the National Assembly Session and that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

if the people failed to take revenge" then that party "would take action against them." It further threatened that if any member of its own attended the Session the workers would liquidate him.

Awami League Stand

"By this time, our Parliamentary Party had assembled at Dacca and Members had already begun to arrive from the different provinces of the Western Wing.

The Chief Election Commissioner had reached Dacca and announced that the election of the women Members was to be held on the second of March. The President himself was expected to arrive on the 1st March for the inaugural Session.

"Our own position on constitution-making had been clearly stated in our Press statement of the 24th February when we reiterated our invitation to each and every member of the National Assembly from all parts of Pakistan to co-operate with us in this historic task. On the 27th February, he went to the extent of affirming that if any Member presents before the Assembly anything just and reasonable we would accept it. But even this was ignored, it would appear deliberately and with motive."

Postponement Reaction

"On the 1st March, by a Radio statement there was sudden and unwarranted postponement of the National Assembly sitting sine die. The reason given was that there should be more time for "understanding" and it was said that there was political confrontation between the leaders of East Pakistan and those of the West. Did the people of Bangla Desh not have sufficient reason to feel that their democratic rights had been grossly interfered with at the behest of an undemocratic minority? Were there not enough grounds for them to feel that a minority group had aligned itself with certain forces to obstruct the constitutional process and to deprive the majority of the people of their rights? Indeed, these apprehensions were further fortified by the steady military build-up which became evident. This showed that political confrontation was soon to be followed by 'military confrontation', if the majority did not submit to the dictation of the minority".

Conspiracy History

"Indeed, we had warned in our statement of the 24th February that dark conspiratorial forces had always intervened in our country whenever the people were to take over power through the democratic process. The microscopic minority which represented the vested interests of the Western Wing, had by sabotaging democracy deprived the 75 million people of Bangla Desh, as they did the oppressed masses of the Western Wing of their basic rights. In 1953 the Bengali Prime Minister was dismissed by a conspiracy of the Punjabi ruling clique. In 1954, the elected Government in East Bengal was dismissed and the Constituent Assembly itself was dismissed by the same clique. When general elections were to be held in early 1959, the vested interests of the Punjab once again struck and usurped power. Today the Punjabi ruling coterie is attempting to repeat this disgraceful history. But they should know that the awakened masses of Bangla Desh as also the oppressed masses of the Western Wing shall resist their foul conspiracies by every means possible.

"To set the record straight, I should make it clear that I had never conveyed any impression that an RTC-type of conference should be held. I had only conveyed to the President that he should come to Dacca in order to see the grave situation prevailing in Bangla Desh. As for the earlier meeting proposed by the President, we had made it clear that our pre-occupation with our Working

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Committee and Parliamentary Party meetings which had been fixed several weeks in advance would not enable us to travel to Rawalpindi at that time. Furthermore, we had pointed out that constitutional issues were best resolved within the National Assembly and its Committees rather than by secret negotiations, and that once a National Assembly had been brought into being, there was no justification for any RTC or secret parleys."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said he had recounted "all these facts" in detail to "repudiate the charge that the Awami League had in any way obstructed the transfer of power. "The majority party is certainly not the party which would stand to gain by such obstruction. It is only too clear to the people of the country and indeed the world that it is a minority group of the Western Wing which has obstructed and is continuing to obstruct the transfer of power."

He said the democratic way of life could not be established nor could power be transferred to the people if a minority group conspired with the vested interests to frustrate the democratic process. "If the democratic way of life be the ultimate casualty and if the proposed transfer of power is aborted, this minority group and those who colluded with it shall not escape responsibility".

He said: "Are these very elements not the 'handful of people' whose actions have struck grievous blows to the efforts of the elected representatives of the people to evolve a basis for living together."

Only Authority

He said today after the elections the only legitimate source of authority in the country are the elected representatives of the people. "No individual can claim authority superior to that of the elected representatives. We as the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the people of Bangla Desh assert that we are the only legitimate source of authority for Bangla Desh. Indeed by virtue of our majority position, we are the legitimate source of authority for the whole country."

The events of the last seven days have shown that all branches of Government functioning throughout Bangla Desh have accepted us as the source of legitimate authority and have carried out our directives.

"Today, the President and the Government at Islamabad should acknowledge this basic fact. It would, therefore, be in consonance with the declared wishes of the people of Bangla Desh that no one should interfere with the exercise of authority by the elected representatives of the people.

No National Assembly at Gunpoint

"This brings us to the question of the sitting of the National Assembly announced for the 25th March." The Awami League President said: "We had ourselves time and again asserted the urgency in respect of an early sitting but today a grave and abnormal situation has been created. A virtual reign of terror has been created in pursuance of the policy of military confrontation of the civilian population of Bangla Desh."

He said the Members of the National Assembly could not be expected to discharge their duties in 'an atmosphere of terror.'

"So long as this state of confrontation as also the inflow of army personnel and arms from the Western Wing continues, so long as an atomsphere of repression is maintained, so long as there are daily reports of military firing upon civilians in different parts of Bangla Desh, the members from Bangla Desh could hardly be expected to contemplate participating in the National Assembly at gunpoint," he said.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Measures Suggested

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "If the President sincerely desired that the National Assembly, as the sovereign body of the elected representatives of the people, should function then the following measures must immediately be adopted:

(*a*) Immediate withdrawal or all military personnel to their barracks;

(*b*) Immediate cessation of firing upon civilians, so that not a single bullet is fired with immediate effect;

(*c*) Immediate cessation of the military build-up and the heavy inflow of military personnel from the Western Wing;

(*d*) Non-interference by the military authorities in the different branches of the Government functioning in Bangla Desh and direction to desist from victimisation of Government officers and employees;

(*e*) Maintenance of law and order to be left exclusively to the police and Bengali EPR assisted, wherever necessary, by Awami League volunteers;

(*f*) Immediate withdrawal of Martial Law; and

(*g*) Immediate transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people".

He said if the 'military confrontation' is continued: 'let there be no doubt that no National Assembly can ever function'.

People's Determination

The Awami League President said: "Our people have already proclaimed to the world that they shall no longer allow themselves to be exploited as a colony or a market. They have expressed their determination to be the free citizens of a free country. Our economy must be saved from ruination. Our toiling masses are to be saved from stravation, disease and unemployment. The millions in the cyclone-ravaged areas are yet to be rehabilitated.

"*If the ruling coteries seek to frustrate these aspirations, the people are ready for a long and sustained struggle for their emancipation. We pledge to lead this struggle and ultimately to attain for the people their cherished goal of emancipation for which so many martyrs have shed their blood and made the supreme sacrifice of their lives. The blood of these martyrs shall not go in vain.*

"The first phase of our struggle has been launched. Our heroic masses have displayed indomitable courage and determination. They have braved bullets and violated curfews in a planned manner. I also congratulate our people, and our Awami League volunteers, who have frustrated the designs of agent provocateurs and anti-social elements to create communal tension between different religious groups and between Bengalis and so-called 'non-Bengalis'.

"*I once again reaffirm that every person living in Bangla Desh is a Bengali and that his person, property and honour are our sacred trust and must at any cost be protected. We are proud to note that since our volunteers have undertaken the task of vigilance and patrol, there have been no untoward incidents*".

"Our struggle must continue. The objective of the present phase of the struggle is the immediate termination of Martial Law and the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. Till this objective is attained, our non-violent, non-co-operation movement must continue."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MUJIB GIVES I0-POINT PROGRAMME

Statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 7, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of the Awami League today announced a week-long programme from to-morrow.

In a statement, the Awami League Chief said the non-violent and non-co-operation movement would continue till the objectives—the immediate termination of Martial Law and transfer of power to the elected representatives—were achieved. He said our struggle must continue.

The programme would be:

1. No-tax campaign to continue.

2. The Secretariat, Government and semi-Government offices, High Courts and other courts throughout Bangla Desh should observe hartals. Appropriate exemption shall be announced from time to time.

3. Railway and ports may function, but railway workers and port workers should not co-operate if railways or ports are used for mobilisation of forces for the purpose of carrying out repression against the people.

4. Radio, Television and newspapers shall give complete versions of our statements and shall not supress news about the people's movement, otherwise Bangalees working in these establishments shall not co-operate.

5. Only local and inter-district trunk telephone communication shall function.

6. All educational institutions shall remain closed.

7. Banks shall not effect remittances to the Western Wing either through the State Bank or otherwise.

8. Black flags shall be hoisted on all buildings every day.

9. Hartal is withdrawn in all other spheres but complete or partial hartal may be declared at any moment depending upon the situation.

10. A Sangram Parishad (Council of Action) should be organised in each union, mahallah, thana, sub-division and district under the leadership of the local Awami League units.

Announcing the programme, of action, Sheikh Mujib said the transport service would be allowed to function. In this connection he referred to railway, rickshaw and transports.

He said the banks could remain open for two hours for cash transactions for disbursing salaries, but "not a single farthing can be transferred to West Pakistan." The factory owners must pay off the salaries of their workers.

Sheikh Mujib asked the Radio, Television and newspapers to faithfully report the events and the movements. "If our news are not reported, Bengalis should not attend to their duties."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MUJIB ASKS PEOPLE TO OBEY HIS COMPANIONS DURING HIS ABSENCE

MEETING AT RAMNA RACE COURSE ON MARCH 7, 1971

Special Prayers Held for Martyrs

Special prayer was offered at the historic Ramna Race Course today for the peace of the souls of the martyrs who laid down their lives in the current movement for the realisation of their rights.

The prayer was led by Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish, MNA-elect and former President of East Pakistan Awami League, before Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had announced the action programme on the struggle of seven crore Bengalis for their economic political and social rights.

Sheikh Sahib arrived at the meeting wearing his usual dress—Punjabi pajama and Bangla bandhu coat.

The proceedings of the meeting began with the recitation of verses from the Holy Quran. Student leaders, a few prominent party MNAs of both East Pakistan Student League and the Dacca University Central Students Union and two sons of Sheikh Sahib (Mustafa Jamal and Mustafa Kamal) sat on the dais.

Sheikh Sahib looked very grave and in his 18-minute speech his voice was choked with emotion.

A hush fell as soon as Sheikh Sahib stood up to deliver his speech. The vast gathering listened to his speech in pin-drop silence with great expectation to know what he would ask them to do. The silence of the meeting was broken frequently by slogans.

The vast gathering raised their hands in unison to signify their support and approval when the Sheikh wanted to know whether they were ready to make sacrifice for the achievement of their rights.

Sheikh Sahib appealed to Bengalis to obey the directive of his companions if they did not find him (Sheikh Mujib) in their midst during the movement.

His 18-minute speech began exactly at 3.2 p.m.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

MANY LEADERS SUPPORT MUJIB'S FOUR DEMANDS

BHUTTO'S INTRANSIGENCE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR CRISIS

Statement issued on March 7, 1971 by Mian Nizamuddin Haider, MNA-elect and a leader of the Bahawalpur United Front, etc.

Mian Nizamuddin Haider, MNA-elect and a leader of the Bahawalpur United Front, has expressed full support for the four demands putforth by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and urged the Government to accept them so that the present grave political crisis can be resolved.

In a statement issued last night he said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was one of the greatest patriots and believed in one united Pakistan. He said he had a long association with Awami League Chief and knew that he (Mujib) was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

solidly behind the concept of solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. He said attribution of unwarranted motives to his political struggle for the rights of the peoples was the work of those who were jealous of this tremendous popularity with the masses and were annoyed because they found their ambitions for coming into power frustrated.

Referring to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's complaint that he had been completely neglected by the Government while taking important decisions was fully justified as he was the leader of the majority party in the country. "In the present circumstances he is the only man who can keep Pakistan together and I appeal to people to rally around Sheikh Mujibur Rahman" he said.

Lahore

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, West Wing Chief of the Pakistan Democratic Party, urged the President, Gen. A. M. Yahya Khan, here today to go to East Pakistan to thrash out and settle national issues with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other patriotic leaders.

He also urged lawyers, students, other intellectuals and labour leaders to make spirited efforts for holding a national convention in which the solution of major national problems was found out.

He said in a Press statement that the conditional participation of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the National Assembly Session on March 25 might be differed with, but it was not unexpected.

* * * *

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said in a democratic country people were the foundation-head of power. Unfortunately, however, a politician, to stress upon the importance of his party, had not hesitated to term the Armed Forces of Pakistan as a political force in the country. He said the same leader had tried to dish out the impression by holding long meetings with those at the helm of national affairs that he influenced the political decisions of the Government. Amendment to the Legal Framework Order, postponement of the election for the women's seats from West Pakistan in the National Assembly, announcement on March 1 postponing the Session of the National Assembly convened for March 3, and lately the President's announcement refixing the date for the Session of the National Assembly on March 25 after five-six hours meeting with the same leader, were accidents which could not be ignored. And it was natural that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should have gathered a special impression from them. He warned that Pakistani people were least concerned as to who succeeded in the clash of personalities. They were simply concerned that the national solidarity was not undermined owing to this struggle. He said the event which unfolded themselves in East Pakistan during the last few days had aggravated the situation, and fears were harboured that any extreme action might be announced by the Awami League leadership. Thank God, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had allayed these fears by refraining from any extreme announcement.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, President, Punjab Council Muslim League, said we must get down to constitution-making at the earliest possible opportunity.

He said Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's demand regarding the inquiry was legitimate and it should be conducted by judicial tribunal. We must make every effort to remove any feeling of distrust in the mind of the majority party leader, he added.

He maintained that it would be advisable and proper to assist the elected majority of the country in running its affairs and restore the confidence among the people of East Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Seven Karachi Awami League leaders here urged the Government not to take any half-hearted measures and should allow the National Assembly to be held in a peaceful and congenial atmosphere.

The already tense atmosphere, they said in a statement issued here tonight, should not be allowed to grow worse.

The statement was signed by Sheikh Manzurul Haq, President, Mr. S. A. H. Bilgrami, Vice-President, Mr. W. A. Choudhury, Vice-President, Mr. Khalil Ahmed Tirmizi, General Secretary, Syed Ahson Ali, Organising Secretary, Pir Mohammad Bashir Siddiqui, Hon. Treasurer and Khwaja Abdul Malik, Publicity Secretary, all of Karachi Awami League.

The statement continued: "It is an accepted convention the world over that while convening the National Assembly of a country, the majority party is consulted in this respect and all other affairs concerning the nation, but in Pakistan inspite of repeated advices of the Awami League, the National Assembly was not convened for two long months after the general elections. On the other hand, the Assembly was convened on March 3 at the advice of PPP which is a minority party having nearly 1/4 members of the total strength and was postponed when it so demanded. When the democracy-loving people of East Pakistan protested against the decision of postponement, action was taken against them.

"As against this, when there were similar protests organised by PPP on the question of Pakistan Progressive Papers affairs, international hockey tournament, Indian plane hijacking, not even lathi charge was resorted to."

"We whole-heartedly support the four demands put forward by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman since he should be repository of all power in the country in view of the mandate given to him by the thumping majority of Pakistan".

* * * *

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 8, 1971)

MAJORITY PARTY ALONE CAN FRAME CONSTITUTION

SAYS MAULANA BHASHANI

NAP Chief's announcement at a public meeting on March 9, 1971

The NAP Chief, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bashani, told a big public meeting at Paltan Maidan this afternoon that the majority party alone is authorised to frame the country's constitution in a democracy.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 10, 1971)

MUJIB'S DIRECTIVE—EXEMPTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

ANNOUNCEMENT BY Mr. TAJUDDIN AHMAD

General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League on March 9, 1971

The following exemptions and clarifications were issued pursuant to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's directive, according to Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(1) Banks: shall remain open for banking operations from 9 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. and for administrative purposes upto 3 p.m. Banks shall only open for deposits, inter-bank clearance within Bangla Desh and cash transactions for the following purposes:

(*a*) Payment of wages and salaries as in previous week.

(*b*) Bonafide personal drawings of upto Rs. 1,000.

(*c*) For purchase of industrial raw materials necessary for running mills and factories, including sugarcane for sugar mills, jute for jute mills, etc.

(2) No remittances shall be effected outside Bangla Desh either through State Bank or otherwise.

(3) State Bank: shall only remain open for the purpose of enabling above banking operations to be carried out and not for any other purpose.

(4) EPWAPDA: only such sections shall remain open as are necessary for supply of electricity.

(5) EPADC: only for the purpose of ensuring supply of fertiliser and diesel to power pumps.

(6) Coal supplies should be effected for brickfields, and jute seeds and rice seeds distribution should be effected.

(7) Movement of food supplies should be maintained.

(8) Treasury and A.G. office shall remain open to pass challans only for any of the purposes mentioned above.

(9) Relief and rehabilitation work in the cyclone-affected areas should continue.

(10) Post and telegraph offices: only for the purpose of letters, telegrams and money orders within Bangla Desh, but Press telegrams may be sent outside Bangla Desh. Post office savings bank shall remain open.

(11) EPRTO: shall function throughout Bangla Desh.

(12) Supply of water and gas shall be maintained.

(13) Health and sanitation services shall be maintained.

(14) Police shall carry out the duty of maintenance of law and order assisted if necessary by Awami League volunteers.

(15) Semi-Government bodies other than those exempted shall continue to observe hartal.

(16) All exemptions granted in the previous week shall remain in force.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 10, 1971)

DACCA SITUATION RETURNING TO NORMALCY

Press report on March 10, 1971

Law and order situation all over the province improved and normalcy returned back following Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's appeal for peace. No untoward events was reported from any quarter.

The Army was already withdrawn to the barracks from the Dacca City.

All sorts of communications including PLA, railways and riverways have resumed their services and the vehicles started plying on the city roads.

Meanwhile, the Awami League volunteers in groups all over the province are working for the maintenance of law and order. At night, they patrol different parts of the city to protect properties from the hands of miscreants and anti-social elements.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On Sunday, a number of processions carrying portraits of Sheikh Mujib and armed with sticks and lathis paraded the roads and marched towards Ramna where Sheikh Mujib addressed a rally. They shouted slogans and reamined peaceful.

After the meeting mill workers and processionists dispersed peacefully.

No Police personnel were deputed in the city area throughout the day.

Black Flags

Black flags were hoisted yesterday atop private houses, educational institutions, business establishments and many offices in response to a call given by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at the Ramna Race Course maidan yesterday in protest against the firing during the disturbances in the current movement.

All means of transport also flew miniature black flags. The members of the public belonging to all the ages wore black ribbons.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 10, 1971)

KEEP ECONOMY IN FULL GEAR IN THE NAME OF BANGLA DESH : TAJUDDIN

Statement issued on March 11, 1971

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad, General-Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League, in a statement last night said the "people's movement has attained unprecedented heights."

This, he said, had been possible "because every person in his own sphere has taken it as his sacred duty to implement, in spirit and in substance, all the directives of Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman issued in the name of the people of Bangla Desh."

Mr. Tajuddin added: "The high sense of responsibility displayed by people in all walks of life is a source of inspiration to all. While the struggle must continue, we have to exert all our energies to maximise production and to keep our economy in full gear.

"We are determined to foil the conspiracy of the vested interests and the anti-people forces to destroy our economy and to inflict suffering on our hungry masses. In order to do so, our people must be prepared to give of their best in all spheres of production.

"They must at the same time be prepared to practise a high degree of austerity. All those engaged in economic activities must subject themselves to rigorous discipline in every respect for the victory of the people's cause."

More Exemptions

He said keeping the above objectives in view the following further exemptions and clarifications are being issued:

Banks: In supersession of all previous exemptions and clarifications relating to banks it is provided as follows:

(1) Banks shall remain open for banking operations from 9 a.m. to 12 noon and for administrative purposes till 4 p.m. (with the usual recess periods). But on Fridays and Saturdays banks shall remain open for banking operations from

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

9 a.m. to 11 a.m. and for administrative purposes till 12-30 p.m. Balancing of books and all usual working practices shall be observed in respect of permittep transactions.

(2) Banks shall carry on their operations including receiving deposits of any amount, inter-bank clearances without any limit within Bangla Desh and inter-bank transfers within Bangla Desh and drawings by T.T. or mail transfers within East Pakistan subject to the following restrictions:

(*i*) Payments of wages and salaries provided all pay bills duly certified by a representative of the workers organisation concerned or the wage register is presented along with he cheque.

(*ii*) Bona fide personal drawings of put Rs. 1,000 in a week.

(*iii*) Payment for purchases of industrial raw materials including sugarcane for sugar mills, jute for jute mills, etc.

The statement said payment up to a limit of Rs. 10,000 in a week for a bona fide commercial purpose, including purchase of all commodities was required by consumers in Bangla Desh. This amount may be drawn in cash or by cash draft. But before making payments the bank shall satisfy itself from past records that the drawer is a bona fide industrial or commercial organisation or trader and the amount being drawn is not in excess of his normal average drawings in a week during the past one year.

(3) The crossed cheques and crossed demand drafts may by issued and deposited in any account within Bangla Desh.

(4) Teleprinter service operated by the banking system within Bangla Desh shall resume operation.

(5) The National Bank of Pakistan shall continue its entire discounting function throughout Bangla Desh in order to enable other banks to meet their demands.

(6) Foreign travellers cheques may be encashed by any authorised dealer.

(7) Diplomats may freely operate their accounts and foreign nationals may operate their foreign exchange accounts.

(8) There shall be no operation of lockers.

(9) No remittances shall be effected outside Bangla Desh either through the State Bank or otherwise.

He said the State Bank shall observe the same banking and office hours as other banks and shall remain open for the purpose of taking all necessary steps for the smooth functioning of the banking system in Bangla Desh within the framework of the restrictions defined above.

Farm Activities

(1) "P" forms may be sanctioned.

Agricultural activities: Procurement, movement and distribution of paddy and jute seeds, fertilizers and pesticide shall continue and agricultural farms and the rice research institute and all its projects shall function.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(2) Movement, distribution, fielding and operation of power pumps and other mechanised implements and equipments along with the necessary supply of oil, fuel, tools and plants shall continue.

(3) Sinking and operation of tube-well and their irrigation systems including canal operation shall continue.

(4) Operation of agricultural credit by the East Pakistan Co-operative Bank, central co-operative banks and their affiliated agencies and the Thana Central Co-operative Association shall continue.

(5) Distribution of interest free loan in the cyclone-affected areas and other essential items to farmers by the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan and other banks shall be effected.

Flood control and town protection: The execution of flood control, town protection and water development works of EPWAPDA and other agencies including operation and repair of dredgers and mechanical equipment and movement of materials and connected urgent works may be carried on.

Ports including inland ports, port authorities in all respects including pilotage: Only such sections of office of the port authorities shall function as are necessary for smooth handling of incoming and outgoing ships except that no co-operation shall be extended for mobilisation of forces or for materials which may be utilised for repression against the people.

EPIDC functions: All EPIDC factories shall function and shall endeavour to maximise production sections of EPIDC required for financing and purchases necessary for running the factories shall function.

Relief and rehabilitation shall function, day labourers engaged in development work shall continue to receive payments due to them for work done.

Payment of wages: Employees and some of Government and semi-Government institutions who are paid on a daily, weekly or fortnightly basis shall be paid their wages and salaries as and when it becomes due. Flood relief advances already sanctioned and arrear of salaries shall be paid to all Government, semi-Government employees. Necessary sections in the Government or semi-Government offices concerned shall function for the purpose of disbursing salaries.

Primary school teachers shall be given timely payment of their salaries and necessary sections of offices shall have a skeleton staff for clearance of pay bills and for the purpose of the transactions authorised by the directives issued today and previously. Jailers, jail warders and jail office shall function. Ansars shall continue to discharge their duties. Electricity and water supply section necessary for repair and maintenance shall function. All insurance companies shall function.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MINORITY GROUPS BACK AWAMI LEAGUE'S FOUR-POINT DEMAND—PLEA FOR INTERIM GOVERNMENTS AT CENTRE AND PROVINCES

REPORT OF THE MEETING HELD ON MARCH 13, 1971 AT LAHORE BY MINORITY GROUPS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Delegation to see President Yahya and Sheik Mujib

The minority groups in the National Assembly at a meeting held here today accepted in principle, the four-point demand of Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rahman, and demanded that interim governments should be set up at the Centre and in the Provinces before the commencement of the Assembly Session on March 25.

The meeting which was convened and presided over by Maulana Mufti Mahmud, leader of the Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam Parliamentary Party, was attended among others by Council League leaders, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani of Jamiatul Ulema-i-Pakistan, Prof. Abdul Ghafoor of Jamaat-i-Islami, Mr. Jamal Mohammad Koreja of the Convention League, and Independent MNAs, Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari and Sardar Maula Bux Soomro.

The Wali Khan NAP was not represented at the meeting but the Convener, Maulana Mufti Mahmud claimed that the decisions of the conference enjoyed their backing. Qayyum Muslim League was the only minority party, which was conspicuous by its absence.

Delegation to see Yahya

The meeting decided that a delegation, headed by Mufti Mahmud, should at the earliest possible time call on President Yahya to discuss the mechanics of transfer of power.

The delegation would also meet Sheikh Mujib in the same connection.

The meeting felt that the two demands of Sheikh Mujib, namely withdrawal of military to their barracks and judicial enquiry into the firings in East Pakistan should be accepted without any delay. As regards the demands for the immediate lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to the elected representatives, "it is a unanimous demand of the entire nation and has been the consistent effort, as it should be crowning achievement of the President of Pakistan".

But in the altered circumstances and in view of the gravity of the developments, a speedier process of bringing this about, as suggested by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, must be effectively considered, the meeting felt.

May see Bhutto also

Asked if the meeting itself discussed some mechanics for the withdrawal of Martial Law and transfer of power. Mufti Mahmud said a number of proposals were considered at the meeting but he would announce only that which would be agreed upon by the President and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Replying to a question, Mufti Mahmud said the delegation would also meet the People's Party Chairman, Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto if needed. In fact, he added, the question of the withdrawal of Martial Law and transfer of power was to be decided by the Government and the majority party.

Written statement

Mufti Mahmud also gave a written statement to the Press which said: "In the present crisis which threatens the very being of Pakistan, the single and sole concern of every partriot must be to preserve and guarantee the existence and solidarity of Pakistan.

"There can be no Pakistan, nor can the concept of Pakistan have an ideological validity or practical credibility without the unity of the people of East and West Pakistan. The only basis, source and assurance of this unity is the free will to live together based on a sense of identity, comradeship, mutual justice and brotherhood. While the aspirations and interests of each part, as in fact, of every section of the people of Pakistan, are to be preserved through

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

adjustments, arguments, agreements and compromises there can be no question of threats, coercion, force or violence and any one who thinks in these terms can be no friend to our solidarity or our freedom.

"No constitutional crisis, as such, exists in Pakistan at the present moment. The elected representatives of the people have not yet, almost a hundred days after their election, even had an inaugural opportunity to meet much less to identify, discuss and thrash out the issues of their common and agreed destiny. In the meantime, the leader of the majority party of the people of Pakistan in the National Assembly has given the clearest assurance of an atmosphere of free unprejudiced discussion, and a conviction wholly open to argument.

"Compromises insisted upon and arrived at outside the floor of the house and concealed from the scrutiny and vigilance of the people, can have no relevance to constitutional settlement, although they may have to arrangements for sharing power.

Tragic Developments

"The disturbing developments of the past fortnight have been tragic. They may have given rise to apprehensions and suspicions that undemocratic manipulations may be on foot to negate the verdict of the people, to obstruct the process of transfer of power to the people, and to deprive the majority party its weight and effectiveness. We, the representatives of the political parties and MNAs of West Pakistan assembled in this meeting wish to announce without reserve, that if there is ever such a manipulation, we will stand resolutely by the side of our brothers from East Pakistan to resist and defeat it.

"*We, however, feel that a great part of the present crisis is due to misunderstandings. We feel that the immediate step that must be taken is for the President of Pakistan to proceed to Dacca, and to remove all these misunderstandings, apprehensions and suspicions in frank and cordial talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.*

"In spite of the disastrous gravity of the situation in East Pakistan, of the tremendous heat and pressure generated there and the scope thus given to disruptive forces, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has shown his stature and his firm commitment to the solidarity of Pakistan, by putting in the present crisis four demands that are not in the least parochial or regional, but exclusively based on a national approach.

"We are of the convinced opinion that the Awami League's demand about judicial enquiry into the firings in East Pakistan, and the withdrawal of the military to their quarters should be accepted at once. The demand for the immediate lifting of Martial Law and the transfer of authority to the elected representatives of the people is a unanimous demand of the entire nation, and has been the consistent effort as it should be crowning achievement of the President of Pakistan. The National Assembly of Pakistan has been elected and was poised to speedily bring about this very result. But in the altered circumstances and in view of the gravity of possible developments, a speedier process of bringing this about, if and as suggested by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman must be effectively considered. Whatever the solution arrived at in this respect, we feel that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the leader of the majority in the National Assembly should be called upon to form a Government interim to the framing and promulgation of a new Constitution. All these steps must be expeditiously taken, so that the National Assembly Session duly takes place on the 25th March, 1971 as scheduled.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Request to President

"So that we can effectively convey the solidarity of the people of West Pakistan with their brothers and fellow-citizens in East Pakistan, as well as express our deepest concern about the urgency of immediately resolving the present crisis and discuss our views with respect to the ways and means of doing so, we request the President of Pakistan to grant an immediate interview to a delegation of the parties and MNAs represented in this meeting. For the same purpose we propose that a similar delegation should, proceed to Dacca and meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

"We call upon the people of West Pakistan to express, by all democratic means, their commitment to the integral solidarity of Pakistan and their consecrated sense of comradeship and identity with their blood brothers in faith and destiny, namely the people of East Pakistan.

"*At the same time, we know that the leaders of East Pakistan will continue to inculcate, as they have done already, a spirit of restraint and moderation and show as Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has done in his statements, their attachment to the indivisible unity and solidarity of Pakistan.*"

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 14, 1971)

MUJIB'S DEMANDS REASONABLE, SAYS DAULTANA

Statement by MIAN MUMTAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN DAULTANA, Chief of the Council Muslim League on March 13, 1971 at Lahore

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Chief of the Council Muslim League, observed here today that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's demands were quite reasonable and should be accepted to end the present political crisis in Pakistan.

Speaking in support of the resolution adopted at the meeting of the leaders of minority parties in the National Assembly, he said the crisis that existed before March 3 was political and constitutional, but the present situation had thrown the very existence of Pakistan into jeopardy.

He maintained that if Mr. Z. A. Bhutto had adopted his present attitude earlier, the country would not have faced the present crisis.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 14, 1971)

JAMAAT LEADER BLAMES BHUTTO FOR PRESENT CRISIS

Press statement by SYED SIDDIQUL HASAN GILANI, Chief of the Parliamentary Affairs of the Jamaat-i-Islami on March 13, 1971 at Lahore

Syed Siddiqul Hasan Gilani, Chief of the Parliamentary Affairs of the Jamaati-Islami, said here today that the responsibility for the present crisis lay with Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, the People's Party Chief, who had aggravated the situation by threatening to boycott the National Assembly session on March 3.

In a Press statement here today, he maintained that the present constitutional deadlock had been created by the PPP Chief after his failure to get any share in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Government at the Centre.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The dispute, which was basically between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Bhutto, he said, had now brought the two Wings of the country in confrontation.

The country's unity and integrity was now being threatened seriously while the PPP leaders were trying to "hoodwink the people on one pretext or the other and hiding their intrigues against the country".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 14, 1971)

CIVILIAN STAFF OF DEFENCE IN EAST WING ORDERED TO JOIN DUTY

Martial Law Orders issued on March 13, 1971

All Civil employees paid out of defence estimates in East Pakistan have been ordered to resume their duties on Monday, according to Radio Pakistan.

A Martial Law Order issued by the Headquarters of the Martial Law Administrator Zone "B" in Dacca yesterday says those who fail to comply with the order are liable to get their services terminated. They may also be tried as absconders by Military Courts.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 14, 1971)

TRANSFER OF POWER TO AWAMI LEAGUE AND PPP IN THE TWO WINGS

BHUTTO'S DEMAND IN CASE OF PRE-CONSTITUTION CHANGES

Speech by Mr. Z. A. BHUTTO on March 14, 1971, at Nishtar Park, Karachi

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party said in Karachi yesterday that if power was to be transferred to the people before any constitutional settlement, as demanded by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, it should be transferred to the majority party in East Pakistan "and the majority party here".

Addressing a public meeting in Nishtar Park here, the P.P.P. leader said that there were two Wings of the country. The People's Party was in majority in this Wing and the Awami League in East Pakistan.

If power was to be transferred to the majority parties of the two Wings, it should be given to the Awami League in East Pakistan and to People's Party in West Wing.

Mr. Bhutto strongly advocated for "one Pakistan". He said that how democratic principles were applicable to a country divided into two parts. In the situation of Pakistan with the background of Six-Point demand, the majority parties of both the Wings of the country have to arrive at a general settlement, Mr. Bhutto said.

He added that the rule of majority for the whole country would become applicable only if the Six-Point demand was dropped. Since that is not being

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

done, the rationale and logic of this Six-Point demand necessitates agreement of the majority parties of both the Wings, he added.

Mr. Bhutto, in his 85-minute speech, dealt in detail with the events following last general elections. He also spoke on the stand of his party on the constitution making.

Mr. Bhutto said the People's Party insisted that there should be an end to exploitation in both Wings of the country. This, he said, could be done only if the capitalistic pattern of society was done away with and socialism was introduced.

He said that the Awami League had shown itself against discussing outside the Assembly and its leader insisted on resolving all issues within the Assembly. In this context, Mr. Bhutto wondered why the Awami League had now come forward with four "conditions" outside the Assembly.

Utmost Efforts

He said that his party had made "utmost efforts" to arrive at some understanding and settlement with the majority party outside the Assembly on the constitutional issue. "If the Awami League is not willing to this, we are helpless", he added.

Mr. Bhutto said his party was willing to sit with the majority party in the Assembly to frame Pakistan's "comprehensive" constitution which would ensure solidarity of the country and prosperity of its people. He said he was still optimistic that there could be some settlement with Awami League on the constitutional issue.

He urged Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to ignore "advice and counsels" of those who had been rejected by the people in the last general election and even had their security deposits forfeited.

Mr. Bhutto said that the capitalists, reactionary elements and agents of imperialism were out to create misunderstanding between the two majority parties. He said he was never hesitant or reluctant to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to discuss the constitutional matters and was still prepared to go to Dacca to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

* * * *

Assurances

He said that the People's Party wanted only "assurances" from the majority party that its view point would also be heard in the Assembly. It had not laid down any preconditions for attending the Assembly. The Awami League leadership had said that there should be no preconditions outside the Assembly. He said he (Mr. Bhutto) wondered why the Awami League had now laid down four preconditions for attending the National Assembly.

Mr. Bhutto said that all he had asked for was to get more time before his party went to the Assembly. This he said, was necessary to seek the consent of the people on the Six-Point programme. The People's Party, Mr. Bhutto said, had a mandate from the people only on its foreign policy and the socialist pattern of economy.

Mr. Bhutto said that in the event of acceptance of Six-Point programme Punjab and Sind would have to meet about 80 per cent revenues of the country. Besides, the Awami League maintained that the West Wing owed Rs. 3,100 crore.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to East Wing and about Rs. 3,871 crore out of 4,000 crore rupees of foreign aid should go to East Pakistan.

He said that if his party had conceded the six-point programme against the wishes of the people of West Pakistan, the electorate in this Wing would have been justified in impeaching the P.P.P. for this action.

Confrontation

Mr. Bhutto said, the People's Party would have to forego its confrontation with India policy on the Kashmir issue if the provinces were vested with powers to have trade relations with foreign countries under the Six-Point programme.

* * * *

Mr. Bhutto said that with Awami League on the one side wanting more or less independence and the People's Party on the other side wanting an end to the exploitation, an extreme crisis was inevitable. This crisis, Mr. Bhutto said, had erupted now because the difference had come to surface. He said that this crisis had to be faced at some stage whether outside the Assembly or inside the house after that. He said that it was better that we should face this crisis right now. It would assume a more serious nature if the crisis was deferred.

Trade and aid

Mr. Bhutto said that his party had not adopted an uncomprising attitude on the six-point programme. His party was trying its best to narrow down the differences on each and every point of the programme. The only debatable point was foreign trade and foreign aid.

* * * * *

Mr. Bhutto dismissed outright the Awami League's allegation that the date of National Assembly's Session was set by President General Yahya Khan after consulting him. He swore by 'Kalima' and his children, that President Yahya Khan did not consult him about the convening of the National Assembly Session.

* * * *

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 15, 1971)

PRESIDENT URGED TO VISIT EAST WING

Report of Press Conference by NAWAB AKBAR KHAN BUGTI
The Baluch Political Leader on March 14, 1971
Bugti Slates Bhutto

The Baluch political leader, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, today called upon President Yahya Khan to transfer power immediately to the leader of the majority party, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, before the commencement of the National Assembly Session.

He expressed the view that President Yahya should leave for Dacca at the earliest to have a threadbare discussion with the Awami League leader over the constitutional crisis. If the President could meet a minority party leader, Mr. Bhutto, quite a few times, during the last sweek, there was no reasons why he should not see the majority party chief, he added.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Addressing a Press Conference, Mr. Bugti said he had had thorough discussion with the East Pakistani Leaders during his recent visit to Dacca and had found that Maulana Bhashani was the only leader who advocated separation of East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib was interested in keeping the country united, but also believed that the rights of all the nationalities should be safeguarded and secured. The people and the leaders of the Eastern Wing felt that vested interests, Mr. Bhutto and other forces wanted to drive them out.

Mr. Bugti added: "When Sheikh Mujib can rule the whole country why should he be content with only half of it".

He said that all the four demands of Sheikh Mujib should be accepted. So far as the mechanism of the transfer of power was concerned, it could be based on any Constitution—even on the Act of 1935.

Baluchistan's Earnings

Replying to a question about the future prospects of Baluchistan, he said at present Baluchistan was earning only Rs. 5.5 crores—as against the annual expenditure of Rs. 12 crores. This was because major sources of income were with the centre. According to him, the new Province could earn Rs. 12 crores annually from Sui gas and another two crores from the minerals like Coal and Gypsum. Last year, the Province earned foreign exchange worth about Rs. 2.75 crores by exporting shrimp. That would mean that Baluchistan would be the richest Province after some time.

He said Baluchistan was interested in having a modern port—a free port, which would be of great economic benefit to the Province.

He said the first bill which the Baluchistan Government would pass soon after it was set up would be about abolition of Sardari System in the Province.

Bhutto Criticised

The Baluch leader alleged that Mr. Bhutto had not even touched upon constitutional problem during his parleys with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, but had confined his talks only "to sharing power at the Centre".

He said in fact, the meeting between Mr. Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib lasted only for 40 minutes and after that it was just a formality. The boat trip was just a joy ride.

He said Mr. Bhutto had demanded from Awami League Chief that the portfolio of foreign affairs should be given to him. He did not even ask for the draft Constitution of the Awami League.

Answering a question, he said that he had gathered this information from some quarters in East Pakistan and had got it "confirmed from People's Party quarters with whom we have contact".

Contrast

He charged that Mr. Bhutto did not believe in democracy, was a product of dictatorship and would go to the extent of even breaking up the unity of the country to come into power. Mr. Bhutto, he alleged, would like to be the Prime Minister of Pakistan, but if that was not possible, he would be contented with the Premiership of West Pakistan.

He said that Mr. Bhutto would prove to be "worse and more ruthless than former President Ayub Khan" so much so that people would talk of Ayub nostalgically.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said Mr. Bhutto had never advocated for parliamentary democracy. He had demanded the removal of Ayub Khan—only to succeed him under an atocratic presidential set-up.

Mr. Bugti also held "Mr. Bhutto responsible for recent bloodshed, sorrow and grief in Bangla Desh" and said that the latter would stand convicted before the bar of public opinion.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 15, 1971)

MAJORITY RULE FOR INTERIM PERIOD UNDER M. L. COVER : SARFRAZ

Press statement on March 14, 1971 at Lahore

Maj-Gen (rtd) Sarfraz Khan, Vice-President of the Pakistan Democratic Party, has suggested the formation of an interim representative Government at the Centre by the leader of the majority party "under the overall umbrella of Martial Law".

In a Press statement here today, he urged that the gravity of the situation called for a fresh approach to discover a formula that would go "far enough to meet the maximum of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's four-point demands and dispel the doubts gripping the minds of our East Pakistani brethren".

He said the political situation in the country today was critical but not desperate. It was now generally agreed that the constitutional tangle could best be resolved within the precincts of the National Assembly.

The present impasse, however, was due to a lurking suspicion in the minds of the Awami League leadership that a conspiracy was afoot to deprive it of its legitimate claim to assume power and form the Government and also, to a feeling of wounded pride—a wound inflicted by the postponement of the Assembly Session without prior consultation with the Awami League Chief. It would be quite futile to lament now over past acts of omission and commission.

The retired General said the status of the Awami League as the majority party, with an undeniable right to form the Government and run the affairs of the State, in a manner befitting a majority party in a democratic system, was universally recognised throughout Pakistan. So was their claim to economic regeneration of the East Wing. But he added both the Wings were marching on the same road to a common destination of economic amelioration, and there was no reason why they should not be able to march in step with each other.

He said two of the four demands by Sheikh Sahib, namely, the withdrawal of the troops to the barracks and the holding of an inquiry into the unfortunate incidents of firing should be implemented without any hesitation.

The PDP leader said he wholeheartedly supported the demand for the transfer of power to the people's representatives, but how to do it was the crucial problem. To do it under the 1951 Constitution, after necessary amendments, was one feasible method. "But, should it raise new problems and generate new conflicts, then there is no point in turning about to the start line to embark on a new errand, eventually to land up in a quagmire of fresh confusion and chaos. An alternative solution could be the arrangement of a working formula with the Martial Law authorities to cater for the maximum control of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

civil administration by the representatives of the people. This would be an interim arrangement until the constitution was framed and the power finally transferred in full measures to the majority party. Similarly, interim Governments should be set up in the provinces, inviting the leaders of the majority parties to form the Government in respective provinces. The interim arrangements, however, should be simple and workable and should not in any way detract or deviate from the all-important task of framing a durable constitution, he added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 15, 1971)

EARLY TRANSFER OF POWER URGED BHUTTO BLAMED FOR CRISIS

HISTORY WILL NEVER FORGIVE BHUTTO

Report of BEGUM TAHIRA MASOOD's speech on March 14, 1971

Begum Tahira Masood, a leader of the Bahawalpur United Front has urged immediate lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

Addressing a public meeting, organised by the BUF, here today, she severely critised Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, for what he described as his provocative statements and undemocratic attitude due to which she thought, the country had come to such a pass. History she said, would never forgive Mr. Bhutto for creating this political crisis.

Begum Tahira Masood also assured Sheikh Mujibur Rahman full support of the 32 lakh people of Bahawalpur, for all reasonable demands of the people of East Pakistan.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 15, 1971)

RULE OF MAJORITY DOES NOT APPLY TO PAKISTAN PPP CANNOT BE IGNORED IN COUNTRY'S GOVERNANCE

Report of a Press Conference by Mr. Z. A. BHUTTO on March 15, 1971

Pakistan People's Party cannot be ignored in Country's Governance

Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, said here (Karachi) yesterday that the present deadlock on constitution making could not be resolved "by ignoring the wishes of the people of West Pakistan as represented by the majority party in West Wing".

He told a Press Conference here that he was not "unhopeful" of resolving the present "inherent crisis" which had now come to surface.

Mr. Bhutto said that he supported the demand for lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to the People's elected representatives. "The sooner the Martial Law is withdrawn the better", he said and added that the mechanism was yet to be worked out for this purpose. He said he did not think that there could be any difficulty resolving the present crisis.

He told a questioner that the present crisis was not new. It was there for all the times in the past but it emerged on the surface now. He said that the word "secession" was not being used after this crisis or that the new foreign

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

policy outlooks were not coming to the light after this crisis. They all existed before the current crisis, he said and added that it was now for the "two majority parties" to face this crisis and frame a lasting constitution.

Mr. Bhutto said that his party wanted that while transferring power at the Central level it should be transferred to the "two majority parties" of East and West Pakistan. "Our position is that the majority party in East Pakistan together with the majority party in West Pakistan could democratically represent the country".

Mr. Bhutto said this proposition did not in any way imply "two Pakistans and two Prime Ministers", one for each Wing. He said that he wanted a united Pakistan. He said that the common man very well understood what he meant by this contention and regretted that a section of the Press was "mischievously" distorting his standpoint. "It was misconstrued by vested interests whose ultimate aim is to disintegrate Pakistan. They now stand exposed in the eyes of the people."

Mr. Bhutto said that leaders of other political parties were giving a different meaning to his contention. The PPP enjoyed an "axiomatic position" in this behalf, he said.

Asked how he would react if the leader of the majority party in East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman gave representation at the Central level to the leaders of minority parties in West Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto said that his party "represented the will of the majority of the people of West Pakistan. If this party is excluded it will imply the will of the majority of people of this Wing has been ignored".

Geographical Distance

Mr. Bhutto reiterated that in the situation faced by Pakistan, having a geographical distance between the two parts, "the rule of majority did not apply". The majority party "must take into account in the Governance of the country, the wishes of the majority party of this Wing," he added.

Mr. Bhutto said that in the event of transfer of power to the majority party of this Wing, the PPP would "certainly give representation to the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan".

The PPP leader denied accusation against him that in his talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Dacca in January last, he discussed with him the sharing of power. He said that it was "a total lie" circulated by certain individuals who had been "most unkind" to him.

He said that if this was the position, he would have agreed to the six-point programme straight away and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman "would have been happy to accommodate him in the Government."

Mr. Bhutto said that there was no question of the PPP and its leader wanting power. "The people want us to come into power and fulfil our promises for bettering their lot."

Mr. Bhutto said that power in the Central should be transferred to the majority parties of both the Wings and in the provinces to the majority parties in the provinces.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MINORITY PARTIES LEADERS CRITICISE BHUTTO'S SPEECH

Press Report on March 16, 1971

Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan, when contacted by PPI to comment on Chairman Bhutto's Karachi speech, said he had not read it in detail so he could not make a comprehensive comment.

Nevertheless, he said he was not ready to accept that any sensible and patriotic Muslim could present a proposal envisaging the break-up of Pakistan into two countries as was evidently implied by this move to transfer power to the majority parties in the two Wings.

He said if the proposal had been correctly reported, he could say that its consequences would be far more catastrophic for the Muslims of the Sub-Continent than the tragedies that befell them at the battles of Plassey and Seringapatum. Such a proposal could only fulfil the hopes of those who were opposed to the establishment and continued existence of Pakistan. "It would please our enemies who forced a war on us in 1965", he said.

"I hope and pray he has been incorrectly reported," Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan said. He was confident that the Muslims of East as well as West Pakistan would never allow to succeed a conspiracy to tear the country to pieces.

Mian Tufail

Mian Tufail Mohammad, Acting "Amir" of the Jama'at-i-Islami said in Lahore on Sunday that the setting up of two separate governments in the two Wings of the country would be a negation of the Legal Framework Order.

Commenting on the proposal of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, chairman of the Pakistan People's Party that power in West Pakistan must be transferred to the People's Party, if it was to be transferred to the Awami League in East Pakistan, Mian Tufail Mohammad said that a division of this sort contradicted the Legal Framework Order which was promulgated only to safe guard the integrity of the country.

He said Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, by making this suggestion had clearly stated his purpose of becoming the sole ruler in West Pakistan. He said it was strange that Mr. Bhutto had now started talking about West Pakistan as a single unit. He said that the conditions prevalent in East Pakistan today were a result of the attitude adopted by Mr. Bhutto.

Hamid Sarfraz

Malik Hamid Sarfraz, General Secretary, Punjab Awami League said in Lahore on Sunday that it was shocking to learn that Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, in the course of his speech at the Karachi public meeting, had demanded that power in East and West Pakistan should be transferred to the respective majority parties—the Awami League and the People's Party.

He said: "I am dumfounded to hear that Mr. Bhutto, the erstwhile sole protagonist of the solidarity of Pakistan in his craze for power has thus virtually demanded secession of the two Wings of the country".

"I hope now the people of Pakistan shall be better equipped to comprehend the conspiracy of secession and its real author, Mr. Bhutto," he said. "I certainly believe that his move shall be forthwith rejected by the patriotic people of Pakistan" he added.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ali Asghar Shah

In Rawalpindi, Syed Ali Asghar Shah a former MNA, and President, Muslim League (Convention), Rawalpindi, said last night that the demand made by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto that power should be transferred to his party in West Pakistan and to the Awami League in East Pakistan, clearly proved that the PPP Chairman was only interested in capturing power. He said today the basic issue was how to save Pakistan. All other matters were of secondary importance. But it seems, he added, that Mr. Bhutto "could not live without being in power". He suggested that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Bhutto should settle their differences through negotiations.

Mian Nizamuddin Hyder

In Karachi, Mian Nizamuddin Hyder MNA-elect and the leader of the Bahawalpur United Front has strongly condemned Sunday's statement by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, and said the PPP Chief was now advocating "a two nation theory" for Pakistan.

Mian Hyder said the existing national crisis had taken a "serious" turn "because of the irresponsible statements of the PPP Chairman".

In a statement issued on Monday, the Bahawalpur leader pointed out that Mr. Bhutto had been endeavouring from the very beginning to share power. He observed that the latest demand of the PPP amounted to the division of the country and no Pakistani would tolerate such irresponsible statements from any quarter whatever.

In fact he pointed out the demand of Mr. Bhutto for "division of power between the two Wings amounts to the division of the country." The PPP Chief wanted "two constitutions, two governments and two countries", he remarked.

Mahmood Manto

Khawaja Mahmood Ahmad Manto, President, Council Muslim League, Rawalpindi, has bitterly criticised Mr. Bhutto's suggestion for the transfer of power to two majority parties in the country and accused the PPP Chairman of spreading chaos and confusion in the country.

In a Press statement issued in Rawalpindi yesterday, he said Mr. Bhutto wanted to grab the power even at the cost of national integrity.

Mr. Manto pointed out that the elections to the National Assembly were held for the whole country, and the Awami League had emerged as the single largest party in the whole country. Therefore, the Awami League majority could not be reduced only for East Pakistan, he added.

He said that with the suggestion made by Mr. Bhutto on Sunday in Karachi, the People's Party stood fully exposed. The people should now fully realise the dangerous designs of the PPP which was out to disintegrate the country. He said that the people had voted for the PPP not for the dismemberment of Pakistan. "The patriotic people will not allow the People's Party to endanger the solidarity of the country," he said.

Mohammad Mahmood

Mr. Mohammad Mahmood, former General Secretary of the All-Pakistan Awami League, commenting on the speech of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, said that it was for the people of the Punjab to decide whether they want one Pakistan or two Pakistans as had been advocated by the Chairman of the People's Party. The people of the Punjab had given him support and it was for them to withdraw that support if they wanted one Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In a statement, he said Mr. Bhutto stood fully exposed and so Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, both were a great obstacle in the way of transfer of power to the people, both of them wanted commitments about their share in the Government before they lent support for the Constitution-making.

Mahmudul Haque Usmani

Mr. Mahmudul Haque Usmani, Secretary-General, National Awami Party (Wali group) on Monday evening said it was most 'imperative' that 'a care-taker' government should be formed at the centre.

Addressing the party workers, he said it should be the discretion of the majority party leader to select any member of the National Assembly for inclusion in the care-taker ministry for running the administration and immediate solution of various problems confronting the nation.

Kazi Faiz Mohammad

Kazi Faiz Mohammad, senior Vice-President of the Pakistan Awami League said in Karachi on Monday that the speech delivered by PPP Chief, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto in Karachi yesterday was replete with contradictions based on a combination of 'truths and untruths'.

Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, MNA-elect and leader of the Jama'at-i-Islami Parliamentary Party on Monday evening said that Pakistan People's Party Chief Mr. Z. A. Bhutto wanted to divide the country into two parts to capture power in the Western Wing.

East Wing

Mr. Bhutto's suggestion of transferring power to both the majority parties simultaneously, evoked a sharp reaction in East Pakistan and political circles in East Pakistan said such a suggestion proved that Mr. Bhutto believed in two Pakistans.

These circles maintained that in a democracy majority party alone had the right to form the government.

There could not be two majority parties at a time in a house, they said and commented that the demand for lifting of the Martial Law and transfer of power to the majority party was perfectly democratic and also the best solution to the present crisis.

Khwaja Mohammad Safdar, General Secretary of the Punjab Zonal Council Muslim League, on Monday criticised the proposal made by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of Pakistan People's Party that the power be transferred to the two major parties in two Wings of the country.

He charged Mr. Bhutto for creating the prevalent political crisis and bringing the country on the brink of disaster.

Political Parties Leaders

A joint meeting of Karachi leaders of various political parties and members-elect of the National and Provincial Assemblies on Monday asked President Yahya Khan to take immediate steps to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people.

A resolution passed at the meeting described as "mischievous" the proposal made by the Pakistan People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto at his public meeting in Karachi on Sunday.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Syed Khalil Ahmad Tirmizi, Organising Secretary, Pakistan Awami League and Shaikh Manzurul Haq, President, City Awami League 'warned the nation' in Karachi on Monday of the 'plans of Mr. Z. A Bhutto' which, they claimed, aimed at splitting the country into two.

* * * *

Nasrullah

Nawabzada Nasrullah, President of the Pakistan Democratic Party, West Wing said in Lahore on Monday, that Mr. Bhutto's proposal for the transfer of power to the respective majority parties of the East and West Wing was absolutely contrary to democratic norms.

In a Press statement he said it was quite natural for the patriotic circles to get disturbed at Mr. Bhutto's recent suggestion.

Shamsud Doha

Mr. A. R. Shamsud Doha, General Secretary, Rawalpindi Division Awami League has said Awami League will resist all attempts endangering the integrity of the country.

Commenting on the statement of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman, PPP at Karachi in which he has said that power should be transferred to the majority party in East Pakistan and to the majority party in West Pakistan. Mr. A. R. Shamsud Doha said that Pakistan Awami League stands for the integrity and solidarity of the country at all costs.

Fateh Mohammad

Maulana Fateh Mohammad Ameer Jama'at-i-Islami Rawalpindi division has said that Mr. Z. A Bhutto, Chairman of Peoples Party is a bundle of contradictions. He was commenting on Mr. Bhutto's yesterday speech delivered in Karachi.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 16, 1971)

BHUTTO'S STAND CONTRADICTORY, SAYS ASGHAR

Statement by AIR MARSHAL ASGHAR KHAN on March 15, 1971 at Peshawar

Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan, Chief of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, here today described the People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's suggestion for transfer of power to the "majority parties" in East and West Pakistan as "most unfortunate".

Addressing members of the Peshawar District Bar Association here, he said that the suggestion was not consistent with the concept of Pakistan.

He said that Mr. Bhutto's statement was self contradictory. On the one hand, Mr. Bhutto had opposed the "grouping" of provinces in West Wing and on the other was suggesting transfer of power to the "majority party in West Pakistan". "Politically there is no West Pakistan. There are four provinces in this Wing of the country", he said.

* * * *

Air Marshal Asghar Khan described the political situation in the country as "serious", and urged the "right thinking" people to rise to the occasion, to lead the country on the "right path". He reiterated that power should be handed over to the majority party, "where it rightly belongs".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said that, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was at present "holding the Country together," because, if East Pakistan goes. West Pakistan will also disintegrate.

He felt that any attempt to "crush" the present situation in East Pakistan, would only mean postponement of the crisis. It would not be the "solution" of the problem he said.

Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan said that the people of East Pakistan wanted maximum protection of their rights and took the Six Points as a measure of their "salvation" so that they could live as free citizens of Pakistan and lead happy and contented life.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

WALI URGES TRANSFER OF POWER TO SOVEREIGN C.A.

WEST WING NO LONGER ONE POLITICAL ENTITY

Leaders Slate Bhutto—Press report on March 16, 1971

The President of National Awami Party, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, stressed here today that a "political solution" must be found to the present impasse. "Let power be transferred to the Constituent Assembly", he said talking to newsmen this morning.

The NAP President, replying to a question on the demand for transfer of power and lifting of Martial Law immediately, said power should be transferred to the Constituent Assembly which should be declared sovereign.

Asked to comment on Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's latest proposal that power should be transferred to the majority parties in East Pakistan and West Pakistan, Khan Wali Khan replied: "We would like to have clarifications whether the concept of a single State is there in his proposal." He said it should be clear that West Pakistan ceased to exist politically since July 1, 1970.

In the absence of fuller details of Mr. Bhutto's speech at Karachi yesterday political observers wondered whether by talking of two Wings as two political entities, Mr. Bhutto was not suggesting something which was diametrically opposite to the solidarity and oneness of the country. They also pointed out that Mr. Bhutto could not speak on behalf of West Pakistan as he had no standing in NWFP and Baluchistan. It is interesting that in expounding his "two-majority-party' theory Mr. Bhutto conveniently overlooked the fact that West Pakistan no longer was one political entity and was split into four provinces, these observers said.

Professor Ghulam Azam, Amir of the Jama'at-i-Islami said that it had been crystal clear from the statement of Mr. Bhutto that he did not want to see Pakistan united.

The Jama'at leader alleged that Mr. Bhutto had engaged himself in "a conspiracy" immediately after the last general elections to divide the nation to fulfil his desire.

He made an appeal to the President "not to help Mr. Bhutto in any way to break Pakistan".

Prof. Azam said that immediate lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people could only save the nation from crisis.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Maulana Siddique Ahmad, Secretary General of Pakistan Central Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam and Nizam-i-Islam Party, has demanded that the PPP Chief "be tried for attempting to disintegrate the country by his mischievous activities".

In a Press statement here tonight the Maulana said that Mr. Bhutto had in his latest statement demanded the distribution of power between the majority party of the respective Wings, but it was his dangerous role that had brought the present impasse for the nation.

He said that Mr. Bhutto has "no right to poke his nose in the present critical situation".

Maulana Siddique said that the only solution to the present crisis was to transfer power to the majority party leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman after accepting his four-point demands, "and for that purpose, President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman were the two parties involved". Mr. Bhutto is in no way connected with it, he added.

Dubious Stand

Mr. Mukhlesuzzaman, an ex-MNA and Secretary General of Gono Oaiya Andolon said that Mr. Bhutto had once again exposed himself by his "dubious stand on Bangla Desh. The people of Bangla Desh would not accept him any more", he added.

He said that Mr. Bhutto had no right to speak for whole of Western Wing having majority in Sind and Punjab only.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

YAHYA URGED TO END DEADLOCK—BHUTTO'S PROVOCATIVE ATTITUDE SLATED

Report of a Joint meeting of the Various Politial Parties on March 15, 1971

The joint meeting of various political parties yesterday strongly condemned the theory of the People's Party Chief, Mr. Bhutto, of "Two Pakistan" and added that the terminology of West Pakistan used by him does not exist.

The joint meeting, held at the residence of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, Parliamentary Leader of Jamait-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan, lasted for three hours and was attended by representatives and MNAs and MPAs of all political parties except the People's Party. Maulana Mustafa Azhari, MNA-elect and a leader of the JUP presided.

The meeting, through a resolution, resolved that Mr. Bhutto was in majority in Punjab while his claim of commanding majority in Sind will be exposed very soon. The meeting condemned his "hostile and provocative attitude" at his public meeting at Lahore last month and his threats of boycotting Assembly session.

The way in which he created a deadlock has been fully exposed in his speech at Nishtar Park and his ambitions and objectives have also been exposed, it said.

Plea to Yahya

The meeting appealed to President Yahya Khan to reject outright the "mischievous" theory of Mr. Bhutto and urged him to take concrete steps for the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people, in accordance with democratic principles.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The meeting said that the President should try to remove the deadlock since the national life is being badly affected.

* * * *

Prominent among those who attended the meeting were Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed, MNA-elect and leader of the parliamentary group of Jama'at-i-Islami, Mr. Khalil Tirmizi (Awami League), Mr. G. A. Madani, MPA-elect (CML), Prof. Faridul Haq, MPA-elect.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT TO GO ON— PEOPLE'S DETERMINATION COMMENDED

FRESH ACTION PROGRAMME AS STRUGGLE ENTERS 3rd WEEK

Announcement of Sheik Mujibur Rahman on March 15, 1971

The Awami League chief, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, has said that the non-violent non-co-operation movement will continue till their goal is achieved, according to a Radio Pakistan broadcast yesterday.

The non-violent non-co-operation movement which entered third week passed peacefully today throughout East Pakistan.

In Dacca a number of meetings and rallies were held and processions brought out in support of Awami League chief Sheikh Mujib's four-point conditions.

All Government and semi-Government offices remained closed. Only those sections of the offices and the services which are exempted from the directives, however, functioned normally. Under the new directives by the Awami League chief, more services were allowed to function from today.

State Bank of Pakistan and all other scheduled banks today functioned between 9 a.m. to 12 noon and the Clearing House was also open. The inter-Wing teleprinter lines for the banks and the news agencies functioned after 3 p.m.

Sheikh Mujib late on Sunday night announced a fresh programme of action to be followed from Monday.

In his programme Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "The heroic struggle of the people marches forward. All those who cherish freedom and are struggling for it the world over, should regard our cause as their own. Our people have proved how a determined and united people can be a bulwark of freedom against those who conspire to rule by force.

"The people of Bangla Desh, civil servants, office and factory workers, peasants and students have demonstrated in no uncertain terms that they would die rather than surrender."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman added: "It is deplorable that even at this stage some unthinking people are trying to intimidate a section of civilian employees by promulgating Martial Law Orders.

"Today the entire people are united in their determination not to submit to the Martial Law. I, therefore, urge those whom the latest order has been directed not to yield to threat that has been levelled against them. Seventy-five million people of Bangla Desh are behind them had their families".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "The spirit of freedom in Bangla Desh cannot be extinguished. We cannot be conquered because each of us is determined to die if need be to ensure that our future generations can live in freedom and with dignity as free citizens of a free country.

"The struggle shall, therefore, continue with renewed vigour until our goal of emancipation is realised."

"I appeal to the people to remain ready for any sacrifice and should force be unleashed against them to resist it by all means possible".

Directives

Directive 1: Secretariats of Central and Provincial Government and semi-Government offices, autonomous bodies, High Courts and all other Courts throughout Bangla Desh shall observe hartal, subject to specific directives set out below and such exemptions and clarifications as may be issued from time to time.

Directive 2: All educational institutions throughout Bangla Desh shall remain closed.

Under Directive 9, Posts and Telegraph Offices shall function only for purpose of letters, telegrams and money-orders within Bangla Desh. But foreign mail service and foreign telegrams of all categories may be sent direct to the countries concerned.

Inter-Wing teleprinter channel shall remain open for one hour between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, only for the purpose of enabling banks to send and receive by teleprinter such messages as are permitted under Directive 25.

Inter-Wing Press telegrams only be sent.

Directive 10: Only local and inter-district trunk telephone within Bangla Desh shall function. Necessary sections required for repair and maintenance of telephone system shall function.

Directive 11: Radio, Television and newspapers shall function and shall give complete version of all statements and news about the people's movement otherwise those working in these establishments shall not co-operate.

Under Directive 25, banks shall carry on their operations, including receiving deposits of any amount, inter-bank clearances without any limit within Bangla Desh, inter-bank transfers within Bangla Desh and drawings by T.T. or mail transfers from West Pakistan and cash transactions subject to various restrictions.

The State Bank and the National Bank of Pakistan shall continue to discount T.T. throughout Bangla Desh on the basis that reimbursement shall be effected at Dacca.

Banks with head offices in West Pakistan shall obtain necessary funds to reimburse the State Bank and the National Bank of Pakistan at Dacca.

Foreign travellers' cheques may be encashed by authorised dealers and diplomats may freely operate their accounts and foreign nationals may operate their foreign exchange accounts and may deal with foreign exchange remittances received by them.

There shall be no operation of lockers. No remittances shall be effected outside Bangla Desh through the State Bank or otherwise.

Letters of credit may be opened against licences including those issued on surrender of bonus vouchers for imports from foreign countries. Barter documents

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(where goods have already been shipped) shall be valid. Pending export bills shall be collected through the Eastern Mercantile Banks and Eastern Banking Corporation which banks shall comply with such directives as are issued to them in this regard.

Directive 26: The State Bank shall observe the same banking and office hours as other banks and shall remain open for taking all necessary steps for smooth functioning of the banking system of Bangla Desh within the framework of restrictions defined above.

PPP forms may be sanctioned and all approved remittances to foreign countries for students and other approved recipients may be permitted.

Directive 28: All travel agents and foreign airline offices may function. Sale proceeds realised by them should be deposited in any bank within Bangla Desh.

Directive 31: (*a*) Until further directives are issued no land revenue shall be realised, no excise duty shall be realised on salt produced in Bangla Desh, no tax shall be realised on unmanufactured tobacco grown in Bangla Desh, handloom weavers shall be entitled to purchase cotton yarn without any payment of excise duty and mills and dealers shall sell cotton yarn to them at non-duty paid price.

(*b*) Subject to above, all provincial taxes, including amusement tax, tolls in respect of hats, bazars, bridges and ponds shall be realised and credited to the account of the Government of Bangla Desh.

(*c*) All local taxes including octroi shall be paid.

(*d*) All indirect Central taxes, including customs duty, excise duty, sales tax hitherto collected and realised by the Central Government shall hence forward be collected by collecting agencies, but shall not be credited to the Central Government account or be transferred or remitted to the Central Government.

Realisations so collected shall be deposited in "Special Accounts" in the Eastern Mercantile Bank and the Eastern Banking Corporation Ltd. which banks shall comply with directives issued to them in this regard. All collecting agencies shall implement these directives and such other directives as may be issued from time to time.

(*e*) Direct Central taxes, such as income tax, shall not be realised til directives.

Directive 32: Pakistan Insurance Corporation shall function.

All insurance companies including Postal Life Insurance shall function.

Directive 34: Hoisting of black flags on all house tops shall continue.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 16, 1971)

ALL EYES RIVETED ON DACCA—NO QUESTION OF TWO MAJORITY PARTIES IN ONE COUNTRY

Statement by Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, President, Council Muslim League on March 16, 1971 at Lahore.

Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, President, Council Muslim League, observed here today that all eyes were turned towards Dacca where President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman were meeting expecting to see hope and light return to the 12 million people of Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Daultana said he was proceeding to Dacca by the morning flight on March 19 where he would make every effort to see that goodwill and mutual understanding prevail and united efforts are made to preserve the solidarity of Pakistan.

He was confident that this very spirit inspired Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the majority party of Pakistan, whom he would try to meet at the convenience of the Sheikh.

Commenting on Mr. Bhutto's recent speech in which he had said that power should be transferred separately to the majority party in East and the "majority party" in West Pakistan, Mr. Daultana said: "Since there is only one Pakistan—and by God's grace, there will be always one Pakistan—there can be no question of two majority parties in one country although we will all hope that there is understanding and co-operation between all major parties—the majority and the minority—in running the affairs of the country".

He said while everybody had a right to rise up to rule the whole country through the democratic will of the people, nobody could be allowed to cut the country into pieces to suit his own stature.

Mr. Daultana said all eyes were turned to Dacca where the President who had already done so much to bring about the sovereignty of people in a united Pakistan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman—who had proved his attachment to Pakistan many times in the last 28 years—that they would in a spirit of understanding bring back hope and light to the twelve million people of Pakistan who gloriously won their freedom in a common struggle under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

The first seed of the plant of Freedom was sown in the very City of Dacca in 1906, he pointed out.

He hoped that the leaders of the parties in the National Assembly which met in Lahore on March 13 would also be proceeding to Dacca on or about March 19.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 17, 1971)

MUJIB DECLINES TO ACCEPT PROBE BODY

No useful purpose could be served: limited.

Text of the statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 18, 1971 at Dacca.

The Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today rejected the commission of enquiry set up by the Martial Law Administrator Zone B "to go into the circumstances which led to the calling of the Army in aid of civil power in various parts of East Pakistan between March 2 and March 9".

In a statement issued here today the Awami League Chief declared the people of Bangla Desh shall not co-operate with such a commission in any respect. He also said no one should nominate any member to this 'commission' nor serve as its members.

According to the Martial Law Administrator's Order the commission will be headed by a Judge of the High Court of East Pakistan who is to be nominated by the Chief Justice.

* * * *

Following is the full text of the statement:

"I regret that the Commission of Inquiry" which has been announced, on the face of it cannot satisfy the demand voiced by me on behalf of the people

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Bangla Desh. Its very institution by a Martial Law Order and the provision for submission of its report to the Martial Law authority are highly objectionable. The terms of reference themselves betray the intention of pre-judging the most fundamental issue and to shut out inquiry into the real issues.

The only term of reference is:

"To go into the circumstances which led to the calling of the Army in aid of civil power in various parts of East Pakistan between March 2 and March 9". The fundamental issue is thus pre-judged, since what has to be inquired into is whether the deployment and use of force was in aid of ulterior political purposes and not at all in aid of civil power. The 'commission' is further shut out from inquiring into the actual atrocities, which have been reported from various parts of Bangla Desh, involving thousands of casualties. Thus, even the number of casualties and the circumstances in which unarmed civilians were shot down cannot be enquired into.

"Such a 'commission' can serve no useful purpose. Indeed such an inquiry would not at all the genuine inquiry aimed at arriving at the truth, but would be a mere device to mislead the people.

"We cannot, therefore, accept such a 'commission'. The people of Bangla Desh shall not co-operate with such 'commission', nor serve as its members.

"On behalf of the people we had made four-point demand on the 7th of March, 1971, one of those demands was that for fair, impartial and public inquiry with proper terms of reference. The nominal and piecemeal acceptance of one of those points and that too in the manner described above, cannot contribute to the solution of the grave crisis that faces us".

Mujibs Probe

Meanwhile, Sheikh Mujib has sent Capt. Mansur Ali, leader of Parliamentary party in the East Pakistan Assembly. Khandaker Mushtaque Ahmed, Vice-President, East Pakistan Awami League and Mr. Abidur Reza Khan, MNA-elect to Chittagong to make an on the spot enquiry into the recent firings and other incidents there.

They will assess the situation and report accordingly. It may be mentioned that Maulana Bhashani had also sent him a telegram to this effect.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 19, 1971)

CLASH NEAR DACCA—CURFEW CLAMPED IN JOYDEVPUR

Press report on March 20, 1971

DACCA, March 19 : Curfew was imposed this evening in Joydevpur town, about 22 miles from here following exchange of fire between the local people and the Army personnel resulting in casualties to both sides, it was officially stated here tonight.

The trouble started when the armed crowd put up barricades to block the way of the Commander who was returning to Dacca this afternoon after a routine visit to his troops in Joydevpur.

As he was coming back, his way obstructed by placing a train on the level crossing in Joydevpur Bazar. The crowd was persuaded to clear the obstruction but they refused to comply. The Army troops tried to push the train aside to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

make their way but they were fired upon by the crowd. Three soldiers were seriously wounded. The troops returned the fire, killing two persons and injuring another five.

At the Joydevpur roundabout the troops were again fired upon by a violent crowd.

The tyres of Army vehicle were deflated and glasses smashed. The crowd rushed to snatch away weapons from the soldiers who fired in self-defence killing one person.

The Commander and the troops reached Dacca in the evening after clearing about half a dozen barricades on the Dacca-Mymensingh highway.

Denial

Meanwhile, it was officially stated here that Army personnel did not injure any labourer or truck driver near Dacca Airport or Mahakhali Railway Crossing on Thursday, as alleged in a section of the Press.

The authorities, denying the allegation, said that the Army is not manning any check post on the Dacca-Mymensingh highway. Therefore there can be no question of either stopping any vehicle or forcing any body to remove the black flag.

The authorities also denied the reports of "harassment" and "torture" by the Army personnel in Jessore-Khulna sector, as alleged in a section of the Press.

The authorities added that with large-scale collection of arms by anti-social elements from arms shops, rifle clubs and private, individuals, etc., the incidence of violence and lawlessness has generally increased. These incidents, they added were being maliciously attributed to the Army which is already back in the barracks.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 20, 1971)

MUJIB CONDEMNS FIRING

Statement on March 19, 1971 at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Awami League, strongly condemned tonight the firing on the unarmed people, at Joydevpur earlier in the day.

Talking to newsmen, he said: "If they think they can suppress people's struggle by bullet and force, they simply live in a fool's paradise".

He added it was an "uncalled for" action.

The Awami League Chief said he wondered how Army could go to the Joydevpur Bazar when Martial Law authorities had stated that troops had already been withdrawn to the barracks.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said the people of Bangla Desh were no doubt in favour of peaceful settlement of the problems but that could not mean that the people "can be frightened by the use of force. No power on earth can suppress the people when they are prepared to shed blood".

In reply to a question, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said he had already sent some of his partymen to the spot and added it could not be ascertained as yet how many persons were killed.

He said curfew had been imposed in the area and as such it was difficult even to pick up the injured persons from there.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Asked if his party leaders, who went in the evening to meet the President's adviser would bring the incident to the notice of the Martial Law authorities, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "Is it not natural?"

Later in the evening Sheikh Mujibur Rahman warned that no amount of force could suppress the demands of seven crores of Bengalees. No matter in what manner it was being used against the unarmed Bengalees.

Addressing a gathering of Bishkhubdha Biggan Carmachari Union in front of his house, who had come in a procession, the Sheikh declared that no sacrifice would be considered enough to emancipate the people of "Bangla Desh".

The Sheikh said the roads and lanes of "Bangla Desh" were stained with the blood of martyrs for the cause of the people. Today again, the roads of Joydevpur had been besmeared with the blood of Bengalees, he said.

Sheikh Mujib told the slogan shouting crowd: "We wanted to resolve the problem peacefully but they want to rule us by force, with the help of weapons."

The Awami League leader declared that the people of Bangla Desh could not be suppressed by force. People would realise their rights at any cost, he added.

He assured the people that he would never betray the blood of the martyrs and asked them to repose their confidence in him.

"If necessary we shall give the last drop of our blood to see that our posterity lived happily as a free citizen in a free country".

Earlier, the processionists paraded the city street chanting slogans in support of Sheikh's non-violent non-co-operation movement for the emancipation of the people of "Bangla Desh".

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 20, 1971)

DACCA TALKS AT CRUCIAL STAGE—ADVISERS' MEETING FOLLOWS YAHYA-MUJIB TALKS

Avami League Chief ready to meet any West Wing Leader.

Sheikh Mujibur Press Conference on March 19, 1971, at Dacca

The fateful talks between President Yahya Khan and the Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, were resumed at the President's house here today. The dialogue lasted 90 *minutes. Another round of talks will be held tomorrow at* 10 *a.m.*

Later in the evening three advisers of the Awami League Chief had a meeting with the advisers of the President.

Although the Awami League Chief, talking to newsmen after the meeting, did not say if any formula had been proposed to end the present constitutional deadlock the agreement to hold meeting at advisers' level itself indicates that some ground has been broken at the third round of talks between the President and the Awami League Chief today.

It is also significant that the advisers' level meeting will be followed up by another meeting between the President and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when the latter will be accompanied by six leaders of his party.

A cheerful Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told newsmen at his residence after his meeting with the president that the discussions would continue. He said Awami League's stand (vis-a-vis constitution-making) was clear and the whole world knew why the people

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Bengal had made sacrifices. He, however, pointed out that it was not an easy problem and sufficient time was needed to solve it.

Step forward

The result of the third round of the talks—the decision to have meeting of the advisers—was seen as a definite step forward towards a determined search for solution of the present crisis. This coupled with the decision to continue talks between the President and the Awami League Chief has raised hopes that a way out of the current impasse may be found.

But Sheikh Mujibur Rahman made no comment when a newsman asked him if the increased activities was any sign of progress in the talks. The Awami League Chief told the journalists: "You may make your own assumption".

He also would not say whether he was satisfied with the talks. He said whether he was satisfied or not "I always hope for the best and prepare for the worst".

Asked whether any particular formula was being discussed. Sheikh Mujib said his advisers would discuss with the President's advisers "what formula they give."

Syed Nazrul Islam, Deputy Leader of Awami League Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly and a Vice-President of East Pakistan Awami League. Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary, East Pakistan Awami League, and Dr. Kamal Husain will act as Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's advisers today.

Khandkar Mushtaq Ahmed and Mr. Mansoor Ali Vice-Presidents of East Pakistan Awami League, Mr. Kamruzzaman, General Secretary of All-Pakistan Awami League, Dr. Kamal Husain, Syed Nazrul Islam, and Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, will accompany Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to the President's House tomorrow.

Replying to a question the Awami League Chief said he would be very happy to receive any leader from West Pakistan. He would be happy to welcome any individual person from West Pakistan to his residence. "I welcome them to come and have talks with me", he said when a correspondent asked whether he would have talks with visiting West Pakistani leaders.

When asked whether any document figured in his discussions, Sheikh Mujib said: "nothing of the kind."

He added: "my advisers will discuss this evening to decide on what formula and how they will proceed."

Whether he was assisted by his aids in today's talks, Awami League Chief said that both the President and he (Mujib) were alone.

Asked whether he was ready to meet West Pakistani leaders, including Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Sheikh Mujib said that anybody coming from West Pakistan was welcome. He said that he had no objection in meeting them "my doors are open".

"It was never closed", he added.

When asked about the progress of talks, Sheikh Mujib said: "I have nothing to say. It is up to you to guess. You can assume anything you like".

"I can't say", Sheikh Mujib said when a correspondent asked whether his eeting tomorrow would be the final round.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Replying to another question as to who will be assisting the President in his talks tomorrow Sheikh Mujib said: "I don't know".

He declined to answer a question on the rejection of the Inquiry Commission set up by the Martial Law Administrator, Zone "B".

When asked whether the "Joy Bangla" slogan raised by him after he emerged from the President's House indicated something hopeful, the Awami League Chief said that he always uttered this slogan. This slogan he would utter at the time of death also along with Kalima.

Earlier apparently in jovial mood, the Awami League Chief came out of the President's House after his 90-minute talks and drove straight to his residence.

Several thousand people who waited all the time outside the security area of the President's House broke the security cordon and mobbed the car of the Sheikh. The crowd was so intense in front of the President's House that the waiting newsmen could not approach the car of Sheikh Saheb.

Sheikh Mujib came out of the car and requested the people to allow him to go.

He also requested the newsmen to go to his residence. Following the request, the slogan-chanting crowd left the place and allowed the car of the Sheikh to move towards its destination.

Many enthusiastic people also gathered in front of Sheikh Mujib's residence to know the outcome of the talks.

"Please wait and see our wonderful land and its unfortunate people" the Sheikh told a foreign newsman when he wanted to know when the progress of the talks would be known to newsmen.

Replying to a question as to when he was going to laugh last, Sheikh Saheb, with his traditional broad smile replied, "This is difficult to answer. You yourself assess".

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 20, 1971)

DAULTANA CALLS FOR EARLY SOLUTION MEETS MUJIB, WALI

Interview with Association Pregs os Pakistan on March 20, 1971

Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, Chief of the Pakistan Council Muslim League, today stressed the need for an early solution of the present political and constitutional crisis to protect and preserve Pakistan's unity and democracy in the country.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana in an interview with the Associated Press of Pakistan said, "We are all very anxious". An agreement should be reached so that democracy and unity of Pakistan, which we all struggled to achieve in 1947, and the first seeds of which were sown in Dacca in 1906, are preserved and promoted," he added.

Referring to the President Yahya-Sheikh Mujib talks, the Council Muslim League Chief, who flew into Dacca last evening from Lahore, said all eyes were turned towards the talks between the President and the Awami League Chief.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana said he was fervently praying that complete success be achieved and the patriotic expectation of the nation be fulfilled.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Daultana said it was a sacred duty of the leadership in both the wings to safeguard and preserve the life, honour and property of every citizen of the country wherever he lived.

The Council Muslim League Chief said in time of turmoil, many most unhappy incidents took place which were against the wishes and efforts of all men and leaders of responsibility and patriotism. But, Mian Mumtaz Daultana said, it was a sacred duty of those who lead the nation, particularly those whom the people had given such "concrete confidence" in recent elections, "to see that peace and tranquillity in so far as the man and woman of Pakistan is concerned, wherever he comes from and wherever he lives, is fully protected and preserved".

Mian Mumtaz Daultana called on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at his residence here this afternoon. He was accompanied by Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, President, West Pakistan Council Muslim League.

Emerging from the closed-door session, Mr. Daultana told newsmen they had discussed political situation. He added, "We shall go on discussing. We are at the services of Sheikh Saheb."

"We are at the beck and call of the people here. We have treated Sheikh Saheb as our brother, dearest friend and leader", the CML Chief remarked.

Replying to a question, he said: "We have discussed things as members of the National Assembly representing a political party, small though".

He told a questioner that he did not meet the President here. However, "the President knows we are here and if he desires we can meet him".

The meeting between the Sheikh and Mr. Daultana, lasting about an hour, was the first since the general elections.

Earlier, taking to newsmen at his hotel room, Mian Daultana said the people of West Pakistan wanted early restoration of democracy and preservation of the unity of the country.

The Council Muslim League Chief said the question of his party's joining the future government did not arise because "ours is a small party". His party did not want to take part in the government, he said, adding that they wanted to "contribute their share as citizens of the country".

"We are not on the fruit side of it" he said.

Mian Daultana said if the country remained and a Constitution was framed "we will have our time".

He said common men of West Pakistan had great love and affection for the common men of East Pakistan.

Meets Wali

Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Khan Wali Khan, President of the National Awami Party, had a closed door meeting here today.

The NAP Chief has also had two meetings with Sheikh Mujib, the last being yesterday.

Mufti Mahmood

Later in the evening, Mufti Mahmood, a leader of the Jamiatul Ulema-i-Islam also met the Awami League Chief at his Dhanmondi residence.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mufti Mahmood later told newsmen, "We have discussed the political situation" and "the talks shall continue. We want the solidarity and integrity of the country".

Asked whether he had any formula of his own to end the current political impass, he replied in the negative. He, however, added that Sheikh Saheb might have some formula. "We have come here to aid him in his efforts to overcome the crisis", he added.

He declined comment on the dialogue between Sheikh Mujib and the President saying that it is going on and it is too early to comment.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 21, 1971)

NO MORE SUBJUGATION OF BANGLA DESH

Report of public address of Sheikh Mujibur on March 21, 1971, at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Chief of Awami League, said here today that there must not be any relaxation in the movement until the demands of 75 million people of Bangla Desh were fulfilled.

The Awami League Chief was addressing a large crowd in front of his house. He said the movement should, however, be peaceful and disciplined so that the "new history, which the people of Bangla Desh have now created in the world" was not allowed to be stained.

He told the slogan shouting men, women and children that the entire people had now risen as one man. He reiterated that this "awakened nation" could not be kept under subjugation.

"We will not allow to keep Bangla Desh as a colony and market any more", he added.

A large number of processions went to the house of the Sheikh and raised slogans not to compromise until the demands were met. They also expressed solidarity with people's movement and confidence in the leadership of the Awami League leader.

Meanwhile, the Vice-Chancellor of East Pakistan Agricultrual University, Dr. Quazi M.F. Rahim held a special meeting of the Farm Development Committee of the University here and instructed all concerned to "follow rigidly" the directive (No. 17) of Sheikh Mujib about the agricultural activities.

He urged utmost effort in the agricultural field to ensure that the economic life of East Pakistan was not disturbed and the supply of foodstuff was maintained.

He requested the dairy experts, poultry experts, the agricultural farm superintendents and horticulturists to increase production in all University farms.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 22, 1971)

VICTORY IS OURS, SAYS MUJIB

Message on March 22, 1971, at Dacca

"Ours is the right cause and hence victory is ours" declared the Chief of the Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in a special message published here today.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the message given on the occasion of bringing out of special supplements captioned, "Emancipation of Bangla Desh" by most dailies here today, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman described the present movement as the struggle for total emancipation of seven crore Bengalees. This struggle will continue until the final goal is achieved, he said and added, the people of Bangla Desh could no more be silenced by bullets, guns and bayonets because they are united today.

The Sheikh, who concluded his message with "Joy Bangla" stressed "we must remain prepared for any sacrifice in achieving our goal. Every house in Bangla Desh should be turned into a strong fortress of resistance."

He expressed his appreciation for the initiative shown by the dailies in bringing out the supplement which contained one article by Mr. Subhan on economic topic and two articles by Professor Muzaffar Ahmad Chowdhury and Mr. Qamaruzzaman, General Secretary of Pakistan Awami League on political matters.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 23, 1971)

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION PUT OFF AGAIN :

Announcement by President Yahya Khan on March 29, 1971 in Dacca.

President Yahya has postponed the National Assembly session scheduled to begin on March 25, according to an announcement made from the President's House, Dacca this afternoon.

The brief announcement said: "In consultation with the leaders of both the wings of Pakistan and with a view to facilitating the process of enlarging areas of agreement among the political parties, the President has decided to postpone the meeting of the National Assembly called on March 25". The announcement added that the President "will address the nation shortly".

No date was given for the President's address to the nation, nor did the announcement set a fresh date for the National Assembly session.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 23, 1971)

DAULTANA, WALI, MUFTI RESENT POSTPONEMENT

Statement by three parliamentary group leader on March 22, 1971

Leaders of three parliamentary groups in the National Assembly today disapproved of the postponement of the inaugural session and said they still believed that the NA was the only forum where national issues could be discussed and their solution found.

The three group leaders are Khan Abdul Wali Khan of the NAP, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana of the Council Muslim League and Maulana Mufti Mahmood of the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 23, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AGREEMENT SUBJECT TO OUR UNDERSTANDING

Z. A. Bhutto's press conference on March 22, 1971 at Dacca

The Pakistan People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto said today they were examining the broad agreement reached between the President and Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and assured that his party would make every effort to reach an understanding to end the present crisis, which he described as "most unfortunate and tragic."

Addressing a hurriedly called Press conference on the top floor of Hotel Inter-continental, Dacca, Mr. Bhutto said the President had communicated to him during his meeting with him the general agreement arrived at with the Awami League Chief. The President had also told him this agreement was subject to "our agreement".

Mr. Bhutto said he met Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at the tripartite meeting at the President House. Asked whether he also met the Awami League Chief separately without the President, Mr. Bhutto parried the question.

He however, added he had a "fruitful" and "satisfactory" meeting with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He would welcome another opportunity of meeting the Sheikh.

Mr. Bhutto said if necessary he would fly out to Karachi to consult the members of the Central Committee who were not with him here, on the latest situation. They were discussing at present interim arrangements which must take into account permanent arrangements. "We are thinking in terms of one Pakistan" he told a correspondent in reply to a question.

Mr. Bhutto replied in the negative when asked if he offered any formula to solve the present crisis, and stressed that there must be an understanding between we two (Awami League and People's Party).

The People's Party Chief said he had had a "satisfactory meeting" with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and hoped to meet him again. Referring to the political situation, Mr. Bhutto said: "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and I must come to a mutual understanding".

Asked if they were working on an interim arrangement, Mr. Bhutto said they were working on both interim as well as permanent arrangements for the country. He added the interim arrangement must take into account a permanent solution to the crisis.

Asked to comment on the four pre-conditions of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for consideration of his party's attending the National Assembly Session, Mr. Bhutto said they were working on those as well as "more points". He repeated that they were working on reaching understanding on both interim and permanent arrangement.

The PPP Chief said on his arrival here he met President Yahya Khan both yesterday and today and referred to the talks Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had with the President between March 15 and 20. He said he hoped to meet the President again.

Mr. Bhutto said his party would make every effort to reach an understanding to bring about an end to the present "unfortunate" political crisis. He added: "We will do our best to come to an understanding" and added reality required that "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and I must come to an agreement".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NA's Postponement

Replying to a question on the postponement of the National Assembly Session, Mr. Bhutto said: "This is the factual position. All that I wanted is to have some time for reaching broad understanding and agreement."

The People's Party Chief said there should be tripartite understanding—the two "major political parties" democratically elected on the one hand and the Army which is to transfer power, on the other.

Replying to a question, Mr. Bhutto said they were discussing the points raised by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and "things beyond that and the future shape of things".

Mr. Bhutto declined to speak about the nature of the broad agreement and understanding reached between President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He said: "I would not like to say anything now."

No Veto Power

Asked if he considered the Awami League to be the majority party in the country, Mr. Bhutto said he had already answered such question last time when he came here. To another question he said: "I am not holding any veto and none of us has power of veto," and explained the role of the two major parties—People's Party and Awami League.

Replying to a question, he said: "We have not put forward any formula" to end the crisis.

He said: "I had a fruitful and satisfactory meeting with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman this morning. I would welcome another meeting." Asked if they had separate meeting, Mr. Bhutto said he did not want to contradict what Sheikh Mujib had said and asked the correspondent not to press for further details about it.

Mr. Bhutto said he would stay here as long as necessary. He added if necessary he would go to West Pakistan to consult his partymen and come back. He was already holding discussions with his partymen here and added the members of the PPP Central Committee who are not here, might also be summoned to Dacca for consultations.

Replying to a question on the Lahore Resolution, Mr. Bhutto said: "It is not an ideal situation" against the background of the peculiar geographical position of the country. We want a democratic arrangement for the future of the country and to the satisfaction of the people of both the wings, "let both exercise (power) for the benefit of the people," he added.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 23, 1971)

POLITICAL CRISIS WILL BE RESOLVED

Text of the message of the President Yahya Khan on March 22, 1971

The President, Gen. A. M. Yahya Khan has said that the stage is now set for our elected representatives to work together for the common goal accommodating both East and West Wings in a smoothly working harmonious system.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In a Pakistan Day message, President Yahya reminded the nation that Pakistan was today at the cross-roads. He said that at this critical juncture when our very national existence is at stake "let us pray to Almighty Allah to guide us on the right path."

* * * *

The following is the text of the message of the President:

"On this historic day, 31 years ago, we solemnly pledged ourselves to secure a homeland of our own. The Quaid-i-Azam, expressing the will of the people, declared that Pakistan should be a democratic state based on Islamic principles of social justice. Its destiny lies in adhering to the principles of democracy and the willing consent of the people of all parts of the country to live and work together for the greater glory and integrity of Pakistan.

"In pursuance of this objective, the present regime has worked ceaselessly to ensure peaceful transfer of power to the representatives of the people elected through free and fair elections. The stage is now set for our elected representatives to work together for the common goal which would accommodate both East and West Wings in a smoothly working harmonious system.

"Today we must rededicate ourselves to the principles enunciated by the father of the nation; namely, unity in our ranks, faith in our destiny and discipline in the conduct of our affairs. If we adhere to these principles, which constitute the very basis of our existence and act in a spirit of tolerance and moderation, I have no doubt that we shall succeed in dessolving the current political crisis. In the agonies of trying to return to democracy there have been unhappy developments but nothing is lost if we do not lose faith in our destiny.

"Pakistan is at the cross-roads today. At this critical juncture when our very national existence is at stake, let us pray to Almighty Allah to guide us on the right path". Pakistan paindabad.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 23, 1971)

I ALONE HAVE RIGHT TO GOVERN

Report of Sheikh Mujib's public address on March 22, 1971 in Dacca.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of the Awami League, today reiterated his call to the people for continuance of disciplined non-violent, non-co-operation movement until the goal was achieved.

Addressing a huge crowd in front of his house, Sheikh Mujib said that people of Bangla Desh were now united and added that this awakened, united nation could not be suppressed with the help of bayonets and bullets "We hope we will win," he said.

The Sheikh, addressing the people shouting slogans against any compromise said "possibly we could still live as friends if they accepted our demands immediately."

(*Earlier, he said in an interview with a foreign television reporter that he was the representative of 75 million people of Bangla Desh and, therefore, he alone could govern morally and legally*).

The Sheikh urged the people to maintain discipline in the movement because "no nation has ever prospered without sacrifice and strict discipline".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He, however, paid tributes to the people for their great sense of discipline and determination during the 21 days movement which had added a new chapter to the history of the world.

He strongly condemned the cases in which attempts were made to snatch away money and create indiscipline.

The Awami League Chief said that there would be no illegal detention of persons in jails when the people's Government came to power in East Pakistan.

The Sheikh said that he considered harassment and torture of individuals by hunters an act of goondaism and that he deplored all such acts of vandalism.

The Awami League Chief urged the people to remain vigilant against such anti-social elements, and warned that the people of East Pakistan would not forgive such elements.

The Sheikh expressed the determination that the people of East Pakistan would continue the struggle till the final victory. "We are on the just and right front and victory is ours", he declared.

He said that no amount of force could shake the people of East Pakistan from their determination to achieve their right and emancipation from the "colonial oppression and economic exploitation."

"Our people have learnt to shed blood for the achievement of their just and legitimate cause and any intimidation, coercion and application of force to resist them will simply be an exercise in futility," he said.

Among the organisations organising these "loyalty processions" were the Ex-servicemen Association, the Chartered Accountants Action Committee, the SSC Examinees, the WAPDA Workers Federation, the ITA Workers Federation, the Shop Workers Association and the Displaced Persons Association.

Meanwhile, in a special message published here today, the Sheikh said that "ours is the right cause and hence victory is ours".

In the message, given on the occasion of a special supplement on "Emancipation for Bangla Desh" brought out by most dailies here today, Sheikh Mujib described the present movement as the struggle for "total emancipation of seven crore Bengalees".

"This struggle will continue until the final goal is achieved", he said, and added that the people of Bangla Desh could no more be silenced by bullets, guns and bayonets because they are united today".

The Sheikh, who concluded his message with "Joy Bangla," stressed, "We must remain prepared for any sacrifice' achieving our goal".

"Every house in Bangla Desh should be turned into a strong fortress of resistance".

He expressed his appreciation for the initiative shown by the dailies in bringing out the supplement which contained one article on the economic and two on the political situation.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 23, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HECTIC PARLEYS : QAYYUM HINTS AT A DECISION

Press report of meetings of various leaders on March 24, 1971.

Tuesday was a day of hectic political parleys when various leaders held series of meetings in the light of the agreement reached between the President and the Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, to end the present crisis.

Three Awami League leaders, designated by the party to hold talks with the President's Advisers, met them twice yesterday at President House—once in the morning and again in the evening. They discussed "matters on the line of the principles agreed upon by President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman" according to Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League. Mr. Ahmed is one of the three advisers of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The other two are: Syed Nazrul Islam, Deputy Leader, Awami League Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly and Dr. Kamal Hossain.

The Economic Adviser to the President, Mr. M. M. Ahmed, joined the Advisers' level talks yesterday. The others in the President's team were: Mr. Justice A. R. Cornelius, Lt. Gen. S. G. M. Peerzada and Col. Hasan.

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, who arrived here yesterday in response to the President's request, met President Yahya Khan and the People's Party Chairman, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, separately. He told newsmen he was in the know of the formula now under discussion but would not disclose it. He said the outcome of the talks could be announced even in the next 24 hours.

Mr. Bhutto spent almost the whole day yesterday in his hotel room examining with his partymen the terms of the broad agreement and understanding reached between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and President Yahya Khan.

Meanwhile five West Wing leaders representing smaller parties met the Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, jointly and later called on the President at President's House.

The five leaders were: Mian Mumtaz Daultana, President, Council Muslim League, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, President, NAP, Maulana Mufti Mahmood, General Secretary, Jamiatul Ulema-e-Pakistan, Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan.

After their meeting with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Mian Mumtaz Daultana said they did not discuss any particular proposal. Asked how long the dialogue would continue, Mian Saheb said: "We like that everything should be over in matter of minutes for the betterment of the country." He was hopeful about the talks.

Interjecting at this stage, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said: "Let us hope for the best and remain prepared for the worst."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 25, 1971)

WE ARE MAKING SOME PROGRESS

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's talk with newsmen on March 24, 1971 at Dacca.

The People's Party Chairman Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, said here today he had always been sincere to East Bengal's cause and himself admitted that this province had been exploited.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said he had his national responsibilities also, "I am passionately devoted to one Pakistan."

Talking to newsmen on return to the hotel after a brief talk at President's House today, Mr. Bhutto said progress was being made at the talks. He said discussions were continuing and "we are making some progress".

An APP report said, replying to a question, Mr. Bhutto said a joint session of the Advisers of the President, Awami League and his party would have expedited the arrangement. But at the moment it was not possible, he said.

Seeking the co-operation of the Press, the PPP Chief said the situation in East Pakistan was "tragic and unfortunate".

The People's Party Chairman said some of his partymen had left Dacca this afternoon. Those who were not necessary in the current talks had gone away, he said.

Yesterday Mr. Bhutto told newsmen that he would stay here as long as it was necessary.

Talking to PPI immediately before leaving his hotel for the President's House in the morning, the PPP Chief said that he had not yet decided as to when he was going to West Pakistan to meet other members of the PPC Central Committee.

"I shall have to discuss things here," he added.

Asked as to when he was expected to go, he replied, "I shall stay here as long as it is necessary."

Mr. Bhutto held a night-long session on Monday with his partymen examining the "terms" of the broad agreement and understanding reached between President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to end the present political crisis in the country.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 25, 1971)

WALI, MUFTI, BIZENJO OPPOSE BID TO REVIVE ONE UNIT

Text of the joint statement on March 25, 1971 at Dacca

Three politicians from West Pakistan said here yesterday that instead of forming a national Government by the National Assembly attempts were being made to bypass the National Assembly by describing the majority rule as "elective despotism".

A joint statement signed by Mufti Mahmood, General Secretary of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, President, NAP, and Mr. Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, President Baluchistan NAP, also alleged that attempts were being made to revive the "dead horse of One Unit" through a scheme for bifurcation of state power to the two Wings.

They said that the smaller provinces of West Pakistan, including Sind, would not accept the One Unit scheme again and warned that this effort "to put the clock back would succeed in reviving the bitterness and hatred between the people of the region."

The three politicians also criticised the stand of Mr. Z. A Bhutto that there were only three "sources of power" in the country—Awami League, People's Party and the Army.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

They said that this stand was based on a serious misunderstanding or was intended to confuse the issues facing the country.

If Mr. Bhutto, was not prepared to accept the Awami League's overall majority in the National Assembly because it was based on one province, he could hardly expect that his less decisive victory in the Punjab and Sind entitled him to speak on behalf of all the provinces of West Pakistan which no longer exists as one entity, they added.

Text

Following is the text of the statement:

"The Chairman of the People's Party has stated that the present deadlock can be resolved only through an agreement between the democratically elected majority parties and the Martial Law regime, and reiterated his theory that there are only three sources of power in the country, the Awami League, the Pakistan People's Party and the Army. This stand is based on a serious misunderstanding or is intended to confuse the issues facing the country.

"The position is that Gen. Yahya Khan's plan, following the breakup of One Unit, envisaged the creation of the Federal State consisting of five provinces, with a sovereign parliament established on the basis of one-man one-vote.

"Since the first-ever democratic elections, with the people poised for the transfer of power to their elected representatives, insidious efforts have been made to destory and nullifty the basis of this agreed plan. Instead of a national Government being formed by the National Assembly, attempts are being made to bypass the National Assembly by describing majority rule as elective despotism, and through schemes for a bifurcation of State power to the two Wings.

"The delusion that the country can be forced through creating artificial crises, to go back to any such undemocratic arrangement, needs to be deprecated. If Mr. Bhutto is not prepared to accept the Awami League's overall majority in the National Assembly, because it is based on one province, he can hardly expect that his less decisive victory in the Punjab and Sind entitles him to speak on behalf of all the provinces of West Pakistan which no longer exists as one entity. On his own logic, Mr. Bhutto cannot decide any issue for Baluchistan, where his party was not able to get a single member elected within the National Assembly or Provincial Assembly or for the North West Frontier Province and the Tribal areas, where the Pakistan People's Party secured one seat out of 26 in the National Assembly and 3 out of 40 in the Provincial Assembly.

"Let it be understood that the One Unit Scheme, against which the smaller provinces of West Pakistan struggled for 14 years cannot be revived under any circumstances. The people of the smaller provinces, including Sind, will not accept any such arrangement, whether it is introduced through the backdoor or under the threat of force.

"We warn that whosoever may try to put the clock back they will only succeed in reviving bitterness and hatred between the people of the region and will thereby endanger the unity and solidarity of the country."

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 25, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TAJUDDIN'S CALL FOR VIGILANCE

Press statement on March 24, 1971 at Dacca

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of East Pakistan Awami League, urged the people to be vigilant and to be ready to make any sacrifice to defeat the conspiracies of anti-people forces.

In a Press statement here tonight, he said, "I view with grave concern the report which we are receiving from Saidpur, Chittagong and other places of military action. In Rangpur, there is a report of numerous casualties of curfew being imposed. In Mirpur also tension is being fomented. All these actions are creating an abnormal and tense situation.

"It is unfortunate that while the Awami League was being pursued in talks with President Yahya, the atmosphere is being vitiated by these untoward incidents.

"We would like to emphasise once again that any attempt to frustrate the efforts of arriving at a political solution would he reckless. The awakened people of Bangla Desh would not allow this to be done.

"We would urge those concerned to desist from such actions as would vitiate the atmosphere for a political solution.

"I urge the people to be vigilant and to be ready to make any sacrifice to defeat the conspiracies of anti-people forces."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 25, 1971)

MUJIB WARNS AGAINST BID TO IMPOSE DECISION

Report of public address on March 24, 1971 at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Chief of the Awami League, today warned against any attempt to impose a decision on the people of "Bangla Desh" and said that "we would not tolerate it".

"Our demands are just and clear and they have to be accepted", he said.

Addressing a huge gathering which assembled in front of his house, Sheikh Mujib declared that the people were awake and were united like one man.

No power on earth could suppress their demands, he said. If anyone showed his "red eyes" to suppress the people's rights we would not tolerate them, he said.

Sheikh Mujib said: "We want a peaceful settlement but if anyone did not want it (peaceful settlement) you would not be able to suppress us. I hope nobody will try that," he added.

Sheikh Mujib said the movement would continue till the goal was achieved. Until the people of "Bangla Desh" are emancipated and their rights achieved the struggle would continue, he said.

Communal Riot Warning

He, however, urged the people to maintain discipline in their struggle. He warned that a section of people were trying to sabotage the movement by star-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ting communal riots. They have many things. They want to start violence on the hope of sabotaging the movement to get a share of the cake as divided by the monkeys, he said. He regretted to say that such an attempt was made at Saidpur.

He warned these people that such efforts would fail because the people of "Bangla Desh" were united today. "Whatever conspiracy you indulge in you will not succeed in suppressing the demands of the people," he said.

Sheikh Mujib said: "We would not bow our heads to any force. We will free the people of Bangla Desh". He declared that nobody could "purchase my head". "Others might betray the blood of the martyrs but I cannot," he said and added that the people would not allow the blood of martyrs to go waste.

He, therefore, urged the people to keep up the movement while they remain prepared for any eventuality. "I do not know whether I shall live to give the order for the intensified struggle. You must continue your struggle to realise your rights," he said.

He told the people not to tolerate the force and oppression and urged them to resist them.

No less than two scores of procession of men, women and children converged at the house of Sheikh Mujib to express their solidarity in the people's movement and confidence in the leadership of the Sheikh.

Amidst thunderous applause he declared that he was ever ready to face bullets but he would never allow the 75 million Bengalees to remain slaves.

Numerous souls were lost in cyclones, tidal bores and other natural calamities. We want to put to an end these senseless deaths of the Bengalees, he added.

Sheikh Sahib recounted the exploitation of East Pakistan by the vested interests and asserted that "Bengalees were no more ready to tolerate any injustice." "Either we shall live like men or we shall go out of existence fighting for our cause," he emphasised.

He made an impassionate appeal to the people to remain prepared for the eventual struggle and said, "In case I cannot give you orders, carry on the struggle with greater determination to gave the 7 million Bengalees from being slaves."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 25, 1971)

P.P.P.—A.L. DIRECT TALKS VITAL

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's Press conference in Dacca on March 25, 1971

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, accompanied by Mr. J. A. Rahim and Mr. Mustafa Khar, met President A. M. Yahya Khan at the President's House here this morning.

Lt.-Gen. S.G.M. Peerzada, Principal Staff Officer to the President, was also present at the meeting which continued for about 45 minutes.

Later, Mr. Bhutto told the newsmen that the constitutional experts of his party would meet the President's advisers this afternoon. The PPP advisers were to meet the President's advisers this morning, but the meeting was postponed following the "new development" that took place after yesterday's meeting between the advisers of the President and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said, the new development which had been communicated to him necessitated his meeting with the President and Lt.-Gen. Peerzada.

When asked whether the negotiations had bogged down, Mr. Bhutto said that they had not bogged down. "We are not creating any difficulty", he added.

The PPP Chairman told a correspondent that his Party wanted transfer of power both at the Centre and the provinces simultaneously.

On the question of autonomy, Mr. Bhutto said that the quantum of autonomy sought by the Awami League was some thing which could be termed as "more than autonomy". It was bordering on sovereignty, he added.

All the four provinces in West Pakistan also wanted autonomy and they must enjoy genuine autonomy. He said that autonomy sought by East Pakistan was not genuine autonomy by definition of autonomy.

Mr. Bhutto said that they were prepared to come as close to six points as possible except foreign aid and foreign trade. "We wanted full discussions on how these could be handled in an undeveloped country divided by over one thousand miles within the framework of one Pakistan. I would like Awami League to explain, but we were denied explanation. We have an open mind."

One Unit

Mr. Bhutto made it clear that under no circumstance his Party was for restoration of One Unit, in one form or the other in West Pakistan.

The PPP chief said that if some agreement was reached it should be taken to the National Assembly which could pass a resolution giving the agreement a stamp of constitutional legality. The National Assembly, he said, could improve upon the agreement.

Mr. Bhutto referred to the meetings of advisers of President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman yesterday and said that some "developments", had taken place which necessitated his meeting with the President and Lt.-Gen. S.G.M. Peerzada today.

He said he had sent some of his party members to Karachi as no direct talks were taking place.

He recalled his meeting with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and said that it was fruitful.

When asked why the talks were being "dragged on," the Chairman of the People's Party said that they had only one meeting with the President's advisers. "It was not a simple matter. We want to end the crisis."

Mr. Bhutto told a correspondent that the future Constitution of the country must be based on federal structure in which all provinces must have rightful share of autonomy.

He said that one of the 11 demands of students was for a zonal federation for West Pakistan. The Awami League never officially revised it.

To another question the Chairman of the People's Party said that if settlement was reached within a day or two he would stay on in Dacca. Otherwise he said he would like to return to West Pakistan because his presence there was required.

Mr. Bhutto referred to the postponement of the National Assembly session earlier and said the Awami League had sought postponement this time "and we did not object to it".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He also told a questioner that he had fewer meetings with the President as against the series of meeting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had with him.

Mr. Bhutto said reciprocity from both sides must take place. Negotiations, he said, had become more complicated because these were not taking place and unfortunately the position looked uncertain.

Awami League Formula

The Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party said that he did not have any objection to the formula of broad based understanding that the Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, had presented to the President for the transfer of power to the representatives of the people.

The PPP chief, who was talking to newsmen on his return from the President's House after his fourth round of talks with the Head of the State, said that direct negotiations between the Awami League and the Pakistan People's Party were essential for breaking the present stalemate. It was for this reason that he had sent a telegram to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The request was not heeded to and the Awami League had contented itself with an indirect dialogue through the office of the President. He, however, reiterated that he would be more than willing to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman even at this stage to work out a formula and to narrow down the differences.

On a question from a correspondent, the PPP chief said that while he supported in principle the four-point pre-conditions of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, his Party was trying to "come close to the six points". His Party was indeed keen to reach a settlement but "reciprocity on both sides must take place".

* * * *

He believed that since the Awami League had concluded its discussions with the President and his advisers, the PPP must continue their bit now. Therefore, it was not necessary that these discussions should be held at Dacca.

The PPP chief maintained that things could have been expedited to a great extent. About some points that remained to be discussed between the two parties, the PPP Chairman said that the Awami League had suggested to the President for the transfer of power to the provinces and not at the Central level for the interim period of constitution-making. The PPP would like the powers transferred at both the levels, he maintained. Nor would he like to dismiss it as a purely interim arrangement as "interim arrangements become permanent sometimes".

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 26, 1971)

CML OPPOSED TO N. A. BEING SPLIT IN TWO

Announcement by Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana President of the Council Muslim League, in Lahore on March 25, 1971

Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, President of the Council Muslim League, said in Lahore on Thursday that he was firmly opposed to splitting the National Assembly into two parts, one for East Pakistan and the other for West Pakistan.

He believed that the National Assembly represented the unity of Pakistan and reflected the sovereign will of the nation as a whole and was "indivisible".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Daultana returned to Lahore from Dacca along with Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Pir Syed Safi-ud-Din of Makhad and was talking to newsmen at the airport.

Both Mr. Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan indicated that the idea of splitting the National Assembly into two parts was mooted at Dacca but they declined to pinpoint the quarters which sponsored it.

Mr. Daultana said that even if all the parties accepted the idea, the Council Muslim League would firmly oppose it.

When asked if the suggestion for splitting the National Assembly came from the Awami League or the People's Party, the Council League Chief said that it was being talked about " in certain quarters ".

Mr. Daultana said that the decision had been taken for the lifting of the Martial Law and the transfer of power to the representatives of the people, and it was the mechanism for the transfer of power and the necessary procedures which were being sorted out by the major political elements.

He said that the transfer of power should be effected through the National Assembly which was the only legal forum for the purpose. A resolution could be passed by the N.A. calling upon the President to lift the Martial Law and transfer power to the representatives of the people.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

According to him, the minor political parties in the National Assembly were more interested in constitution-making than Government-making for the interim period. So far as the Council Muslim League was concerned, he said, it had made clear that it was not interested in joining the interim Government. But it believed that if the power was to be transfered, it should be done both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

When asked if he was hopeful that the present crisis would be resolved satisfactorily, Mr. Daultana said that it was his prayer that the unity of the country was maintained. But, he added that the situation was extremely tense and the unity of the country was at risk. He said that it had been categorically stated by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when he and other leaders of minority parties had called on him that he (Sheikh Mujib) wanted to hold Pakistan together. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, he said, was under great pressure from the extremist elements and the situation was unpredictable. According to him, the extremist elements were those who did not believe in Pakistan or were not even Pakistanis.

In reply to a question, Mr. Daultana said that he had met President Yahya and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and placed before them his Party's point of view. He had no opportunity of meeting Mr. Z. A. Bhutto although he had discussions with some of his Party members including Mr. Mahmud Ali Kasuri, Mr. Hafeez Pirzada and Mr. A. H. Kardar.

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 26, 1971)

ATMOSPHERE BEING VITIATED

Statement by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed on March 24, 1971 at Dacca

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League last night expressed grave concern at reports of " military action " in Rangpur, Chittagong and other places.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In a statement here, Mr. Tajuddin said curfew had been reimposed in Rangpur and reports of "numerous casualties in firings" were also received from there.

In Mirpur also "tension is being created. All these actions are creating an abnormal situation", he added.

He said: "It is unfortunate that while a political solution is being pursued in talks with President Yahya Khan, the atmosphere is being vitiated by these untoward incidents".

(PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 26, 1971)

MUJIB ORDERS RESUMPTION OF JUTE TRADE

TELECOM LINKS TO FUNCTION VIA MANILA

Report of the directives released to the Press on March 25, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League Chief, directed tonight that export of jute and jute goods from Bangla Desh should be resumed forthwith.

In a fresh list of directives released to the Press tonight, the Sheikh asked the shipping companies not to refuse cargo from Bangla Desh. He also assured foreign shipping companies that they will be allowed to remit their freight charges in foreign exchange according to normal procedures.

He also announced telecommunication links with foreign countries will function via Manila and London.

The following new directives and clarifications were issued by him:

Directive No. 36 (Exports): Export of jute and jute goods should be resumed forthwith and export documents should be negotiated through the Eastern Banking Corporation and Eastern Mercantile Bank Ltd., according to the procedure already laid down for pending export bills in directive No. 25 (n).

Relevant sections of the Jute Board, the State Bank and Customs shall operate to approve and register export forms and to process shipping documents. Overseas mail and cable services shall be available for export and banking transactions. Shipping companies should not refuse to accept cargo. Foreign shipping companies are assured that they will be allowed to remit their freight in foreign exchange according to the normal procedure.

Directive No. 5 (Imports): (*a*) No amendment to letters of credit shall be permissible with regard to the destination of the cargo imported under such letter of credit.

(*b*) The necessary sections of PIA may function for delivery of the parcels and documents lying with them since 1st March 1971.

Directive No. 9 (Post and Telegraphs): All telecommunication to foreign countries shall function via Manila and London. All production units such as Telephone Industries Corporation, Cable Industries Corporation and the Telegraph Workshop shall function normally with immediate effect.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 26, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ONLY WAY OUT IS TO ACCEPT AWAMI LEAGUE DEMANDS IN TOTO

Statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 25, 1971 at Dacca

The Awami League Chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, reiterated here today that no power earth could now frustrate the just and legitimate demands of the 75 million people of East Pakistan.

The Awami League Chief addressed a number of processions which marched upto his Dhanmandi residence today. He said "our demands are just and clear and there is no other way out than to accede to the demands in toto".

Sounding a stern note of warning against the conspirators whole, he said, were active again to sabotage the united movement of the East Pakistanis, Sheikh Mujib asked them not to play with fire. This might lead to dire consequences for the country.

He asserted that the unprecedented unity of 75 million people of East Pakistan was bound to realise their legitimate demands. These could not be suppressed by force now whatever its strength. If anyone showed his 'eyes' to suppress the people's rights, we would not tolerate and would crush it, he added.

The Sheikh asserted that Bengalees would either live as free citizens of the country or would perish but would never bow down to the unholy clique.

He called upon the people to continue the movement until their legitimate demands were fully accented and they were emancipated.

The staff and employees of the Hotel Intercontinental today ceremoniously hoisted a regular sized 'Joy Bangla flag' replacing the smaller one at the main mast.

The new flag measuring 100 x 60 inches was unfurled in the presence of a large number of people including foreign journalists.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had a series of discussions today with his front ranking party aids on the latest political development and the situation at Chittagong, Saidpur and Rangpur.

Curfew was re-imposed in Rangpur for 14 hours beginning from 5 p.m. today according to the reports reaching here tonight.

The 24-hour curfew, which was imposed there last night, was relaxed for five hours earlier in the day today.

(MORNING NEWS, Karachi and Dacca—March 26, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MUJIB CALLS FOR STRIKE ON 27TH-PROTEST AGAINST ARMY OPERATIONS

Statement on March 25, 1971, at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman today gave a call for a general strike throughout "Bangla Desh" on March 27th as a mark of protest against "heavy firing upon the civilian population" in Saidpur, Rangpur and Joydevpur.

In a statement, he declared that such "atrocities and killing of unarmed people would not go unchallenged".

He said, "I am shocked to hear of the military action in Saidpur, Rangpur and Joydevpur. There are reports of heavy firing upon the civilian population and of atrocities being committed on them. The police are being totally by-passed while a reign of terror is being unleashed. From Chittagong, reports are pouring in of heavy firing".

He said all this had happened while the President is at Dacca for the declared purpose of resolving politically the grave crisis facing the country. "I urge him to order immediate cessation of such military operations," he said.

It should be known that such atrocities and killing of unarmed people shall not go unchallenged. I am confident that the brave sons of "Bangla Desh" are ready to face all eventualities in order to attain their goal, that is, the emancipation of the people of the "Bangla Desh", he added.

The following exemptions shall be allowed during the strike:

Hospitals, ambulances, doctors' cars, medicine shops, press and press cars, water, gas and electric supply.

According to another message, Sheikh Mujib today called upon the people to remain prepared for supreme sacrifices "to realise your rights".

Addressing a huge procession from Rayerbazaar area, the Sheikh said: "If some of us have to die again for our rights, this will be the last time".

He said there must not be any relaxation in the movement in which the people of East Pakistan had demonstrated their unity.

The Sheikh said that the Bengalees were dying every year in floods and cyclones. "It seems they are born to die in these calamities", he added.

(THE PAKISTAN TIMES, Lahore—March 26, 1971)

MUJIB REGRETS DELAY IN POLITICAL SOLUTION

ATTEMPTS TO DIVIDE BENGALEES AND MOHAJIRS CONDEMNED

Statement to Press on March 25, 1971, at Dacca

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Awami League Chief, today expressed concern over the "regrettable delay in resolving the crisis politically" and termed it as "unfortunate".

He said that if a "political solution is desired" by President Yahya Khan and his advisers they should "realise that it was for them to take matters immediately, to a conclusion, and that to delay this would expose the country and its people to grave hazards."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In a statement to the press here tonight, the Awami League Chief said: "We have done our duty and contributed our utmost efforts towards the attainment of the political solution."

He apprehended that certain elements have been deployed by the anti-people forces to foment tension between locals and non-locals and said: "let those evil forces of destruction know that their conspiracies cannot succeed when 75 million people are united in their determination to make every sacrifice and to resist those who seek to impose upon them by force."

The Awami League Chief said: "The arrival of the President in Dacca and his subsequent talks had led the people to expect that there was a realisation that the grave crisis engulfing the country could only be resolved politically.

It was for this reason that I met the President. The President affirmed that there could only be a political solution of the crisis. Upon that promise, certain fundamental principles on which such a solution would be based were accepted by the President.

Subsequently, my colleagues sat with the President's advisers to work out those principles. We have thus done our duty and contributed our utmost efforts towards the attainment of a political solution.

There is no reason or justification for any delay. If a political solution is desired by those concerned they should realise that it is for them to take matters immediately to a conclusion, and that to delay this would expose the country and its people to grave hazards.

It is therefore, unfortunate that there is a regrettable delay in resolving the crisis politically. Indeed the critical situation already pervailing is being aggravated by renewed military activities, the pace of which, according to reports from different parts of Bangla Desh, is being stepped up.

This is all the more regrettable at a time when the President is in Dacca for the declared purpose of resolving the crisis politically. After last week's firing at Joydevpur, reports of atrocities are pouring in from Rangpur, Saidpur, where curfew has been imposed. From Chittagong, there are reports of heavy firing on the civilian population.

Issue of Non-Locals

"What is more reprehensible is that certain elements have been deployed by the anti-people forces to foment tension between locals and 'non-locals'.

I have repeatedly re-affirmed that all those who live in Bangla Desh, regardless of their place of origin or the language they speak, are our people, and they should consider themselves as such and take full part in the struggle for emancipation of Bangla Desh. Their life, property and honour are our sacred trust.

It is, therefore, clear that those who are fomenting tension are doing so far the malicious purpose of sabotaging a political solution and creating a pretext for use of force against unarmed people.

Let the people of the world take notice that while we have been exerting our utmost towards the attainment of a political solution, there are certain evil elements still bent upon making a last desperate bid to impose a solution by force.

Let those evil forces of destruction know that their conspiracies cannot succeed, when seventy-five million people are united in their determination to make every sacrifice and to resist those who seek to impose upon them by force.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I condemn the firing that has taken place and the atrocities that have been committed in different parts of Bangla Desh. A general strike shall be observed on the 27th March 1971, throughout Bangla Desh to protest against such firing.

I urge those concerned to desist from creating situation of confrontation between the military and the unarmed civilian population. If they fail to take heed and continue to resort to military confrontation, they will bear full responsibility for aborting a political solution and for all the grave consequences that would follow.

I urge our heroic people to continue with their struggle. Our economy, however, must function normally and indeed every person must consider it his sacred duty to ensure that the economy functions with maximum efficiency. Our workers in the mills and factories bear a heavy responsibility in this matter. They must take all steps to maintain normal conditions in which maximum production can be attained.

Our movement shall go forward. The directives issued on the 14th March 1971, shall continue in force, subject to the clarification issued from time to time."

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 26, 1971)

TEXT OF YAHYA'S BROADCAST

on March 26, 1971

Following is the text of the broadcast to the nation by President Yahya Khan;

My dear countrymen.

Assalam-o-Alaikam,

On the 6th of this month I announced the 25th of March as the new date for the inaugural session of the National Assembly hoping that conditions would permit the holding of the session on the appointed date. Events have, however, not justified that hope. The nation continued to face a grave crisis.

In East Pakistan a non-co-operation and disobedience movement was launched by the Awami League and matters took a very serious turn. Events were moving very fast and it became absolutely imperative that the situation was brought under control as soon as possible. With this aim in view, I had a series of discussions with political leaders in West Pakistan and subsequently on the 15th of March I went to Dacca.

As you are aware I had a number of meetings with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in order to resolve the political impasse. Having consulted West Pakistani leaders it was necessary for me to do the same over there so that areas of agreement could be identified and an amicable settlement arrived at.

As has been reported in the Press and other news media from time to time, my talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman showed some progress. Having reached a certain stage in my negotiations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman I considered it necessary to have another round of talks with West Pakistani leaders in Dacca.

Mr. Z. A. Bhutto reached there on 21st March and I had a number of meetings with him.

As you are aware, the leader of the Awami League had asked for the withdrawal of Martial Law and transfer of power prior to the meeting of the National

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Assembly. In our discussions he proposed that this interim period could be covered by a proclamation by me whereby Martial Law would be withdrawn, Provincial Governments set up and the National Assembly would *ab initio*, sit in two committees—one composed of members from East Pakistan and the other composed of members from West Pakistan.

One Condition

Despite some serious flaws in the scheme in its legal as well as other aspects, I was prepared to agree in principle to his plan in the interest of peaceful transfer of power but on one condition. The condition which I clearly explained to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was that I must first have unequivocal agreement of all political leaders to the scheme.

I thereupon discussed the proposal with other political leaders. I found them unanimously of the view that the proposed proclamation by me would have no legal sanction. It will neither have the cover of Martial Law nor could it claim to be based on the will of the people. Thus a vacuum would be created and chaotic conditions will ensue. They also considered that splitting of the National Assembly into two parts through a proclamation would encourage divisive tendencies that may exist. They therefore expressed the opinion that if it is intended to lift Martial Law and transfer power in the interim period, the National Assembly should meet, pass an appropriate interim Constitution Bill and present it for my assent. I entirely agreed with their view and requested them to tell Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to take a reasonable attitude on this issue.

I told the leaders to explain their views to him that a scheme whereby, on the one hand, you extinguish all source of power namely Martial Law and on the other fail to replace it by the will of the people through a proper session of the National Assembly, will merely result in chaos. They agreed to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, explain the position and try to obtain his agreement to the interim arrangement for transfer of power to emanate from the National Assembly.

The political leaders were also very much perturbed over Sheikh Mujib's idea of dividing the National Assembly into two parts right from the start. Such a move, they felt, would be totally against the interest of Pakistan's integrity.

The Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, during the meeting between myself, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and him, had also expressed similar views to Mujib.

On the evening of the 23rd of March the political leaders, who had gone to talk to Mujib on this issue, called on me and informed me that he was not agreeable to any changes in his scheme. All he really wanted was for me to make a proclamation, whereby I should withdraw Martial Law and transfer power.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's action of starting his non-co-operation movement is an act of treason. He and his party have defied the lawful authority for over three weeks. They have insulted Pakistan's flag and defiled the photograph of the Father of the Nation. They have tried to run a parallel Government. They have created turmoil, terror and insecurity.

A number of murders have been committed in the name of movement. Millions of our Bengali brethren and those who have settled in East Pakistan are living in a state of panic, and a very large number had to leave that Wing out of fear for their lives.

The Armed Forces, located in East Pakistan, have been subjected to taunts and insults of all kinds, I wish to complement them on the tremendous restraint that they have shown in the face of grave provocation. Their sense of discipline is indeed praiseworthy. I am proud of them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reasonable Solution

I should have taken action against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his collaborators weeks ago but I had to try my utmost to handle the situation in such a manner as not to jeopardise my plan of peaceful transfer of power. In my keenness to achieve this aim I kept on tolerating one illegal act after another. And at the same time I explored every possible avenue for arriving at some reasonable solution. I have already mentioned the efforts made by me and by various political leaders in getting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to see reason. We have left no stone unturned. But he has failed to respond in any constructive manner; on the other hand, he and his followers kept on flouting the authority of the Government even during my presence in Dacca. The proclamation that he proposed was nothing but a trap. He knew that it would not have been worth the paper it was written on and in the vacuum created by the lifting of Martial Law he could have done anything with impunity. His obstinacy, obduracy and absolute refusal to talk sense can lead to but one conclusion—the man and his party are enemies of Pakistan and they want East Pakistan to break away completely from the country. He has attacked the solidarity and integrity of this country—this crime will not go unpunished.

We will not allow some power hungry and unpatriotic people to destroy this country and play with the destiny of 120 million people.

In my address to the nation of 6th March I had told you that it is the duty of the Pakistan Armed Forces to ensure the integrity, solidarity and security of Pakistan. I have ordered them to do their duty and fully restore the authority of the Government.

In view of the grave situation that exists in the country today I have decided to ban all political activities throughout the country. As for the Awami League it is completely banned as a political party. I have also decided to impose complete Press censorship. Martial Law regulations will very shortly be issued in pursuance of these decisions.

Aim Remains Same

In the end let me assure you that my main aim remains the same, namely, transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. As soon as situation permits I will take fresh steps towards the achievement of this objective.

It is my hope that the law and order situation will soon return to normal in East Pakistan and we can again move forward towards our cherished goal.

I appeal to my countrymen to appreciate the gravity of the situation for which the blame rests entirely on the anti-Pakistan and secessionist elements and to act as reasonable citizens of the country because therein lies the security and salvation of Pakistan.

God be with you. God bless you.

Pakistan Paindabad.—APP.

(THE DAWN, Karachi—March 27, 1971)

PRELUDE TO AN ORDER FOR GENOCIDE

"Prelude to an Order for Genocide", by Prof. Rehman Sohham, in Guardian, Manchester, June 5, 1971

(In this article, Prof. Rehman Sobham, who was Professor of Economics at Dacca University and an Adviser to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, describes the background to the Yahya-Mujib talks)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As President Yahya flew out of Dacca on the night of March 25 he took with him the last hopes of a united Pakistan. For the final two days he had been hold up in the Dacca cantonment with the junta of generals who rule Pakistan, putting the finishing touches to Operation Genocide.

The contingency battle plan had been worked out over the last two years when the army had been given a glimpse of the true force of Bengali nationalism during the movement against Ayub. The strength of the army in this time had been raised from one understrength division to three divisions and an armoured brigade. But the decision to put the plan into action was probably taken some time between March 1 and March 6 and was symbolised by the replacement of Lieutenant General Yakub on March 7 by Lieutenant General Tikka Khan, regarded as the fiercest of the Punjabi hawks.

During this time they must have gauged the overwhelming support behind Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Bangla Desh. Sheikh Mujib's call for peaceful non-co-operation, protesting against Yahya's postponement of the Assembly, had, in less than a week, not only destroyed the authority of the Yahya government in the East wing: traditional instruments of Central power in Bangla Desh, such as the Civil Service and police, had positively pledged allegiance to Mujib.

Yahya's decision to postpone the Assembly was seen as a collective conspiracy with Mr. Bhutto to frustrate the democratic process at the expense of the Bengali majority. The fact that Yahya's close associate, Lieutenant General Umer, was reported by other West Wing leaders to have put pressure on them to join Bhutto's boycott of the Assembly was seen as evidence on this collusion.

Similarly the decision to postpone the Assembly was seen as an attempt to save Bhutto's position when this strategy failed to win support in the West. Many Bengalis at that stage felt that self-rule for Bengal could be attained only outside the framework of one Pakistan.

Confronted with this mood Mujib staked his political life, first in his public meeting on March 3, then before a million people on March 7 when he deflected the demand for independence towards a negotiated demand for full autonomy. On March 7, the army in Dacca was prepared for unleashing a blood bath if Mujib declared independence. Heavy machine gun emplacements had been prepared on the cantonment perimeter. Tanks were ready and the air force was alerted.

Denied an open provocation by Mujib, and faced with a complete erosion of Central authority in the East wing. Yahya appeared to opt for compromise in talks with Mujib. He flew to Dacca on March 15 with a clutch of generals, several of whom secreted themselves in the cantonment to finalise their battle plan for March 25.

Troops were being flown in daily in plain clothes on PIA commercial flights, and by March 25 a full division, with support–equipment, had reinforced the existing force. A fleet had been mobilised to send more troops and heavier equipment in case the existing force proved inadequate. A special plain clothes commando unit had been infiltrated into selected urban areas to create trouble as a cover for military action.

The need for this sort of synthetic provocation was becoming more necessary as Yahya saw the extent to which Mujib's Awami League volunteers had established law and order throughout the East Wing. Apart from an ugly communal riot in Chittagong on March 2 and 3, when the army was responsible for law and order the province had been extraordinary peaceful.

In this background the Mujib-Yahya talks progressed with surprising ease. At an early stage Yahya agreed to Mujib's demand for an end to martial law and a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

transfer of power to civilian rule. Mujib accommodated Yahya by agreeing to let him stay as an interim civilian President at the Centre until the new Constitution emerged. He further accepted Yahya's demand for separate session in the National Assembly. This, contrary to Yahya's subsequent posture, was designed to accommodate Mr. Bhutto who feared that in a joint session of the Assembly Mujib might join hands with the Pathan and Baluch and some of the smaller anti-Bhutto parties in Punjab to neutralise Bhutto and even impose the Six Points on West Pakistan.

Yahya demanded a free hand for Bhutto in the West as a quid pro quo for conceding Mujib's demands. Mujib played into his hands in his desperation to get the army out and in so doing alienated his support in the West wing. When Bizenjo, the Baluch leader, Wali Khan, the Pathan leader, and Daultana, flew back on March 24 they had been sacrificed on the altar of a Bhutto-Mujib entente and should look to their own defences at home.

Once Yahya and Mujib had reached agreement in principle, and Bhutto's interests had been adequately safeguarded by Yahya, the task of working out the details of the proclamation to transfer power was left to the experts. M. M. Ahmed, chief economic adviser to Yahya, had been brought in to advise on economics, and had readily conceded that most of the autonomy demands could be accepted even in the interim phase.

Some debate over the basis for transferring power was resolved when the leading constitutional lawyer of Pakistan, A. K. Brohi, gave an opinion that the Indian Independence Act gave a precedent for transfer of power by presidential proclamation. While some semantic as opposed to substantive, points remained. Yahya's team never indicated that there was a point beyond which they could not accommodate the Awami League.

As a result there was no question of any breakdown in the talks because Yahya and his team never issued any ultimatum, or their minimum basis for a settlement. Having conceded a free hand to Bhutto in the West and power to Yahya in the Centre at least in the interim phase, it was felt that Yahya could come to terms with the de facto authority exercised by Mujib in the East.

The Awami League team waited for the final drafting session of the proclamation on March 25 but the expected call from Lieutenant General-Peerzada never came. Instead M. M. Ahmed flew to Karachi without waiting to see the Awami League response to his amendments, indicating the junta had other plans as a substitute for talk.

It is now clear that Yahya was using the talks as a cover for reinforcements to his troops as much as for an opportunity to alienate Mujib from potential support in the West. No one knows what the terms were for transferring power to the civilians, since Yahya's cryptic commitment to the integrity of Pakistan continues to mean all things to all men.

Certainly Yahya never indicated that the Six Points were inimical to the concept of one Pakistan. Any question of Mujib's modifying his demands never arose with Yahya because no such demand was ever made of him.

It was unfortunate for Yahya that Mujib, in spite of provocation kept law and order under control while Yahya sat in Dacca. Yahya had to act in cold blood when he left orders with Tikka Khan to launch Operation Genocide.

Yahya must have known that he was destroying the last hope of a united Pakistan. On the night of March 25 Mujib told a West Pakistani visitor that he had done his best to hold Pakistan together but that Yahya was set on a military solution and that this was the end of Pakistan. He felt he might be killed, but that an independent Bangla Desh would be built on his grave.

(GUARDIAN, Manchester—June 5, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER V

EMERGENCE OF BANGLA DESH

BANGLA DESH DECLARES FREEDOM - RAHMAN'S STEP FOLLOWS ARMY CRACKDOWN - CIVIL WAR ERUPTS IN EAST PAKISTAN - AWAMI LEAGUE LEADERS GO UNDERGROUND :

Press Report on March 27, 1971

Pakistan's Eastern Wing, rechristened the independent State of Bangla Desh by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in a clandesting Radio Broadcast, was in the throes of a civil war on friday with west wing troops resorting to force to regain control and the people, aided by the East Pakistan rifles and the police, resisting the attempt, reports UNI.

Heavy fighting was going on in Dacca, Chittagong, Sylhet, Comilla and other towns, according to reports from across the border gathered by UNI bureaus in Shillong and Calcutta and correspondents close to the border in the eastern sector. Casualties were believed to be heavy.

Mr. Rahman and other Awami League leaders had gone underground, according to highly reliable reports received in Gauhati by PTI and UNI. A later reports said Pakistan troops went hunting for them but could not find them.

Speaking over "Swadhin Bangla" (Free Bengal) Betar Kendra, Mr. Rahman later proclaimed the birth of an independent Bangla Desh.

The declaration was made shortly before General Yahya Khan went on the air in the West wing to announce that the army had been instructed to reassert the Government's authority in the East wing. He called Mr. Rahman and his followers traitors.

Mr. Rahman in his broadcast declared definitely: "We shall not die like cats and dogs, but shall die as worthy children of Bangla Ma (Mother Bengal)", adding, "The flag of Bangla Desh is flying in all villages of Bangla Desh".

The broadcast said personnel of the East Bengla regiment, the East Pakistan Rifles and the entire police force had surrounded West Pakistani troops in Chittagong, Comilla Sylhet, Jessore, Barisal and Khulna.

Heavy fighting was continuing, it said.

An announcer on the clandestine radio station evidently located in the northern region of East Bengal, said, "The Sheikh has declared the 75 million people of East Pakistan as citizens of the sovereign independent Bangla Desh".

The broadcast called upon the people of free Bangla Desh to continue the current movement till the last enemy soldier was vanquished. It said Mr. Rahman was the only leader of the people of independent Bangla Desh and his commands should be obeyed by all sections of people to save the country from the ruthless dictatorship of West pakistanis.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Rahman in his broadcast asked the people to resist the enemy forces at any cost in every corner of Bangla Desh.

May Allah bless you and help in your struggle for freedom from the enemy he said.

Freedom at all costs

Mr. Rahman said: "Pakistan armed forces suddenly attacked the East Pakistan Rifle base at Pielkhana and Rajabag police station in Dacca at zero hours on March 26, killing a number of unarmed people. Fierce fighting is going on with East Pakistan Rifles at Dacca.

"People are fighting gallantly with the enemy for the cause of freedom of Bangla Desh. Every section of the people of Bangla Desh are asked to resist the enemy forces at any cost in every corner of Bangla Desh. May Allah bless you and help in your struggle for freedom from the enemy. Jai Bangla".

The first victim of the military crackdown in the province was Dacca Betar Kendra, the worlds' only source of news from East Pakistan Troops seized the radio station early on Friday and announced a 24-hour curfew in Dacca and its surrounding areas.

When the radio came back on the air it announced itself as "Radio Pakistan Dacca" and broadcast 16 martial law orders.

All flights between Karachi and Dacca have been suspended and teleprinter links between the two cities cut.

At least 10,000 West Pakistani troops have landed at Chittagong and Chaina (Khulna district) during the last 24 hours. They arrived in the five ships and have since been dispersed to the three cantonments in Dacca, Comilla and Jessore. This brings the total number of troops in East Pakistan to 70,000.

(THE STATESMAN, Delhi–March 27, 1971.)

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE ORDER, DATED APRIL 10, 1971 : TEXT OF PROCLAMATION:

Press report on April 18, 1971

Mujeeb Nagar (Bangla Desh)

The proclamation of independence order, which was issued on April 10 shall be deemed to have come into effect from March 26, 1971. The text is as follows :—

"The proclamation of independence order, dated 10th day of April 1971".

"Whereas free elections were held in Bangla Desh from 7th December, 1970 to 17th January 1971, to elect representatives for the purpose of framing a Constitution, and "whereas at these elections the people of Bangla Desh elected 167 out of 169 representatives belonging to the Awami League, and whereas Gen. Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on the 3rd March, 1971, for the purpose of framing a constitution, and "whereas the Assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for indefinite period, and "whereas instead of fulfilling their promise and while still conferring with the representatives of people of Bangla Desh, Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war, and

Genocide

"Whereas in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of 75 millions of people of Bangla Desh, in due fulfilment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangla Desh,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

duly made declaration of independence at Dacca on March 26, 1971, and integrity of Bangla Desh, and whereas in the conduct of a ruthless and savage war the Pakistani authorities committed and are still committing numerous acts of genocide and unprecedented tortures, amongst others on the civilian and unarmed people of Bangla Desh, and " whereas the Pakistan Government by levying an unjust war and committing genocide and by other repressive measures made it impossible for the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh to meet and frame a Constitution, and give to themselves a government and "whereas the people of Bangla Desh by their heroism, bravery and revolutionary fervour have established effective control over the territories of Bangla Desh, "we the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh, as honour bound by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangla Desh whose will is supreme duly constituted ourselves into a Constituent Assembly, and having held mutual consultations, and in order to ensure for the people of Bangla Desh equality, human dignity and social justice, "declare and constitute Bangla Desh to be sovereign people's Republic and thereby confirm the declaration of independence already made by Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and

President

"Do hereby confirm and resolve that till such time as a constitution is framed, Bangla Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman shall be the President of the Republic and that Syed Nazrul Islam shall be the Vice-President of the Republic and that the President, shall be the Supreme commander of all the armed forces of the Republic, shall exercise all the executive and legislative powers of the Republic including the power to grant pardon, shall have the power to appoint a Prime Minister and such other Ministers as he considers necessary, shall have the power to levy taxes and expend monies shall have the power to summon and adjourn the constituent Assembly, and do all other things that may be necessary to give to the people of Bangla Desh an orderly and just government.

We the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh do further resolve that in the event of there being no President or the President being unable to enter upon his office or being unable to exercise his powers and duties due to any reason whatsoever, the Vice-President shall have and exercise all the powers, duties and responsibilities herein conferred on the President, we further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations devolved upon us as a member of the family of nations and by the Charter of the United Nations, we further resolve that this proclamation of independence shall be deemed to have come into effect since 26th day of March, 1971.

"We further resolve that to give effect to this our resolution, we authorise and appoint Prof. M. Yusuf Ali, our duly constituted potentiary to give to the President and Vice-President oaths of office".

(THE SUNDAY STANDARD—April 18, 1971.)

TO THE PEOPLE OF BANGLA DESH

English translation of an address by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government of Bangla Desh headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, broadcast by Swadhin Bangla Desh Betar Kendra, April, 11, 1971.

Heroic and brave brothers and sisters of Independent Bangla Desh.

In the name of your President, Bangla Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, we salute you and pay homage to the departed souls of the martyrs who have sacrificed their lives in the defence of their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

motherland. They will shine in our memory as long as Bangla Desh exists, as long as a single citizen of Bangla Desh lives. Since the proclamation of independence by your leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, after General Yahya had on the midnight of 25th March, ordered his Army to commit genocide on the peace-loving people of Bangla Desh, you have joined the ranks of the immortals amongst the freedom fighters of hisrtory. Your epic resistance against the colonial army of occupation from West Pakistan is an inspiration to the freedom loving peoples of the world. Each day of struggle adds a new and glorious page in the saga of our liberation struggle. Each martyr wins us a thousand friends in the world who cannot but salute your heroism.

By your determination and ability to withstand the murderous onslaught of Yahya's gang of professional killers you have shown that a new Bengali Nation has been born amidst the ruins of the battlefield. To the world we were a peace-loving people, Friendly, human, fond of music and dance, imbued with an awareness of culture and beauty. War and violence were thought to be foreign to our nature. But today whilst we remain true to our heritage, Bengalis have shown that they are also a warrior people, with an unconquerable will and courage to face an aggressor who enjoys overwhelming superiority in the use of weapons.

Had you failed to resist this first onslaught, the newly independent Republic of Bangla Desh may have gone under and the world may have had to wait many years before resistance raised its head once more. But you faced their tanks and bombers with your bare hands armed only with faith in the cause of a free Bangla Desh. Today you have put the murderous enemy on the defensive. Most of Bangla Desh is Liberated. The world's Press roams at will in Free Bangla Desh and reports your victories to an amazed and now admiring world. As news of the resistance spreads throughout Bangla Desh, young men and women are coming forward in thier thousands to join the fight for freedom.

Today a mighty army is being formed around the nucleus of professional soldiers from the Bengal Regiment and E.P.R. who have rallied to the cause of the liberation struggle. These have been joined by the Police, Ansars and Mujahids and now by thousands of Awami League and other volunteers and are being trained into a fighting force ready to use the captured weapons from the defeated West Pakistani mercenaries and fresh arms being purchased from funds collected by our Bengali Brothers overseas.

In the Sylhet/Comilla region, we have, commissioned Major Khaled Musharrat of the Bengal Regiment to take command of military operations in the region. The courage and daring of his force has already reduced the presence of the Pakistan Army to the Cantonments of Sylhet and Comilla where they will soon be liquidated by the closing ring of the Liberation Army.

In Chittagong and Noakhali we have commissioned Major Zia Rahman of the Bengal Regiment to take full command of operations. His heroic defence of Chittagong City against overwhelming odds, which included attacks from the air and sea, will take its place with the defence of Stalingrad in the annals of warfare. Today, thanks to his resistance Chittagong is still not secure in the hands of the enemy, whilst the whole of Chittagong and Noakhali districts, outside limited pockets of Chittagong town are liberated areas.

In the Mymensingh/Tangail area, we have commissioned Major Safiullah of the Bengal Regiment to take command of operations in the region. He has liberated the major part of the area under his control and is ready to march on Dacca.

The three commanders have already met and prepared a joint plan of battle designed to mop up surviving pockets of resistance in their respective areas preparatory to a combined onslaught on Dacca.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the South-West Region, we have commissioned Major Osman of the E.P.R. to take command of the Kushtia-Jessore zone, while Major Jalil has been given charge of Faridpur-Barisal-Khulna-Patuakhali zone. After the historic victory of Kushtia, the Liberation force has already driven the Pakistan army out of the whole area and confined them to the cantonment of Jessore and parts of Khulna town.

In North Bengal a Unified Command is being set up from the forces of Bengal Regiment and E.P.R. Our liberation forces under the command of Major Ahmed have pushed out enemy forces from Rajashahi district. Major Nazrul and Major Nowazesh are laying siege to the hard pressed occupation army respectively in Saidpur and Rangpur. The Liberation force have already driven the Pakistan army out of the whole Dinajpur, Bogra, Pabna and Rangpur districts except the limits of cantonment areas and are ready for the final assault.

The brilliant success of our fighting forces and the daily additions to their strength in manpower and captured weapons has enabled the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, first announced through major Zia Rahman, to set up a full-fledged operational base from which it is administering the liberated areas. Whilst the interim capital is located in the librated area of the western zone, we have set up a rigional seat of government located in the liberated area of the Sylhet/Comilla zone, which is delegated to exercise full administrative authority over all areas in the eastern regions.

We are now in a position to invite the world's Press, diplomatic and political observers to tour the liberated areas and witness the reality of a free Bangla Desh. At the same time we ask all friendly governments and peoples as well as international agencies such as the Red Cross, who are willing to extend us aid on humanitarian grounds but have been prevented from doing so by the inhumanity of Islamabad, to make direct contact with the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

Whilst humanitarian aid is welcome from all sources it must be remembered that what we need above all is arms to repel the aggressor from the sacred soil of Bangla Desh. Today our civilian population are under equipped and outgunned by the modern mechanised army of occupation which has been equipped with the latest weapons from the arsenal of the big powers. We appeal to these powers to suspend all further arms deliveries to this army of murderers. These weapons were given for defence against external aggression and not to commit wanton murder on innocent women and children in Bangla Desh. Much of these weapons have been paid for by the blood and sweat of the toiling masses of Bangla Desh who are now being butchered in their thousands by these same weapons. We appeal to these powers to not only suspend all arms deliveries but to insist that these weapons of death be turned away from the task of suppressing the aspirations of 75 million Bangalis.

To the extend that Yahya's mercenaries remain insensitive to world opinion and continue with their planned genocide of Bengalis, we appeal for arms from all countries who value freedom and have fought aggression in their own time. In seeking aid from abroad we must remind our friends that this should be given in a spirit of goodwill without strings and designed solely to aid us in our liberation struggle. Bangla Desh has struggled far too long for its self-determination to allow themselves to become anyone's satellite. Bengalis abroad are asked to step up their mobilisation of funds and to purchase arms and despatch them promptly to the liberated areas so that our army and volunteers can be trained and equipped in their use.

For those who as yet are unequipped with modern weapons or may not be so equipped for some time, we ask you to arm yourselves with all variety of indigenous weapons at hand. You too have a role to play in combatting enemy paratroopers, commandos and agents who operate secretly in the liberated areas. You have a role to play in cutting roads, preparing ambushes and booby traps, guarding the waterways and even in direct

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

combat with the enemy if they ever come to close quarters. To equip yourselves for this task, group yourselves for trainning and instructions under the Sangram Parishads whose field commanders should report for briefing to thier military Area Commanders. Our irregular warfare units must operate as a disciplined fighting force in close co-ordination with the professional vanguard of the Bangla Desh Liberation Army who will deploy them according to plan.

The military part of the struggle is however only one aspect. The war for survival must also go on within Bangla Desh. We therefore invite all administrators, technicians and intellectuals and any other person anxious to Join in the Liberation struggle to come to the liberated areas and put their services at the disposal of the Government of Bangla Desh. A variety of tasks are ahead in the struggle requiring various skills and each in his own way can make a valuable contribution to the fight. We particularly invite all political leaders of all political parties of Bangla Desh to join us in a united struggle against the aggressor. Our struggle today rises above conventional political boundaries and must be seen as the struggle of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh for protecting their freedom.

There should be no collaboration with the army of occupation. If any self-styled leader thinks that he can, under the cover of Martial Law, rise up from the political grave where he was consigned by the 75 million people on 7th December, 1970, he does so at his peril. There can be no Quislings in Bangla Desh and those who are so blinded by fear or treachery to play this role, will be destroyed by the people themselves.

We must however remember that this is a time of war and it is not possible to ensure that normal economic life will remain undisturbed. In the face of possible shortage we impress on all citizens of Bangla Desh to exercise self discipline and maximum austerity in thier daily habits. Shopkeepers and traders are asked to avoid hoarding and black-marketing and as far as possible to keep the prices of daily necessities within the means of the common people.

There can now be no doubt about the outcome of the final struggle. Victory is ours, earned by our own courage and sacrifice. This is now being gradually realised by the enemy. They thought it would be an easy victory and that Bengalis would be quickly intimidated by the sight of modern weapons. That we should withstand their murderous attack and now fight back has upset their well laid plans. Cut them off from all sources of foodstuffs. With all communications with their headquarters in Dacca cut off by the people, their sole source for supplies and reinforcements is through airdrops. These are facing exhaustion due to lack of aviation fuel and the coming of the Norwester season which makes flying dangerous. They face gradual isolation in a hostile sea which threatens to overrun them any day and signs of demoralisation and panic are visible in their desperate attempts to use planes to cause needless destruction in the liberated areas.

The world community is also beginning to sit up and take notice of this majore conflagration raging in the world's eighth largest country—the People's Republic of Bangla Desh. No longer does the Islamabad Government's lies about enforcing law and order in Dacca and the attainment of normalcy carry any conviction. As journalists and private citizens escape from the horrors of war-ravaged Bangla Desh, they bring tales of war, atrocity, massacre, loot and terror inflicted by Yahya's murderous hordes. As journalists travel freely in the liberated regions they bear witness to the slaughter and destruction and confirm the heroic resistance of the people of Bangla Desh.

Already the U.S.S.R and India have taken notice of the genocide and the U.S.S.R. has urged Pakistan to desist from its acts of repression. Even Britain has taken cognisance of the conflagration whilst Ceylon and Burma have responded to world opinion by refusing refuelling rights to Pakistani planes carrying their cargo of death to Dacca.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Whilst there is still talk in some countries of this being an internal affair of Pakistan, it is becoming evident that the massacre of 75 million people and the attempt to suppress their struggle for freedom is now an international issue of major dimensions which threatens the conscience as much as the peace of the region. The Government of Bangla Desh has already used the services of patriotic Bengalis abroad to bring our plight to the notice of the world. We will soon send out our own emissaries from Bangla Desh to the capitals of the World to seek diplomatic recognition and assistance in our struggle for freedom and survival.

We appeal to our beleaguered brothers and sisters in the occupied territories who live day and night under the shadow of death and dishonour from the savages who call themselves the Pakistan Army to take courage and have faith in our cause and the strength of the Liberation Army. Those who wish to serve us, come out and join the struggle. Those who must of necessity stay on, we send a message of hope and inspiration that victory will be ours, Inshallah.

The battle will not be long because our strength multiplies daily as our plight gets wider recognition in the world. But we can expect much blood to be shed by these butchers and much wanton destruction and pillage before they are wiped out by the Liberation Army.

We must, therefore, look ahead to the task of reconstruction and the rebuilding of a new Bangla Desh on the ruins of East Pakistan.

We must in this task never forget that this has been a people's war in the truest sense of the word and that had it not been for the courage, patriotism and faith of the common man in the cause of a Free Bangla Desh we would never be able to enjoy the fruits of independence. We must therefore build a new world for the toiling masses of Bangla Desh, free from exploitation of man by man. In this new world, we promise freedom from hunger, disease, iliteracy and unemployment. To this task, we want to mobilise the unlimited energy and dedication of 75 million Bengalis who have secured our freedom with their blood and must now rebuild Bangla Desh with their sweat, into a modern, democratic society of and for the people, based on the principles of social justice and equality.

"JOI BANGLA"

"JOI INDEPENDENT BANGLA DESH"

MUJIB IS HEAD OF WAR CABINET FOR BANGLA DESH

Press Report on April 13, 1971.

A six-member war cabinet headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was formed in Bangla Desh today when the west Pakistanis launched an all-out offensive in strongholds of his liberation forces.

An important Awami League member announced somewhere in Bangla Desh that the Government, with Nazrul Islam as Vice-President and the Party General Secretary, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, as Prime Minister, would guide and co-ordinate the war of liberation".

Today's announcement formalised Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's proclamation of a Sovereign Democratic Republic of Bangla Desh on March 25 when the martial law authorities cracked down on East Bengal calling the Sheikh a "traitor".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

According to the announcement, Mr. Khondakar Mustafa Ahmed is Foreign Secretary in the Government.

Other members of the Government are Capt. Mansoor Ali and Mr. A. H. Kamaruzzaman.

The Government came into being following protracted deliberations at a meeting of National Assembly members and top Awami League leaders.

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, a close associate of the Bangla Bandhu since long, had led the Awami League team at the advisers-level meeting during the abortive constitutional talks last month.

He and Mr. Kamaruzzaman were both general Secretaries of the Awami League.

Mr. Kamaruzzaman was also Secretary of the Awami League party in the National Assembly.

Mr. Khondkar, Mustafa Ahmed was believed to be the Awami League's choice for, Speakership of the National Assembly which never met.

Mr. Mansur Ali, of Pabna, was leader of the Awami League party in the Provincial Assembly.

The formation of the Government was announced in a broadcast from the newly set up Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra and confirmed by the Press Adviser to President Rahman.

The radio said formal proclamation of the new Government would take place at 9 a.m. tomorrow.

The headquarters of the Government would be at Chaudanga in the liberated area.

The radio said the Council of Ministers would be expanded at a later stage.

The Government of Bangla Desh would be based on the principle of collective responsibility, it added.

The portfolios of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's Cabinet colleagues are expected to be announced tomorrow.

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—April 13, 1971)

BANGLA MISSION ON WAY TO DELHI APPEAL TO INDIA FOR RECOGNITION

Bangla Desh Government formally proclaimed

Press report on April 14, 1971.

A special mission on behalf of the Government of the republic of Bangla Desh is on its way to new Delhi from where it will go to other world capitals and to the U.N., reports UNI. quoting a Swadhin Bangla Biplabi Betar Kendra Broadcast monitored here. The mission set out this morning.

The Government appealed to India, Ceylon and other democratic countries of the world to take note of the formation of the government and recognize it and establish diplomatic relations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The broadcast also contained an appeal to democratic countries to extend help to the 75 million people of Bangla Desh in their fight to preserve freedom.

President Mujibur Rahman's Government, which was formally proclaimed today, with Syed Nasrul Islam as Vice-President and Mr, Tajuddin Ahmed as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, would have its headquarters at Chuadanga in the liberated area of Bangla Desh.

Three other Ministers were also named: Mr. Khondkar Mustafa Ahmed, Mr. A.H.M. Kamruzzaman and Mr. Mansur Ali, it was stated that the six-member Government would function as a war Cabinet and would be responsible for the prosecution of the liberation war.

The Government is giving the final touches to a charter which will setforth the aims and objectives of the new Republic.

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed a close associate of Mr. Rahman, led the Awami League team at the advisers-level meeting during the abortive constitutional talks last month.

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed and Mr. Kamruzzaman were both General Secretaries of the Awami League.

Mr. Kamruzzaman was also Secretary of the Awami League Party in the National Assembly.

Mr. Khondkar Mustafa Ahmed was believed to be the Awami Leagues' choice for the Speakership of the National Assembly which never met.

Mr. Mansur Ali, of Pabna was the leader of the Awami League Party in the Provincial Assembly.

Bangla Radio this morning repeated its announcement of last night that the Ministry had replaced the Provisional Government.

Awami League sources said the formation of the Government would instill new hope in the minds of the people of Bangla Desh.

They said that in the absence of a political leadership the effort and enthusiasm of the civilian population might have decreased, prolonging the war of liberation.

Sentiment in the refugee camps in Tripura and reports from across the border confirmed the spirit of optimism voiced by Awami League sources.

In two refugee camps there was tremendous enthusiasm among the war victims for the new Government headed by Mr. Rahman.

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—April 14, 1971)

DIRECTIVES ISSUED

Text of the Directives issued by Bangla Desh Government on April 13, 1971.

AGARTALA, April 13.—The Government of Bangla Desh, soon after its formal proclamation today issued a set of directives for the guidance of the people in the liberated areas.

The directives broadcast over Swadhin Bangla Radio were:

Take all injured to doctors and Kabirajs who will attend to them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Punish those who have betrayed the revolution.

Take directives from the local leaders of the Awami League.

All youths should report to the nearest liberation army command to receive training and orders.

All headmen should maintain close contacts with the headmen of nearby villages keeping them informed about everything.

All Government officers in the liberated areas should accept orders from the local Awami League headquarters.

Personnel of the river steam navigation services should not obey the directives broadcast over Radio Pakistan, Dacca, but should be guided by the directives of the Government of Bangla Desh.

Follow civil defence measures under the direction of the liberation force command of your area.

Beware of suspicious characters roaming in your area, and report to the nearest liberation force station as soon as you learn about suspicious movements in your area.

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—April 14, 1971)

TAJUDDIN CALLS FOR ARMS AID

Text of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's broadcast on April 14, 1971.

The Bangla Desh Prime Minister, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, today invited the world Press and diplomatic and political observers to tour the liberated areas and see for themselves the realities in his free country.

In a broadcast over the Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra Mr. Ahmed, also asked friendly Governments and people as well as international agencies like the Red Cross to establish direct contact with the Bangla Desh Government and render help.

Laying special emphasis on arms help which was "a permanent need for Bangla Desh today", the Prime Minister said arms were immediately needed to repel the aggressors.

He also appealed to countries supplying arms and ammunitiou to Pakistan to suspend forthwith their supplies to an "army of murders who were killing innocent men, women and children".

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—April 15, 1971)

BANGLA DESH BECOMES A REPUBLIC

THOUSANDS SEE BIRTH OF A NEW STATE

Appeal to World Leaders for Positive Help Report of declaration by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, on April 17, 1971.

Amidst thunderous cheers from a 10,000 strong crowd which included contingents of the EPR. Ansars and Mujahids. The Democratic Republic of Bangla Desh was proclaimed here this morning as a formally constituted state to be run by a presidential form of Government.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Prime Minister, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, declared that the Government's writ ran through 90 per cent of the territory, except for the cantonments and a few administrative headquarters which were being held by the Pakistan army. About 50 foreign journalists watched and recorded the proceedings.

The proclamation named Syed Nazrul Islam as a Vice-President, but explained that if the President, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, "is absent, or cannot function or is incapacitated", Mr. Islam would carry on the functions of the President.

Pending the formulation of a new Constitution, the President would be the head of the armed forces and the sole legislative authority. He would appoint the Prime Minister and his colleagues, levy taxes and authorize expenditure and would convene or adjourn a Constituent Assembly.

* * * *

The proclamation explained why this step had been necessary and affirmed that this was being done in accordance with the mandate of the people as reflected in the results of the last elections. The objective of the new state and "nation" would be to ensure human dignity and social justice. This, Mr. Islam said had been sought to be achieved peacefully by the state's 75 million people over the last 23 years. But they had been frustrated by the feudal interests and the military junta.

"Win We Must"

Their present struggle Mr. Islam said, was for political, cultural and economic emancipation of the people of Bangla Desh as well as for their very existence and "win we must today, tomorrow or the day after."

He urged foreign Journalists to convey his message to their respective countries that for the sake of human liberty, dignity and values as well as for the sake of democracy, big and small powers throughout the world, especially those in Africa and Asia should recognize his Government and "do something positive to alleviate the miseries of the Bangla Desh people".

The Prime Minister went a step further. He said in the past Pakistan had secured arms from other countries mainly for the defence of the country and at a very heavy cost in terms of hard labour by the people to earn foreign exchange. It was tragic that these arms were now being used against the unarmed people of Bangla Desh.

He urged these countries not only to stop fresh supplies but also to ensure that no further use was made of these lethal weapons against the people of Bangla Desh.

Simultaneously, he appealed for recognition of his Government and arms assistance from friendly countries. (The Foreign Minister, Mr. Khondkar Mustafa Ahmed, is expected to leave on a tour of different countries in the next three to four days.)

Colonel A. G. Osmani who has been named the new commander-in-Chief of the Bangla Desh forces, told reporters that he suspected that the Pakistan army had even been using the helicopters donated to Bangla Desh last year for flood relief. According to his information the army was not supposed to have had more than two helicopters at its disposal in the beginning of March this year.

Today's formal function at Mujibnagar by the Bangla Desh Government had a touch of drama about it. Actually the ceremony took place in Bhaberpara village which is located in Meherpur subdivision of Kushtia district and is 18 miles

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

north-west of Chuadanga which has been under the Pakistan Army since yesterday. To mark the occasion, the Prime Minister renamed the village as Mujibnagar.

Close to Border

It is within a mile of the Indian Border Security Force's outpost at Hridaypur. When asked why the function should be held so close to the Indian border, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed said it was only to ensure "your and our safety" and then pointing to a road passing by the dais he added: "You can go deep into Bangla Desh along this route uninterrupted". He himself had followed the route to reach the meeting place.

* * * *

At Mujibnagar, Mr. Islam was given the salute by a contingent of armed ansars. A contingent of the EPR later joined the gathering and presented arms to him. The function which began with the singing of a popular Bengali song—"Sonar Bangla amy to-maye Bhalobashi". (Oh, Dear Bengal I love you.)

It was attended by all the Prime Minister's Cabinet colleagues including Captain Mansoor Ali and Mr. A. N. M. Kamaruzzaman whose portfolios have yet to be announced and a large number of members of parliament and the Assembly. The proceedings began with a recitation from the Qoran and ended with such slogans as "Bengalis, take to arms and burn the Punjabi hordes". The proclamation in Bengali was read by Mr. Yusuf Ali, Chief Whip and an Awami League M.L.A.

* * * *

The Commander-in-Chief of the Bangla Desh Mukti Fouj, Col. Osmani, said if they received arms aid and other help from various countries, they could settle scores with the West Pakistani army soon.

"Otherwise the war will go on, may be for generations as we are determined in our mission", Col. Osmani told a group of Indian and Foreign correspondents.

He said the aim of the West Pakistani army was to destory the will of the people and to subjugate them. To this purpose the army had been using every thing it had, including 17 inch guns from the warships in Chittagong port. "Never in history has there been such a godless army".

Col. Osmani said that about a 100,000 of men, women and children had been killed by the Pakistani army according to a conservative estimate. The casualty of the Mukti Fouj was in four figures, he added.

(THE SUNDAY STATESMAN, New Delhi—April 18, 1971)

PRESS STATEMENT OF MR. TAJUDDIN AHMED, PRIME MINISTER OF BANGLA DESH ON APRIL 17, 1971.

(Issued after the inauguration of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh.)

Bangla Desh is at war. It has been given no choice but to secure its right of self-determination through a national liberation struggle against the colonial oppression of West Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the face of positive attempts by the Government of Pakistan to distort the facts in a desperate attempt to cover up their war of genocide in Bangla Desh, the world must be told the circumstances under which the peace-loving people of Bangla Desh were driven to substitute armed struggle for parliamentary politics to realise the just aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh.

The Six Point Programme for autonomy for Bangla Desh within Pakistan had been put forward in all sincerity by the Awami League as the last possible solution to preserve the integrity of Pakistan. Fighting the elections to the National Assembly on the issue of six points, the Awami League won 167 out of 169 seats from Bangla Desh in a House of 313. Its electoral victory was so decisive that it won 80% of the popular votes cast. The decisive nature of its victory placed it in a clear majority within the National Assembly.

The post election period was a time of hope, for never had a people spoken so decisively in the history of parliamentary democracy. It was widely believed in both Wings that a viable constitution based on six points could be worked out. The Pakistan People's Party which emerged as the leading party in Sind and Punjab had avoided raising the issue of six points in their election campaing and had no obligation whatsoever to its electorate to resist it. In Baluchistan, the dominant party National Awami Party, was fully committed to six points. In NWFP, the NAP, dominant in the Provincial Assembly, was also a believer in maximum autonomy. The course of the elections, which marked the defeat of the reactionary parties therefore, gave every reason to be optimistic about the future of democracy in Pakistan.

Preparatory to the convening of the National Assembly talks were expected between the main parties in the political arena. However, whilst the Awami League was always willing, preparatory to going to the Assembly, to explain its constitutional position and to discuss alternative proposals from the other parties, it believed that the spirit of a true democracy demanded that the constitution be debated and finalised in the National Assembly rather than in secret sessions. To this end, it insisted on an early summoning of the National Assembly. In anticipation of this session, the Awami League worked day and night to prepare a draft constitution based on six points and fully examined all the implications of formulating and implementing such a constitution.

The first major talks over Pakistan's political future took place between General Yahya and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in mid-January. In this session Genearal Yahya probed the extent of the Awami League's commitment to its programme and was assured that they were fully aware of its implications. But contrary to expectations, Yahya did not spell out his own ideas about the constitution. General Yahya gave the impression of not finding anything seriously objectionable in six points but emphasised the need for coming to an understanding with the PPP in West Pakistan.

The next round of talks took place between the PPP and the Awami League from 27th January 1971 in Dacca where Mr. Bhutto and his team held a number of sessions with the Awami League to discuss the constitution.

As in the case with Yahya, Mr. Bhutto did not bring any concrete proposals of his own about the nature of the constitution. He and his advisers were mainly interested in discussing the implications of six points. Since their responses were essentially negative and they had no prepared brief of their own it was not possible for the talks to develop into serious negotiations where attempts could be made to bridge the gap between the two parties. It was evident that as yet Mr. Bhutto had no formal position of his own from which to negotiate.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It must be made clear that when the PPP left Dacca there was no indica tion from their part that a deadlock had been reached with the Awami League. Rather they confirmed that all doors were open and that following a round of talks with West Pakistani leaders, the PPP would either have a second and more substantive round of talks with the Awami League or would meet in the National Assembly whose committees provided ample oppertunity for detailed discussion on the constitution.

Mr. Bhutto's announcement to boycott the National Assembly therefore came as a complete surprise. The boy-cott decision was surprising because Mr. Bhutto had already been accommodated once by the President when he refused Sheikh Mujib's plea for an early session of the Assembly on 15th February and fixed it, line with Mr. Bhutto's preference, for 3rd March.

Following his decision to boycott the Assembly Mr. Bhutto launched a campaign of intimidation against all other parties in West Pakistan to prevent them from attending the session. In this task, there is evidence that Lt.-Gen. Umer, Chairman of the National Security Council and close associate of Yahya, with a view to strengthening Mr. Bhutto's hand, personally pressurised various West Wing leaders not to attend the Assembly. In spite of this display of pressure tactics by Mr. Bhutto and Lt.-Gen. Umer, all members of the National Assembly from West Pakistan except the PPP and the Qayyum Muslim League had booked their seats to East Pakistan, for the session of 3rd March.

Within the QML. itself, half their members had booked their seats and there were signs of revolt within the PPP where many members were wanting to come to Dacca. Faced with the breakdown of this joint front against Bangla Desh, General Yahya obliged Mr. Bhutto on 1st March by postponing the Assembly, not for any definite period, but sine die. Moreover, he dismissed the Governor of East Pakistan, Admiral S. M. Ahsan, who was believed to be one of the moderates in his administration. The Cabinet with its component of Bengalis was also dismissed so that all power was concentrated in the hands of the West Wing military Junta.

In these circumstances Yahya's gesture could not be seen as anything but an attempt to frustrate the popular will by colluding with Mr. Bhutto. The National Assembly was the only forum where Bangla Desh could assert its voice and political strength, and to frustrate this was a clear indication that Parliament was not to be the real source of power in Pakistan.

The reaction to the postponement in Bangla Desh was inevitable and spontaneous and throughout the land people took to the streets to record their protest at this orbitrary act. People now felt sure that Yahya never really intended to transfer power, and was making a mockery of parliamentary politics. The popular mood felt that the rights of Bangla Desh could never be realised within the framework of Pakistan, where Yahya could so blatantly frustrate the summoning of an Assembly proclaimed by his own writ and urged that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman must go for full independence.

Sheikh Mujib however continued to seek a political settlement. In calling for a programme of non-co-operation on 3rd March he chose the weapon of peaceful confrontation against the army of occupation as an attempt to bring them to their senses. This was in itself a major gesture in the face of the cold-blooded firing on unarmed demonstrators on the 2nd and 3rd March which had already led to over a thousand casualties.

The course of the non-co-operation movement is now a part of history. Never in the course of any liberation struggle has non-co-operatoin been carried

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to the limits attained within Bangla Desh between 1st and 25th March. Non-co-operation was total. No judge of the High Court could be found to administer the oath of office to the new Governor, Lt.-Gen. Tikka Khan.The en-tire civilian administration including the police and the Civil Service of Pakistan refused to attend office. The people stopped supply of food to the army. Even the civilian employees of the defence establishment joined the boycott.

Non-co-operation did not stop at abstention from work. The civilian administration and police positively pledged their support to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and put themselves under his orders.

In this situation, the Awami League, without being a formally constituted Government, was forced to take on the responsibility of keeping the economy and administration running whilst non-cooperation lasted. In this task they had the unqualified support not only of the people but the administration and business community. The latter too subordinated themselves to the directives of the Awami League and accepted them as the sole authority to solve their various problems.

In these unique circumstances the economy and administration were kept going in spite of the formidable problems arising out of the power vacuum which had suddenly emerged in Bangla Desh. In spite of the lack of any formal authority, Awami League volunteers in co-operation with the police maintained a level of law and order, which was a considerable improvement on normal times.

Faced with this demonstration of total support to the Awami League and this historic non-co-operation movement, General Yahya appears to have modified his tactics. On the 6th March, he still seemed determined to provoke a confrontation when he made his highly provocative speech putting the full blame for the crisis on the Awami League and not even referring to the architect of the crisis, Mr. Bhutto. It seems that he expected a declaration of independence on 7th March. The army in Dacca was put on full alert to crush the move and Lt.-Gen. Tikka Khan was flown to replace Lt.-Gen. Yakub to signify the hardening of attitudes within the Junta.

Sheikh Mujib, however. once again opted for the path of political settlement in spite of massive public sentiment for independence. In presenting his 4-point proposal for attending the National Assembly he not only had to contain the public mood but to leave a way open for Yahya to explore this last chance for a peaceful settlement.

It is now clear that Yahya and his Generals never had the slightest intention of solving Pakistan's political crisis peacefully, but were only interested in buying time to permit the reinforcement of their military machine within Bangla Desh. Yahya's visit to Dacca was a mere cover for his plan of genocide. It now becomes clear that contingency plans for such a crisis had already begun well in advance of the crisis.

Shortly before 1st March, tanks which had been sent north to Rangpur to defend the borders were brought back to Dacca. From 1st March the families of army personnel were being sent off to West Pakistan on a priority basis along with the families of West Pakistani businessmen.

The military build-up was accelerated after 1st March and continued throughout the talks upto 25th March. Members of the armed forces dressed in civilian clothes were flown in PIA commercial flights via Ceylon. C-130s carrying arms and provisions for the garrisons flew into Dacca. It is estimated that upto one division, with complementary support, was brought into Bangla Desh between 1st and 25th March. To ensure security, the airport was put under strict

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

air force control and heavily guarded with artillery and machine-gun nets whilst movement of passengers was strictly supervised. An SSG Commando Group specially trained for undercover operations in sabotage and assassinations was distributed in key centres of Bangla Desh and were probably responsible for the attacks on Bengalis in Dacca and Saidpur in the two days before 25th March to provoke clashes between locals and non-locals so as to provide a cover for military intervention.

As part of this strategy of deception Yahya adopted the most conciliatory posture in his talks with Mujib. In the talks beginning on 16th March, he expressed regrets for what had happened and his sincere desire for a political settlement. In a crucial meeting with Sheikh Mujib he was asked to positively state the Junta's position on the Awami League's 4-point proposal. He indicated that there were no serious objections and that an interim constitution could be worked out by the respective Advisers embodying the four points.

The basic points on which agreement was reached were:

(1) Lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to a Civilian Government by a Presidential Proclamation.

(2) Transfer of power in the provinces to the majority parties.

(3) Yahya to remain as President and in control of the Central Government.

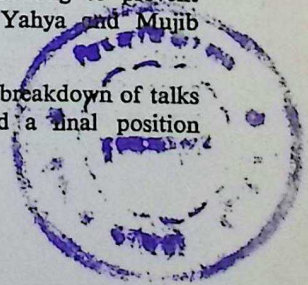
(4) Separate sittings of the National Assembly members from East and West Pakistan preparatory to a joint session of the house to finalise the constitution.

Contrary to the distortions now put out by both Yahya and Bhutto, the proposal for separate sittings of the Assembly was suggested by Yahya to accommodate Mr. Bhutto. He cited the practical advantage that whilst 6-points provided a viable blueprint to regulate relations between Bangla Desh and the Centre, ts application would raise serious difficulties in the West Wing. For this reason, West Wing MNAs must be permitted to get together to work out a new pattern of relationships in the context of a six-point constitution and the dissolution of One-Unit.

Once this agreement in principle had been reached between Sheikh Mujib and Yahya, there was only the question of defining the powers of Bangla Desh vis-a-vis the Centre during the interim phase. Here it was again jointly agreed that the distribution of power should as far as possible approximate to the final constitution approved by the National Assembly which it was expected would be based on 'Six Points.'

For working out this part of the interim settlement, Mr. M. M. Ahmed, the Economic Adviser to the President, was specially flown in. In his talks with the Awami League advisers he made it clear that provided the political agreement had been reached there were no insuperable problem to working out some version of six points even in the interim period. The final list of three amendments to the Awami League draft which he presented as suggestions, indicated that the gap between the Government and Awami League position was no longer one of principle but remained merely over the precise phrasing of the proposals. The Awami League in its sitting of 24th March accepted the amendments with certain minor changes of language and there was nothing to prevent the holding of a final drafting session between the advisers of Yahya and Mujib when the interim constitution would be finalised.

It must be made clear that at no stage was there any breakdown of talks or any indication by General Yahya or his team that they had a final position which could not be abandoned.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The question of legal cover for the transfer of power is merely another belated fabrication by Yahya to cover his genocide. He and his team had agreed that, in line with the precedence of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, power could be transferred by Presidential Proclamation. The notice that there would be no legal cover to the arrangement raised subsequently by Mr. Bhutto and endorsed by General Yahya was never a bone of contention between Sheikh Mujib and Yahya. There is not the slightest doubt that had Yahya indicated that a meeting of the National Assembly was essential to transfer power, the Awami League would not have broken the talks on such a minor legal technicality. After all as the majority party it had nothing to fear from such a meeting and its acceptance of the decision for a separate sitting was designed to accommodate Mr. Bhutto rather than a fundamental stand for the party.

Evidence that agreement in principle between contending parties had been reached is provided by Mr. Bhutto's own Press Conference on 25th March. It is not certain what passed in the separate session between General Yahya and Mr. Bhutto but there is evidence that deliberate falsehoods about the course of the talk with the Awami League were fed on the PPP who were told tha t Sheikh Mujib was determined to have a showdown and was daily escalating his demands. Needless to say not the slightest indication of these misgivings had been raised in the meetings between the Awami League team and General Yahya's advisers where amicability and optimism prevailed to the end.

Whilst hope for a settelement was being raised, more ominous signs of the intentions of the army were provided by their sudden decision to unload the munition ships M.V. Swat berthed at Chittagong Port. Preparatory to this decision, Brigadier Mazumdar, a Bengali Officer Commanding the garrison in Chittagong, had been suddenly removed from his command and replaced by a West Pakistani. On 24th night he was flown to Dacca under armed escort and has probably been executed. Under the new command notice was given to local authorities of the decision to unload the ship in spite of the fact that the army had abstained from doing so for the last 17 days in the face of non-co-operation from the port workers. The decision to unload was a calculated provocation which immediately brought 100,000 people on the streets of Chittagong and led to massive firing by the Army to break their way out. The issue was raised by the Awami League with General Peerzada as to why this escalation was being permitted whilst talks were still going on. He gave no answer beyond a promise to pass it on to General Yahya.

Following the final meeting between General Yahya's and Awami League's advisers on 24th March where Mr. M. M. Ahmed passed on his amendments, a call was awaited from General Peerzada for a final session where the draft could be finalised. No such call materialised and instead it was learnt that Mr. M. M. Ahmed, who was central to the negotiations, had suddenly left for Karachi on the 25th morning without any warning to the Awami League Team.

By 11 p.m. of the 25th all preparations were ready and the troops began to take up their positions in the City. In an act of treachery unparallelled in contemporary history a programme of calculated genocide was unleashed on the peaceful and unsuspecting population of Dacca by midnight of 25th March. No ultimatum was given to the Awami League by Yahya, no curfew order was even issued when the machine guns, artillery and cannon on the tanks unleashed their reign of death and destruction. By the time the first Martial Law proclamations issued by Lt. General Tikka Khan were broadcast the next morning some 50,000 people, most of them without offering any resistance and many women and children, had been butchered. Dacca had been turned into an inferno with fires raging in most corners of the City. Sleeping inhabitants who

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

had been drawn from their homes by the fires started by the military, were machine gunned as they ran to escape the flames.

Whilst the police, EPR and armed volunteers put up a heroic resistance, the main victims remained the weak, the innocent and the unsuspecting who were killed at random in their thousands. We are compiling a first hand account of the details of genocide committed by the Pakistan Army on the orders of the President of Pakistan which we will publish shortly. The scale and brutality of the action exceeds anything perpetrated in the civilised world.

Yahya himself left Dacca on the night of 25th March after having unleashed the Pakistan Army, with an open licence to commit genocide on all Bengalis. His own justification for this act of barbarism was not forthcoming till 8 p.m. the next day when the world was given its first explanation for the unleashing of this holocaust. The statement was self-contradictory and laced with positive lies. His branding of a party as traitors and outlaws, with whom he had only 48 hours ago been negotiating for a peaceful transfer of power, bore no relationship to the situation in Bangla Desh or the course of the negotiations. His promise to hand over power to the elected representatives of the people after banning the Awami League which was the sole representative of Bangla Desh and held a majority of seats in the National Assembly was a mockery of the freely recorded voice of 75 million Bangalis. The crudity of the statement was clear evidence that Yahya was no longer interested in taking shelter behind either logic or morality and had reverted to the law of the jungle in his bid to crush the people of Bangla Desh.

Pakistan is now dead and buried under a mountain of corpses. The hundreds and thousands of people murdered by the army in Bangla Desh will act as an impenetrable barrier between West Pakistan and the people of Bangla Desh. By resorting to pre-planned genocide Yahya must have known that he was himself digging Pakistan grave. The subsequent massacres perpetrated on his orders by his licensed killers on the people were not designed to preserve the unity of a nation. They were acts of racial hatred and sadism devoid of even the elements of humanity. Professional soldiers, on orders, violated their code of military honour and were seen as beasts of prey who indulged in an orgy of murder, rape, loot, arson and destruction unequalled in the annals of civilisation. These acts indicate that the concept of two countries is already deeply rooted in the minds of Yahya and his associates who would not dare commit such atrocities on their own countrymen.

Yahya's genocide is thus without political purpose. It serves only as the last act in the tragic history of Pakistan which Yahya has chosen to write with the blood of the people of Bangla Desh. The objective is genocide and scorched-earth before his troops are either driven out or perish. In this time he hopes to liquidate our political leadership intelligentsia and administration, to destroy our industries and public amenities and as a final act he intends to raze our cities to the ground. Already his occupation army has made substantial progress towards this objective. Bangla Desh will be set back 50 years as West Pakistan's parting gift, to a people they have exploited for twenty-three years for their own benefit.

This is a point of major significance to those great powers who choose to ignore this largest single act of genocide since the days of Belsen and Auschwitz. If they think they are preserving the unity of Pakistan, they can forget it because Yahya himself has no illusion about the future of Pakistan.

They must realise that Pakistan is dead, murdered by Yahya—and the independent Bangla Desh is a reality sustained by the indestructible will and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

courage of 75-million Bengalis who are daily nurturing the roots of this new nationhood with their blood. No power on earth can unmake this new nation and sooner or later both big and small powers will have to accept it into the world fraternity.

It is, therefore, in the interest of politics as much as humanity for the big powers to put their full pressure on Yahya to cage his killers and bring them back to West Pakistan. We will be eternally grateful to the people of the USSR and India and the freedom loving people of all the countries for their full support they have already given us in this struggle. We would welcome similar support from the People's Republic of China, USA, France and Great Britain and others. Each in their own way should exercise considerable leverage on West Pakistan; and were they to exercise this influence, Yahya could not sustain his war of aggression against Bangla Desh for a single day longer.

Bangla Desh will be the eighth most populous country in the world. Its only goal will be to rebuild a new nation from the ashes and carnage left behind by Yahya's occupation army. It will be a stupendous task because we are already one of the world's poorest nations. But we now have cause and a people who have been hardened in the resistance, who have, shed their blood for their nation and won their freedom in an epic struggle which pitted unarmed people against a modern army. Such a nation cannot fail in its task of securing the foundations of its nationhood.

In our struggle for survival we seek the friendship of all people, the big powers and the small. We do not aspire to join any bloc or pact but will seek assistance from those who give it in a spirit of goodwill free from any desire to control our destinies. We have struggled far too long for our self-determination to permit ourselves to become anyone's satellite.

We now appeal to the nations of the world for recognition and assistance both material and moral in our struggle for nationhood. Every day this is delayed a thousand lives are lost and more of Bangla Desh's vital assets are destroyed. In the name of humanity act now and earn our undying friendship.

This we now present to the world as the CASE of the people of Bangla Desh. No nation has a greater right to recognition, no people have fought harder for this right.

JOI BANGLA

FULL SUPPORT TO BANGLA DESH GOVERNMENT

Press Statement issued by Professor Muzaffar Ahamed, President of National Awami Party, Bangla Desh, on April 20, 1971

We felicitate in glowing terms the establishment of the sovereign government of People's Democratic Republic of Bangla Desh with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as its titular head. We further congratulate the heroic struggle of the liberation army (Mukti Fouj) of Bangla Desh in their determined endeavour and struggle to root out and repulse the Pakistani occupation army from the sacred soil of our mother land. *We declare in unequivocal terms that the government headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is the only legally constituted government of Bangla Desh. And urge upon all the democratic and progressive nations of the world to recognise the newly-born state and its government and to render all material help and moral support.* In this connection, we deem it our duty to gratefully acknowledge

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the sympathy received from all peace-loving and democratic people of the world and especially the support and co-operation given by the people and the governments of India and the Soviet Union.

In the name of humanity, tenets of civilisation and conscience we fervently appeal to all democratic and progressive nations of the world and to the UNO to effectively move so as to immediately stop the genocide being perpetrated on the hundreds and thousands of innocent and unarmed men, women and children of Bangla Desh.

The paramount need of the hour is the formation of a broad united front of the democratic parties and forces in order to conduct the liberation struggle and to carry it through. We urge upon the Awami League leadership and the Government of Bangla Desh to take initiative in this matter.

We give a clarion call to all the sons and daughters of Bangla Desh to carry forward the armed struggle with renewed vigour and determination till its victory. While paying respect and homage to the tens and thousands of martyrs of this struggle, we firmly declare that the blood of the martyrs cannot and shall not go in vain and the struggle of the people shall triumph. The barbarous policy of genocide pogrom and mass extermination of the military junta of Pakistan will be repulsed by the determined march of the 75-million people of Bangla Desh. The victory will be ours.

Long live the free people of the Democratic Republic of Bangla Desh!

MAULANA ABDUL HAMID KHAN BHASANI'S APPEAL TO WORLD LEADERS

Dated April 21, 1971.

I

SECRETARY-GENERAL U-THANT, UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

On behalf of the 75-million people of Bangla Desh I appeal to you to use your good offices and raise your voice against the barbarities and brutalities being committed by the trigger happy soldiers of dictator General Yahya Khan on the innocent, unarmed and defenceless people of Bangla Desh irrespective of their caste, creed and sect, including women, children and even new born babies in their mothers' arms. I appeal to you to raise your voice against this brutal suppression of fundamental human freedom and birth right of the people of Bangla Desh to decide their own destiny without any interference from West Pakistan. I appeal to you, Mr. Secretary-General, in the name of humanity to issue an immediate appeal to stop these brutal massacres of innocent people and to extend all possible help for the relief of the victims of dictator General Yahya Khan against military rule in Bangla Desh. I would welcome sending your observers inside Bangla Desh to see the nature and volume of looting, arson, mass killings and molestation of women by West Pakistani Army so that they can reveal the true picture of the sordid tale of Bangla Desh to the people of the world through the United Nations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

II

PRESIDENT MAO TSE-TUNG, PREMIER CHOU-EN-LAI, PEKING, CHINA

Ideology of Socialism is to fight against oppression. I appeal to you to save seven and half crores of oppressed people of Bangla Desh from the atrocities committed on them by the military junta of dictator General Yahya Khan. Yahya's military government, by the help of modern war weapons supplied by your government, are mercilessly and brutally slaying the innocent, unarmed, helpless peasants, labourers, students, intelligentsia, women and children of Bangla Desh. If your Government do not protest this brutal atrocities committed on oppressed masses of Bangla Desh by the military junta with the help of vested interests of West Pakistan, the world may think that you are not the friend of oppressed people.

No such example of oppression, which the military junta is inflicting upon the innocent masses of Bangla Desh, will be found even in times of Chiang Kai-Shek's rule in your own land, Czar's rule in Russia and in times of British Imperialism in pre-independent India. The reports of atrocities and oppression, which are being given publicity by various Indian agencies, are in fact the smallest portion of the volume and nature of oppression and atrocities which are really happening in wretched land of Bangla Desh at present. World will come to know the true picture and actual nature, and will know the truth of my com plaints, if the journalists, intelligentsia, politicians of any country, even of the countries friendly to Yahya's government, made field survey.

You are well aware that there are tremendous peoples' support behind the Independent Bangla Desh Government than that of Sihanouk Government's of Combodia. I, therefore, earnestly request you to please extend your support, recognition and all possible help to the Government of Independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

I had to undergo 31 years of imprisonment to achieve independence of Indo-Pak sub-continent and to achieve people's rights in Pakistan. I am at present an old man of 89. At this stage of my life my humble residence has been gutted by the barbarous soldiers of Yahya Khan. My precious collection of books from different countries has also been burnt by them. I do not know what has happened to the fate of my family after my house was set on fire.

III

SECRETARY-GENERAL BREZHNEV, PRESIDENT PODGORNY, CHAIRMAN KOSYGIN, KREMLIN, MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

On behalf of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh may I convey to you our appreciation of the statement issued by the Presidium of Supreme Soviet through President Podgorny on the situation in East Bengal? I should, however, like to point out that more positive action is urgently required to stop the barbarous massacre of hundreds of thousands of unarmed, helpless masses of Bangla Desh by the brutal military dictatorship of General Yahya Khan. These massacres are being perpetrated by the West Pakistani army with modern weapons of war supplied by U.S.A. and China. People are being butchered by the trigger happy soldiers of West Pakistan irrespective of caste, creed and sect, including women, children and even new-born babies in their mothers' arms. They excel in their brutality anything that has happened in history before. I earnestly appeal to you to stop this bloody massacre and not supply any aid to the military dictatorship of Pakistan. Your country and your people, under the enlightened

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and wise leadership of Lenin, have stood for the rights of oppressed peoples to self determination, and have given moral, political and material support to national liberation movements in various parts of the world. I would, therefore, appeal to you to do the same for Bangla Desh and give it immediate recognition and all possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

The Soviet Union is part of Asia as well as Europe. The Leninist policy of peace is a great stabilising factor for development throughout the world, particularly in the developing countries. What is happening in Bangla Desh today is the worst form of colonialism and imperialism. Looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women are the order of the day. We rely on the people of the U.S.S.R. to raise their voice against these barbarities and the suppression of human rights. I hope that your government will give immediate attention to this urgent problem and see that the 75 million people of Bangla Desh are allowed the freedom to decide their own destiny without any interference from the military dictatorship of Yahya Khan.

I had to undergo 31 years of imprisonment to achieve independence of Indo-Pak sub-continent and to achieve peoples' rights in Pakistan. I am at present an old man of 89. At this stage of my life my humble residence has been gutted by the barbarous soldiers of Yahya Khan. My precious collection of books from different countries has also been burnt by them. I do not know what has happened to the fate of my family after my house was set on fire.

IV

PRESIDENT NIXON, WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

Under the direction of dictator General Yahya Khan, and with the help of modern war weapons supplied by yours and China Governments the barbarous soldiers of West Pakistan are brutally slaying lakhs of innocent, unarmed and helpless masses of Bangla Desh irrespective of caste, creed and sect, including women, children and even new-born babies in their mothers' arms.

I fervently appeal to you to please stop fresh supply of arms and to do the needful to give an effective check in using those weapons previously supplied, so that Yahya's Government could not use these arms in killing the unarmed masses in Bangla Desh.

Please extend your immediate recognition and all possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

I shall be highly obliged if you be kind enough to please make an arrangement so that the foreign correspondents of different news agencies are able to tour inside Bangla Desh to see the nature and volume of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings, and molestation of women in Bangla Desh by West Pakistani army so that they can reveal the true picture of sordid tales of Bangla Desh to the people of the world.

V

PRESIDENT POMPIDOU, PARIS, FRANCE

On behalf of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh may I appeal to you to raise your voice against the barbarous atrocities being committed by West Pakistani soldiers under the direction of dictator General Yahya Khan and with the help of modern weapons of war supplied to him by your government and other governments? I appeal to you to raise your voice against the brutal suppression of human rights in Bangla Desh. France has a great tradition of leading the revolutionary movements of the world, and will, I hope, under your

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wise leaderships, give a lead in recognising the fundamental rights of the people of Bangla Desh to decide their destiny without any interference from the military regime of West Pakistan. France was great enough to recognise, the realities of the situation in Vietnam and Algeria, and, we hope, you can convince the dictator General Yahya Khan to learn from these examples. I would earnestly appeal to you to extend immediate recognition and all possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh. I would further welcome visits by your Press correspondents to tour inside Bangla Desh and see for themselves the nature and volume of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women by the trigger happy soldiers of West Pakistan on the innocent, unarmed and helpless people of Bangla Desh.

VI

PRIME MINISTER EDWARD HEATH, LONDON, U.K.

I appeal to you on behalf of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh to raise your voice in support of their birth right for freedom to decide their own destiny. I appeal to you to raise your voice against the brutal massacre of hundreds of thousands of innocent East Bengalis by the military dictatorship of General Yahya Khan. I further appeal to you to stop any fresh supply of arms and to ensure that any arms supplied by U.K. are not used in killing unarmed, helpless masses in Bangla Desh. I hope that your government will recognise the realities of the situation and extend immediate recognition and all possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh. It was heartrending to read accounts of atrocities by British correspondents in the British newspapers. However, even these accounts fall far short of real nature and volume of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women that is being perpetrated by the trigger happy soldiers of West Pakistan on the innocent and defenceless people of Bangla Desh.

VII

PRESIDENT TITO, BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA

I appeal to you on behalf of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh to raise your voice against the barbarous atrocities being committed by the West Pakistani soldiers under the direction of dictator General Yahya Khan on the unarmed and defenceless people of Bangla Desh. I appeal to you to raise your voice against the brutal suppression of human rights in Bangla Desh. Your powerful voice has always been raised whenever human rights and human dignity have been suppressed. I request you, Mr. President, to speak out against un-speakable atrocities which are now going on in Bangla Desh and the complete denial of human freedom by the use of brutal force which is taking place there. I would earnestly appeal to you to extend immediate recognition and every possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh. I would welcome visits by your press correspondents to Bangla Desh to see for themselves the nature and volume of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women being committed by the trigger happy soldiers of West Pakistan on the innocent, unarmed and helpless people of Bangla Desh.

VIII

PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT, CAIRO, U.A.R.

Mr. President, I am addressing this appeal to you in your capacity as a great leader of the Muslim World to raise your voice in support of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh whose fundamental rights and freedoms are being brutally assaulted by the trigger happy soldiers of dictator General Yahya Khan. It is a travesty of Islam that is being

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

perpetrated by the West Pakistani soldiers in Bangla Desh today. Hundreds of West Pakistani soldiers, armed to the teeth with modern weapons of war by imperialist powers. are killing innocent, unarmed, defenceless people of Bangla Desh in hundreds of thousands. The nature and volume of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women has to be seen to be believed. May I appeal to you to raise your voice against these brutalities and the suppression of human rights, and extend immediate recognition and all possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh and for their right to decide their own destiny without any interference from the military dictatorship of West Pakistan?

IX

Mr. ABDEL KHALEK HASSOUNA

Secretary-General, Arab League, Cairo, U.A.R.

I appeal to you on behalf of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh to bring before the Arab League the brutalities being committed by trigger happy soldiers of General Yahya Khan on the innocent, unarmed and defenceless people of Bangla Desh. Women have been molested systematically, and even new-born babies in their mothers' arms have not been spared. All these unspeakable acts have been perpetrated by a Muslim army on an overwhelmingly Muslim population. The Arab League has raised its voice against oppression and injustice. Its silence on the horrible events in Bangla Desh has caused disappointment and dismay. I would request you to bring the tragic events in Bangla Desh, since the ruthless soldiers of General Yahya Khan were let loose on the 25th March, before the Arab League so that the voice of its august members may help in stopping the carnage and the suppression of human rights which is going on in Bangla Desh today. I would welcome visits by your representatives to tour inside Bangla Desh and see for themselves the extent of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women being committed by the soldiers of West Pakistan on the innocent, unarmed and helpless people of Bangla Desh.

X

Mr. DIALLO TELLI

Secretary-General, O.A.U., Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

On behalf of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh I appeal to the O.A.U. to raise its voice against the barbarities and brutalities being committed by the trigger happy soldiers of General Yahya Khan on the innocent, unarmed and defenceless people of Bangla Desh. The mass killings of men, women and children, and molestation of women by the West Pakistani army in Bangla Desh is unprecedented in recent history. A small military clique is trying by the use of brutal force to suppress the rights of the people of Bangla Desh and human dignity and freedom. The O.A.U., which has fought for elimination of colonialism, should take note of the naked assertion of colonialism taking place in Bangla Desh today.

I appeal to you, Mr. Secretary-General, in the name of humanity to stop these brutal massacres of innocent people and to extend all possible help for the relief of the victims of dictator General Yahya Khan's military rule in Bangla Desh.

PRESS STATEMENT OF MAULANA ABDUL HAMID KHAN BHASANI

President, National Awami Party, Bangla Desh, April 22, 1971

Lakhs of Bengalis suffered tortures in jails and in detention and many of them were hanged for trying to free the country from the British imperialists. It is a tragedy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that though they achieved freedom from the British rule, the West Pakistan rulers and exploiters hatched a conspiracy to crush the 7½ crore Bengalis politically, economically, culturally and socially, though the Bengalis were in a majority in Pakistan. The historic Lahore resolution for the creation of Pakistan spoke of two independent and sovereign States in the East and the West. The struggle for making East Bengal a sovereign independent State has been going on since the creation of Pakistan, in accordance with this resolution. The West Pakistan rulers have tried to foil this struggle by oppression and by appointing some agents who worked in the interests of the West Pakistan feudal and capitalist overlords. But the people of East Bengal have struggled continuously for the last 23 years and have given much blood to get independence for themselves. The armed struggle of 1971 is the culmination of this struggle.

In 1949, the then Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan tried to foist a ridiculous constitution which was nipped in the bud by the people of East Bengal. They foiled the attempt of West Pakistan leaders to crush the mother-tongue of Bengalis, the majority of the people of Pakistan. The historic Language Movement of 1952 is a shining example. In 1954, the people of East Bengal recorded a historic victory in the ballot boxes against the exploiters from West Pakistan. Then was imposed Iskander Mirza's rule and they inflicted inhuman atrocities on the people of East Bengal, after Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq's Ministry was dismissed by the Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad. Afterwards, the military dictator Ayub dissolved the Parliament and nullified the constitution and banned all political parties. He inflicted a reign of terror on all political parties. But the Bengalis were not daunted. They were not silenced. In 1962, the students started a movement against Ayub. With the help of some agents, Ayub tried to hoodwink the world and tried to crush the independence movement in East Bengal. The revolutionary Bengalis started a movement against the Ayub regime and protested against the Ayub regime's so-called Agartala Conspiracy Case. When the students, peasants, workers and political parties launched mass movement in 1969-70, Ayub was compelled to retire after handing over power to another military dictator Yahya Khan. Gen. Yahya Khan was forced to promise that he would establish democracy but he continued his conspiracy behind the curtain. The West Pakistani military rulers, capitalists and feudalists thought that in the name of Islam and integrity and by spending huge amount of money, they would be able to win over some traitors who would work as their agents for permanent exploitation. In 1970, however, the people of East Bengal voted for the Awami League enmass and expressed their determination to establish a sovereign Bengal on the basis of the Lahore Resolution. More than 99 percent of the representatives were elected in 1970 with boat as their symbol. The reason for this historic victory can be found in the dream of the Bengalis to have an independent and sovereign Bangla Desh. Rulers of West Pakistan could not realise beforehand that the people of East Bengal would give such a tremendously unified election verdict against the oppression and exploitation of West Pakistani vested interests. This election verdict made them unnerved and simultaneously infuriated them against the people of East Bengal.

So, totally, ignoring the democratic rights of 7½ crore Bengalis. Gen. Yahya Khan, under cover of long negotiation unleashed his army on the people on March 25. He himself fled away from Dacca at midnight. Under Tikka Khan's leadership, an orgy of violence and murder was let loose in Dacca from 10-30 p.m. on March 25. The army started killing the students, young men, teachers, professors, intellectuals, traders and others with tanks, artillery, mortar, machine-guns and other deadly weapons. They demolished schools, colleges, mosques, temples, hostels and industrial areas and burnt innumerable houses. From March 26, they started this killing in cities like Jessore, Rangpur, Pabna, Kushtia, Chuadanga, Bagura, Tangail, Mymensingh and many other places. They bombed and strafed thousands of innocent people. They burnt the villages on the road side and committed mass murder. Women and children were not spared. Women were molested and there was wide scale looting of food stuff and livestocks.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shops and banks were looted by the soldiers. Women were kidnapped from schools and colleges. Who knows what has happened to them.

Has anybody heard of such atrocities ? Is there any parallel in history ? The examples of Ching-kai-shek in China and Czar in Russia and of British oppression in undivided India or the zulum of Zalem Yazid at Karbala pale into insignificance before this latest example of inhuman atrocity. The Yahya regime and his supporters think that they will be able to crush the people of East Bengal permanently by such oppression and they will be able to continue their exploitation by breaking the backbone of Bengalis. They thought of telling the world that the people of Bengal did not want independence. They wanted to tell the world that Pakistan's enemy India has created this movement by helping a handful of miscreants of East Bengal. But the people of the world cannot be misled. They knew why foreign correspondents were expelled from East Bengal on March 26. Is it not because the Pakistani rulers were afraid that the foreign press would expose the barbaric atrocity and tell the world of the great struggle of independence of the people of Bengal ?

The foreign correspondents endangered their lives to get news of the war during the last world war. There is not a single instance in the history of the world of a dictator like Yahya who expelled the correspondents from the country. The barbaric Government not only prevented correspondents but they prevented the International Red Cross from going there to render help to the people of Bengal who have been oppressed inhumanly and rendered homeless. They did this to cover up their own misdeeds. They wanted to ensure that the world would not know that the people of Bengal were prepared to give their lives for independence. There is no connection between this people's war and India. If a nation does not have its own urge, it cannot get independence with outside help.

The question is whether the people of the world and nation of the world will support the struggle of the 7½ crore people of Bengal for independence or support the abominable conspiracy of the dictatorial exploiting ruling clique which is indulging in mass murder.

Yahya, who is a Muslim himself, in the name of religion is mercilessly killing lakhs of Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Buddhists. His soldiers who say that they are Muslims are raping women, including Muslim women. Though Muslims themselves, they are destroying mosques. They kill Muslims who are offering prayers. What will the Muslim world do about this ? Will they support the un-Islamic anti-humanity abominable policy of Yahya ? Or will they support the cause of truth, justice and love as preached by Islam ?

The 7½ crore Bengalis like to know from the democratic world if it will support Yahya's dictatorship ? Will they remain neutral and thereby support him under the pretext that the situation was Pakistan's internal affairs ? The freedom struggle of East Bengal cannot be Pakistan's internal affairs. The West Pakistanis have ignored the Lahore Resolution which was unanimously accepted by 10 crores Muslims of undivided India. By ignoring this basic resolution of Pakistan movement they have tried to convert East Bengal as their colony for the last 23 years. This is a just struggle of the heroic Bengali preople for independence and for preventing exploitation and loss of independence. The demonic West Pakistanis are trying to enslave the Bengalis and establish their empire. Has the world opinion nothing to do in this mass killing ? Will the democrartic world support the mass killing with some excuse or other ? The socialist world, including China, has always helped the exploited and oppressed people in their struggle for establishing their rights. What role will they play in the current killing in East Bengal when the 7½ crore people are fighting the final battle for independence after being exploited for 23 years ? By suppporting Yahya, how can they convince the world opinion that they are friends of the oppressed people ?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

East Bengal is a part of Asia. The people of this country look towards the Asian nations, particularly to the Afro-Asian nations. The people of East Bengal, in this moment of crisis puts a burning question to humanity whether their great and just struggle will be allowed to be crushed for ever ?

I make a fervent appeal to all peace-loving and democratic minded people and Government of the world to extend an early recognition to the newly formed Independent Government of People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

I appeal to all the people of East Bengal, I appeal to the peasants, workers, blacksmiths, pottery workers, boatmen, weavers, persons engaged in cottage industry, students, traders, intelligentsia and service holders and others to forge an unity like steel. Some opportunists of East Bengal who are exposed are trying to mislead you in the name of religion and integrity by carrying on false propaganda. They are agents of the military junta, industrialists, feudalist, and despotic bureaucrats of West Pakistan. These Mir Zafars of East Bengal have stabbed the freedom movement in the back during the last 23 years by being the agents of the West Pakistani vested interests. Don't listen to these traitors. The vested interests will have their purpose served if they can split your unity and steely determination.

You will then be slaves of the West Pakistan military rulers, capitalists, bureaucrats and feudalists for ever and ever. At the present moment, unity, mental strength and burning patriotism are our most vital weapons. Our victory is certain. God hates the oppressors and traitors. We will definitely get the blessings of Allah in our great struggle and we will establish a free sovereign happy and prosperous Bangla Desh in East Bengal.

May Allah be with us.

TAJUDDIN'S PLEA FOR ARMS AID

Press report of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's appeal on April 28, 1971

KOHIMA, April 28: The Bangla Desh Prime Minister, *Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, today appealed to neighbouring countries to grant immediate recognition to Bangla Desh* and to give unconditional arms aid and thus help a new-born country to free itself from the clutches of a murderous army.

In a message to the nation, broadcast over the Free Bangla Desh Radio and monitored here, the Prime Minister urged his countrymen to drive away the invaders " who are causing bloodshed on our soil by the weapons purchased from the exploited money of our own countrymen".

He said that Rangpur, Dinajpur, Faridpur, Bogra and Mymensingh (except Cantonment areas) had been liberated from the West Pakistan army and expressed confidence that the remaining areas would come under the Bangla Desh Government shortly.

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed categorically told his countrymen that the time was now ripe for " dividends to the untold sacrifices " made by lakhs of people in Bangla Desh.

Referring to the innumerable youths, who had laid down their lives for the cause of liberation the Prime Minister said their names would shine in the history of freedom fighters for all time to come.

He also appealed to Bengalis residing in foreign countries to give all possible help to freedom struggle.

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—April 29, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ON THE SITUATION IN BANGLA DESH

Text of the Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh), to Fraternal Communist and Worker's Parties, dated May 3, 1971

Dear Comrades,

The people of the world are today aware of the fact that since 25th March midnight an unparalleled genocide is being committed in East Pakistan (now named Bangla Desh) by reactionary ruling military junta of Pakistan. In the course of the last five weeks, the Pakistan army has killed some hundreds of thousands of people, including prominent leaders and intellectuals; pillaged and ravaged the cities of Dacca, Chittagong and other towns; burnt down hundreds of villages and markets and destroyed educational institutions, including Dacca University hostels as well as other properties worth tens of millions of rupees throughout Bangla Desh. Such wanton destruction of human lives and properties is still going on and about one million helpless and penniless people of Bangla Desh have crossed the border and taken refuge in India. The military junta of Pakistan is actually waging a war of annihilation against the innocent and unarmed people of Bangla Desh using the land army, air force and naval force. Modern history has rarely witnessed such widescale brutalities and atrocities as are being perpetrated now in Bangla Desh.

But in order to confuse the world public opinion, the reactionary ruling military junta of Pakistan, headed by General Yahya Khan, has raised the bogey that the people of Bangla Desh led by the Awami League have launched a movement for secession of Bangla Desh and disintegration of Pakistan "with the help of India" and that the steps taken by the army in Bangla Desh are necessary to maintain the integrity and solidarity of the state of Pakistan.

But all these are colossal hoaxes. The reality is otherwise. The real fact is that the people of Bangla Desh were always fighting for their just national and democratic rights, and the ruling military junta of Pakistan was trying to drown that popular struggle in blood. The following facts and especially the political background of today's happening will prove it beyond doubt.

Suppression of Nationalities

To explain the political background of the genocide in Bangla Desh it is first necessary to state the peculiar character of the state of Pakistan. Pakistan was carved out of the Indian sub-continent in 1947. Five nationalities (such as Bengalis, Sindhis, Punjabis, Pathans and Baluchis) and two regions (East and West Pakistan) widely separated by a distance of more than one thousand miles, and in between which lies Indian territory, were lumped together under a single state (Pakistan) on the basis of Islamic religion. The conspiracy of the British imperialists had played a big role in the creation of this state with such a peculiar character.

From the very inception of this state, the ruling classes, the reactionary big bourgeoisie and feudalists, collaborating with imperialism, especially US imperialism, had in their own narrow class interests pursued a policy of suppression of all democratic and national rights of the various nationalities, such as of Bengalis in East Pakistan and Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis in the Western Wing.

As a result of the policy of the national suppression and discrimination pursued by the ruling classes, the condition of the people of East Pakistan had become extremely miserable in all aspects. Democracy was ruthlessly suppressed and virtual dictatorship had reigned supreme. People had no democratic right, no civil liberty and no freedom of the Press. Arrests, imprisonment and persecution of the democrats

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and progressive elements were a daily phenomenon. Hundreds of patriotic workers, including many communists, were always in jails.

In the economic field, big business, all of whom non-Bengalis, controlled banking, insurance, big industries and the entire economy of East Pakistan. The big business, known as the "22 monopolist families", had an overall domination over the economic life of Pakistan as a whole and was given a free hand in exploiting the working class and the people of East Pakistan. In the rural side, feudal exploitation went on rampantly.

Further, as a natural consequence of the policy of the ruling class to appease the big business and to practise national discrimination, a big imbalance and disparity had cropped up between the economic condition in East and West Pakistan. Whereas the per capita income in the Eastern Wing was lower than that of the Western Wing, the prices of all commodities, including food, were higher in the Eastern Wing. We do not, however, mean to say that the people of West Pakistan were favoured. Rather, they were also heavily exploited and oppressed. But the fact was that East Pakistan was virtually turned into a market and hunting ground for the "22 monopolist families" who were based in West Pakistan. They were also transferring the profits they earned in East Pakistan to their head offices in West Pakistan. Such flight of capital from East Pakistan together with the neocolonial exploitation of the penetrating US capital (amounting to about Rs. 3,000 crores) and the exploitation of the monopolists and feudalists had shattered the entire economy of East Pakistan. The overwhelming majority of the people of East Pakistan lived in utter distress.

Another result of the policy of national discrimination practised by the ruling classes had been that the people of East Pakistan, though in a majority (56 per cent), had little share in the Central services including the army. They were deliberately and planfully kept away from all important jobs at the Centre, which were filled from the upper classes of Punjab.

In short, the people of East Pakistan were deprived of all rights and mercilessly oppressed and exploited. Similar was the condition of the Pathans, Sindhis and Baluchis. The problem of nationalities had thus become a most serious and important problem in Pakistan.

Fight of the People for Democracy and Autonomy

In the above context, the democratic movement in East Pakistan, as well as in the whole of Pakistan, had begun on two fundamental demands—democracy and autonomy for the nationalists.

This struggle of the people of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) had begun as far back as 1948 on the issue of language. The ruling classes had tried to foist Urdu the mother-tongue of only 6 per cent of the population, as the only State language of Pakistan. The Bengalis of East Pakistan had risen against that attempted reactionary measure of the ruling classes and had demanded that Bengali, the mother tongue of the 56 per cent of the population, be made one of the State languages.

It is to be noted here that it was in the same year of 1948 that the Pathans had also launched a movement for their autonomy.

However, the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh on the language issue assumed a wide character in 1952 and gradually developed into a struggle for democracy and autonomy.

The reactionary ruling clique had always tried to suppress that movement by severe repressive measures, including shooting down of students and youth on the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

streets of Dacca (1952). They had also tried to dub that popular struggle as being "inspired by India" and confuse the people.

But the popular struggle went on unabated. All democratic parties and forces, including the Communist Party of East Pakistan which had been functioning underground since 1948, participated in that movement.

In the background of the above struggles by the people of East Pakistan for autonomy and democracy, there was a provincial election in East Pakistan in 1954. In that election, all opposition parties had formed a United Front against the ruling party—Muslim League. A 21-point programme was chalked out by the United Front in which the demand for the fullest autonomy for East Pakistan was a most important one. The United Front had demanded that " East Pakistan be recognised as a sovereign and autonomous region " in accordance with the principle of the Pakistan Resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League Council in 1940 at Lahore, that "the Central government should be vested only with three subjects such as defence, foreign affairs and currency " and that "all other subjects including the residuary powers should be in the hands of the elected government of East Pakistan". The United Front had thus clearly defined the demand for autonomy and the people of East Pakistan had unequivocally supported and voted for it. In that election the United Front had scored a glorious victory securing 290 seats, including 4 Communist Party candidates, out of 300. The ruling Muslim League was routed and got only 9 seats. The results of that election of 1954 had clearly demonstrated the fact that the people of East Pakistan stood solidly for autonomy as defined in the United Front programme.

But the reactionary ruling classes were not ready to accept this clear verdict of the people or to grant autonomy to East Pakistan. So the Central government conspired and had with the open and overt support of the US imperialists dismissed the United Front Ministry only after 45 days or so of its taking office on the false and fabricated plea that the United Front Ministry, especially its leader late A. K. Fazlul Haq, was "in league with India and trying to undo Pakistan by seceding". The ruling classes had also launched a reign of terror in East Pakistan and thousands were thrown into jails. The Communist Party was formally banned at that time. Significantly, it was only after a week or so of the dismissal of the United Front Ministry that Pakistan had joined the military pacts under imperialism.

But even after such shameless attack by the ruling classes against the people of East Pakistan, the movement for autonomy and democracy went on in various forms. The Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis were also fighting for their national and democratic rights.

The ruling classes had, on the other hand, taken two political steps to counteract the growing popular movement for autonomy and democracy. The Central government had arbitrarily passed two acts. By one of these acts, it was laid down that East and West Pakistan would have "parity" in all matters, which meant that East Pakistan which had the majority of the population (i.e. 56 per cent) was made equal with the 44 per cent population of West Pakistan. By the second act, all the provinces in West Pakistan, such as Sindh, Punjab, North West Frontier Province as well as Baluchistan, were abolished and the whole of West Pakistan was constituted as "one unit" or one single province. These two acts were new measures of the reactionary ruling classes to intensify their policy of national suppression.

But as has been said earlier, the popular movement for autonomy and democracy could not be checked. It was going on both in East and West Pakistan. After the imposition of one unit in West Pakistan the suppression of the smaller nationalities—Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis—assumed an acuter form. They had complained that they had been made "virtual slaves of the Punjab vested interests" who had, through the grace of the one unit, captured all the important posts in the administration of those regions

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and also occupied a dominant position in their economics. So, from that time, the demand for the liquidation of one unit had become the central slogan in the struggle by the Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis—for democracy and autonomy.

Intervention by the Imperialists

One thing needs mentioning here. In 1966 a Constitution was framed for the country by the then Constituent Assembly which was elected in 1955 by indirect voting, on the basis of parity. That Constitution framed by the reactionary ruling classes was far from a democratic one and did not provide for autonomy of the various nationalities. The President was vested with many special powers. Its only redeeming features were that it had provided for parliamentary rule and accepted Bengali as a State language together with Urdu, solely because these were the most pressing and popular demands.

After the framing of that Constitution a popular demand had also risen that a general election be soon held on the basis of the new Constitution. This demand had become very powerful. There were also cliques and counter cliques within the ruling classes.

Under these circumstances, the then Central Ministry had declared that general election would be held in February-March 1959.

This announcement of the general election together with the rising popular movement for autonomy and democracy had created a panic amongst the dominant section of the ruling coterie headed by the notorious Iskandar Mirza, an ex-army officer, as well as in US imperialist circle. It was then at the connivance of the US imperialists and with their open support that the ruling coterie had clamped down Martial Law in October 1958, to forestall the holding of the election as well as to suppress the democratic movement. Ayub Khan had then come to power with the overt support of the US imperialists. This was the second naked intervention by the US imperialists in the internal affairs of Pakistan to suppress democracy. The first was in 1954 when the United Front Ministry of East Pakistan, voted to power by the people, was arbitrarily dismissed. In fact, the US imperialists had always stood behind the reactionary classes of Pakistan in the latter's bid to suppress the popular movement for democracy and autonomy.

Renewed Popular Struggles

It was during the decade of the dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan that the suppression of the democratic forces, trampling down of democracy and of the national rights of the Bengalis and other nationalities had assumed monstrous proportions. The Constitution framed by the ruling classes in 1956 was scrapped. Communists were severely persecuted, any democrat raising the voice for democracy or autonomy was thrown into jail, all vestiges of democracy were wiped out and any movement by the students, workers, etc., for their rights was sought to be suppressed by leonine violence. Anti-Hindu communal riots were also provoked and organised to disrupt the people.

But the oppression and suppression during the Ayub regime did not go unchallenged. From 1961 onwards the people of East Pakistan as well as of Pathanland and Baluchistan had carried on many a glorious battle for their right of autonomy and democracy. The heroic struggles of the Pathans in 1961, the death-defying battles of the Baluchis in 1961-62 and the glorious battles of the East Pakistan students and people in 1962, 1963 and 1964 may be cited in this connection.

In 1965, during the Indo-Pakistan war, the reactionary ruling classes could temporarily confuse the people by virulent anti-India propaganda. But immediately after the termination of the war, a vigorous movement on the six-point programme of the Awami League had taken place in East Pakistan (June 1966). The six-point programme of the Awami League was basically a programme for parliamentary democracy and full autonomy. Regarding autonomy the six-point programme had demanded that only two subjects, namely defence and foreign

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

affairs (excluding foreign trade) would vest with the Central government and all other subjects, including foreign trade, would be in the hands of the East Pakistan government. As regards currency, the six-point programme had laid down two alternatives. It said, *either* these would be two separate but easily convertible currencies for East and West Pakistan *or* there would be one currency for the whole of Pakistan under the Central government with the provision that there would be a separate State Bank for East Pakistan and some arrangements would be there to stop the flight of capital from East Pakistan to the Western Wing.

So, the six-point programme of Awami League had demanded wide autonomous powers for East Pakistan within the State of Pakistan and was not a secessionist move as was suggested by some interested quarters.

This six-point programme of the Awami League did get wide support from the people of East Pakistan and the movement launched by the Awami League on its basis (June 1966) was a powerful one which was also supported by the communists and the left-wing section of the National Awami Party (NAP) then led by Moulana Bhasani. The Ayub regime had suppressed that movement with violence.

But again there was a huge popular upsurge against the Ayub regime throughout the whole of Pakistan in 1968-69. The Communist Party of East Pakistan had played an active role in that movement, especially in forging a united front of all democratic and opposition forces. In East Pakistan, that popular upsurge was based on the 11-point programme advanced by the Students' Action Committee (composed of all progressive and democratic students' organisations) and supported by the Awami League and the National Awami Party led by Wali and Muzaffar. The 11-point programme contained demands for a neutral and independent foreign policy, scrapping of the military pacts, nationalisation of banks, insurance and big industries, living wage for the workers, reduction of rents and taxes, educational reforms, full civil liberty, etc., besides the demands for full autonomy and democracy (i.e., the six-point programme of the Awami League).

In West Pakistan all the opposition forces including the anti-Ayub rightists were united on the basis of the demand for parliamentary democracy and adult franchise. The people of Pathanland, Baluchistan and Sind joined the movement with the aspirations of parliamentary democracy and autonomy, especially the break-up of one unit.

It was due to that popular upsurge throughout Pakistan, the main demands of which were democracy and autonomy, that the dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan was toppled down.

Yahya Khan Comes to Power

But Ayub Khan, before he had to step down, handed over power to the C-in-C, General Yahya Khan and Martial Law was clamped on Pakistan for the second time on 25th March 1969.

But though the Martial Law was clamped and there was a military rule headed by Yahya Khan, it was due to the pressure of the huge popular upsurge that Yahya Khan had to concede to the following popular demands—direct election on universal and adult franchise, abolition of "parity" introduced in 1955 and representation in the National Assembly on the basis of population, framing of a new constitution by the elected National Assembly, undoing of one unit in West Pakistan and restoration of the former provinces, restoration of parliamentary democracy, etc.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But Yahya Khan had also promulgated a Legal Framework Order (LFO) in which it was stipulated that the new constitution to be framed by elected National Assembly would have to be authenticated by the President (i.e., Yahya Khan), and that it would have to be an "Islamic" one.

This LFO had proved that though the ruling military junta was compelled to concede to election, etc., under pressure of mass upsurge, it was in no mood to allow introduction of full parliamentary democracy and grant full autonomy to the nationalities. Rather, by that order it curbed the sovereignty of the elected National Assembly, ensured the reactionary religious basis of Pakistan, and sought to curtail democracy and the autonomous rights of the various nationalities.

Our party had been through this conspiracy of the military junta and criticised the LFO, demanded its amendment and sovereignty of the elected National Assembly. The National Awami Party led by Wali and Muzaffar had also done so. But the LFO was not amended.

General Election and Awami League's Victory

However, the general election, the first of its kind in Pakistan during the last 23 years, was held in December 1970. In that election, the Awami League swept the polls in East Pakistan securing 167 National Assembly seats out of 169 contested and 290 Provincial Assembly seats out of 300. By sweeping the polls in East Pakistan, the Awami League had also secured an absolute majority in the All-Pakistan National Assembly—167 seats out of the total 313.

During the election, the Awami League's main platform was its own six-point programme as well as the 11-point programme of the Students' Action Committee. But its main emphasis was on its six-point programme which was highly popular with the masses of the people in East Pakistan and the people had solidly voted for it.

After the victory of the Awami League in the election the reactionary forces raised a hue and cry that East Pakistan would secede. But the Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had again and again declared categorically that he and his party did never want secession of East Pakistan but wanted the future constitution of the country be framed on the basis of the six-point programme of his party to end the exploitation and oppression over the Bengalis.

The people of East Pakistan also aspired that the newly elected National Assembly should soon sit in its session, that a democratic constitution based on the six-point programme be framed and that power be transferred to the victorious party—the Awami League. The downtrodden people of West Pakistan, especially of the smaller nationalities, also hoped that the oppressive days of the past would be over and democracy would be restored. In fact, everybody in Pakistan was eagerly waiting for a changeover to democracy.

Conspiracy of the Reactionaries

But the sweeping victory of the Awami League in the election had unnerved the ruling military junta and the right reactionary forces. And they began to conspire to nullify the verdict of the people and their hopes and aspirations. Z. A. Bhutto, the leader of the People's Party, had acted as the political spear head of that conspiracy. The People's Party had, through Bhutto's demagogy on socialism, etc. and his anti-India thunder, secured a majority of National Assembly seats (84 out of 144) from West Pakistan.

Bhutto's People's Party secured those 84 seats only from Punjab and Sind provinces, but failed to secure even a single from Frontier (Pathanland) and Baluchistan. The National Awami Party (led by Wali and Muzaffar) got absolute

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

majority in Baluchistan in the National and Provincial Assemblies. In Frontier Province it secured 3 seats in the National Assembly, and became the single largest party in the Provincial Assembly.

So Bhutto did not actually represent the whole of West Pakistan. But he posed as such and to subvert the session of the National Assembly, he had raised a slogan that there should be no National Assembly session "prior to any agreement between the two major parties—the Awami League and People's Party—on the question of the future constitution of Pakistan".

Bhutto and some People's Party leaders had also met the Awami League leaders at Dacca "to discuss constitutional issues" just to parade that they were trying for "an agreement". But actually Bhutto and his party were deadly against the six-point programme and the autonomy for the nationalities. They were trying to pressurise the Awami League to give up the six-point programme. But the Awami League had refused to go back on its commitment to the people. So the game of Bhutto failed.

The conspiracy of the reactionaries then went on in full swing. The Communist Party had foreseen the danger and had warned the people against it.

Meanwhile, Yahya Khan had summoned the first session of the National Assembly to be held at Dacca on 3rd March.

Immediately, Bhutto declared that he and his party would not attend the session of the National Assembly and if the National Assembly session was held on that date "the whole of West Pakistan would be in flames".

It was on this threat of Bhutto, the leader of a party which had only 84 seats in the National Assembly, that Yahya Khan had on 1st March issued a statement over the radio postponing the National Assembly session *sine die*. He had also convened a Round Table Conference of all the party leaders at Dacca on 10th March to discuss constitutional issues.

But, surprisingly enough, Yahya Khan had not thought it necessary to consult the Awami League—the party having an absolute majority in the National Assembly—before he had postponed the National Assembly session and convened the RTC.

All these showed that Yahya Khan was not acting either honestly or according to the principles of democracy, but according to a well-laid conspiratorial plan to continue the military rule.

New Upsurge of the People

The sudden postponement of the National Assembly session came as a rude shock to all sections of the people. The convening of the RTC while postponing National Assembly session was nothing but an insult to the injury. So it was at once rejected by the Awami League, National Awami Party and other democratic forces. Even Narul Amin, the leader of the Rightist Pakistan Democratic Party, refused to attend it.

On the other hand, no sooner the people heard about the postponement of the National Assembly session over the radio, they came out in thousands on the streets in all the cities and towns of East Pakistan spontaneously chanting "We Want Independent East Bengal!"

It may be noted here that continuous national oppression and suppression of democracy, together with the peculiar geographical position of East Pakistan, had already created a sentiment for "Independent East Bengal" in a section of the people, especially after their experience of the struggle for six-point and 11-point programmes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(1966 and 1969). But still they hoped that their aspiration for democracy and autonomy might be realised and the unity of Pakistan might be maintained.

Atlast they had pinned their hopes on the election and hoped that if the Awami League came to power, they might see better days. But now they saw that even the elected National Assembly session was being sabotaged and verdict of the people in the election was sought to be nullified. So they thought that they had no chance of having democracy and autonomy by remaining within Pakistan. Consequently the slogan of an "Independent East Bengal" came out spontaneously which expressed their urge for self-determination.

This spontaneous upsurge had turned into an organised and wide mass struggle when the Awami League had called for a peaceful general strike for five days from 2nd to 6th March as a protest against the postponement of the National Assembly session. The Communists, National Awami Party and other democratic forces supported the strike call. It was also made known that the Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would announce the programme of action on 7th March at a mass rally.

The ruling military junta had, on the other hand, tried to suppress the spontaneous popular upsurge with machineguns and bullets. They had clamped down curfew in Dacca for 12 hours from evening of 2nd March. When the people defied the curfew and brought out peaceful processions, they were machinegunned, resulting in innumerable deaths. Killings of innocent and unarmed people had thus begun on 2nd March. Besides such killings, the military junta was also trying to provoke Bengali versus non-Bengali riots and some such riots were actually connived at in Chittagong and Rangpur. It was due to the intervention of the Awami League, National Awami Party, Communists and other democratic forces that the riots subsided and stopped. These parties and democratic forces had always tried to maintain absolute peace amongst the people.

The killings of unarmed people, etc., on 2nd March could not however demoralise the people. The general strike from 2nd March was a complete success. All sections of the people as well as the police, government officers, etc., had joined the strike. Besides from 2nd March onwards, spontaneous processions of thousands of people were taking place throughout the length and breadth of Bangla Desh. The whole people of Bangla Desh had demonstrated unprecedented unity against the military junta.

Threats by Yahya Khan

While the peaceful strike struggle was going on, Yahya Khan made a broadcast on 6th March. In that Yahya Khan again summoned the National Assembly session on 25th March. But he had, at the same time, blamed the people and leaders of East Pakistan for the incidents from 2nd March, while he fully exonerated Bhutto, who had precipitated the crisis. He had also threatened military action "for safeguarding the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan". Together with such threats, a reshuffle was made in the military administration of East Pakistan and Lt.-Gen. Tikka Khan, a man notorious for his ruthlessness, was sent to Dacca as Governor as well as the Chief of the military administration.

The above things showed that it was from the first week of March the military junta was making practical preparations for an armed onslaught against the people. Their talk of "transfer of power", etc., was merely to hoodwink the people.

Mujib's Four Demands and Non-Co-operation Movement

On 7th March, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman delivered his speech in Dacca Race Course Maidan, where about one million people had gathered to hear the Awami League Chief.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The people expected that Sheikh Mujib would declare the independence of Bangla Desh. But in his speech Sheikh Mujib had made three important announcements :

(i) He called upon the people to undauntedly carry on the struggle for ending the 23 years of oppression and exploitation.

(ii) He laid down four demands—such as (a) transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people ; (b) lifting of Martial Law ; (c) withdrawal of army to the barracks ; and (d) inquiry into mass killings from 1st March.

He had also said that if these four demands were accepted, then he would consider whether he and his party would attend the National Assembly session on 25th March.

(iii) He declared a peaceful non-co-operation movement against the government and the army from 8th March till the above demands were fulfilled.

Besides, the three above important announcements he had warned the people that the reactionaries were hatching a conspiracy and if the army attacked the people, the latter should resist with whatever means they had at their disposal.

Sheikh Mujib's speech was generally appreciated. The four demands which he had put forward were supported by all democratic forces and parties, including the Communist Party and the National Awami Party.

The Communist Party had also issued an open appeal in the form of a leaflet urging upon the people to rally round the above four demands and at the same time asking people to remain vigilant against all conspiracies of the reactionaries and to try to resist all attacks of the enemy, if they are made.

The non-co-operation movement launched by the Awami League from 8th March was also a complete success. The whole civil administration of East Pakistan, including the police department, had from that day acted according to the directives of the Awami League. In fact, the Awami League was then running the civil administration of East Pakistan. People also had absolute loyalty to the Awami League and they wished that it should formally take over power.

Treacherous Attack

While the non-violent non-co-operation movement was going on, it was announced by the Central government that Yahya Khan would soon go to Dacca to talk to Sheikh Mujib.

Sheikh Mujib readily announced his readiness to meet and talk to Yahya Khan for a political settlement, if the latter came to Dacca.

Yahya Khan had come to Dacca on 14th March and Mujib-Yahya talks had begun from that date. After four or five days of talks, both Sheikh Mujib and Yahya Khan publicly stated that there had been " some progress " in the talks. Yahya Khan also publicly stated that he had " agreed in principle " to the demands placed by the Awami League Chief. Discussions were also being held between the advisers of Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on details. So, the people had expected that a political settlement would come about and crisis would be over.

But the expectations of the people were belied. Before the Mujib-Yahya talks ended, the army under orders of the military junta suddenly and treacherously launched a ferocious armed attack against the people of Bangla Desh from the midnight of 25th March.

Liberation Struggle Begins

Under these circumstances, the people of Bangla Desh had no other alternative but to take up arms for their own defence and for the defence of their democratic and national rights. The East Bengal Regiment, East Pakistan Rifles and the police joined the people,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

formed the Mukti Fouz and carried on the armed battle. The people had no other alternative but to defeat and drive away the marauding Pak army from Bangla Desh and liberate their motherland if they were to establish democracy and their national rights. There was no second path left to the people.

It was thus that the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh for democracy and autonomy had turned into an armed battle for the liberation of their motherland.

It was also under the above compelling circumstances that the Awami League leadership, who had got the unequivocal support of the people in the last general election, had to declare Bangla Desh a sovereign republic, form a new government of this republic and continue the struggle for liberation. The Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) has already supported this government as the only legally constituted government of Bangla Desh.

Role of the Big Powers

Here a few words regarding the attitude of the different governments of the world towards our liberation struggle. Of the big powers, only the USSR has condemned the genocide in Bangla Desh in unequivocal terms and has also said that the problems of Bangla Desh cannot be solved by arms but should be solved politically. This stand of the USSR, as expressed through Comrade Podgorny's letter to Yahya Khan, as been highly hailed by the people of Bangla Desh as well as by our party. The people of Bangla Desh including the communists also heartily appreciate the moral and political support that the people and the Government of India as well as Communist Party of India are rendering to their liberation struggle.

But the people of Bangla Desh also see with disgust that the British imperialists and Maoist leaders of the People's Republic of China are openly supporting the reactionary ruling military junta of Pakistan, that these two governments are virtually condoning the genocide in Bangla Desh and that the US imperialists are playing a dubious role.

A Just Struggle

From the facts narrated above, the following things become clear and obvious :

(i) The present struggle of the people of Bangla Desh is the culmination of their struggle for democracy and autonomy which they were conducting since 1948 against the reactionary ruling classes which had ruthlessly suppressed democracy and national rights of the various nationalities.

(ii) The people of Bangla Desh and their leaders had never wanted the secession of East Pakistan. But they had always tried to establish their democratic and national rights through democratic struggles and through the election held in 1970. Even after a sweeping victory in the election and securing an absolute majority in the National Assembly, the Awami League and its Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had wanted nothing more than a constitution based on the six-point programme. Sheikh Mujib had also repeatedly tried to come to a political settlement with the ruling military junta.

(iii) But it was the ruling military junta, which had earlier held the election but had ultimately refused to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people, that launched a treacherous armed attack against the people. In fact, the military junta had no intention of transferring power. The Yahya-Mujib talks, etc., were nothing but ruse by the junta to gain time for preparation of the armed attack.

It was only after this armed attack by the ruling military junta that the popular struggle for democracy and autonomy had turned into an armed battle for the liberation of our motherland.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(iv) This liberation battle is fundamentally a battle for the just right of self-determination of the 75-million Bengalis waged against the reactionary ruling classes composed of the monopolists and feudalists who are backed and armed by the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists.

(v) In no case it is a struggle against the people of West Pakistan. Rather this liberation struggle of Bangla Desh against the reactionary ruling classes which are also suppressing and oppressing the people of West Pakistan will help their struggle for democracy and autonomy.

(vi) The liberation struggle is being carried on by the Mukti Fouz (Liberation Army) and the people of Bangla Desh. Therefore, the propaganda by the ruling military junta of Pakistan that it is an " India–inspired struggle ", " by Indian armed intruders " and that " India is interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan ", etc., is nothing but a canard. Similarly, the propaganda by some pro-Peking groups that this liberation struggle is inspired by the imperialists is a dire falsehood.

Judging all the above facts, all democrats of the world should be fully convinced that the present struggle for the liberation of our motherland is a just struggle against native and foreign reactionaries who are enemies of humanity and peace. The defeat of these reactionaries in Bangla Desh will strengthen the forces of democracy and peace in the South-east Asia region.

Appeal

The Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) therefore makes the following fervent appeal to all the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and to all the democratic forces of the world :—

(*a*) Support the liberation struggle of the people of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) in all possible ways, so that this leberation battle may be victorious and the native and foreign reactionaries may be routed and defeated.

(*b*) Raise powerful voices so that all the governments of the world, especially the progressive democratic and socialist governments, recognise the Bangla Desh government and render it all possible help to repulse the aggression by the Pakistan army.

The Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) has always been a part and parcel of the world communist movement and was a signatory to the documents issued by the World Communist Conference held at Moscow in 1969. The Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) hopes to get the support of the world communist movement and of the fraternal parties in the liberation struggle of our motherland. It is a struggle against a ruthless and barbarous enemy armed to the teeth by the imperialists and having the support of the Maoists of China. Therefore our battle is undoubtedly a grim one. For the victory of this just liberation war of ours support and help of the progressive and communist forces of the world are absolutely necessary.

We are expectantly looking to this support and hope that it will be forthcoming.

With revolutionary greetings,

ABDUS SALAM,
Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh).

BANGLA DESH,
3rd May 1971.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EVERY MAN AT HIS POST, SAYS TAJUDDIN AHMAD

Text of Mr. Tajuddin's 18-point directive on May 14, 1971

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad, Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, has issued an 18-point directive outlining the tasks of the people in the liberation struggle.

He has said that the people should not listen to rumours nor should they have doubts about the " ultimate victory of the people ".

He says : " Let the people remember that in war marching forward and retreating are of equal importance. The retreat of the liberation army from one point should not give the people the impression that we have abandoned our war against the Pakistan occupation forces ".

In the struggle, people are not divided on the basis of parties, religion or classes. " We are united as Bengalis, and our enemies look at us that way. When they burn villages, shoot people or destroy towns, they attack us as Bengalis, not caring for our religion or politics ".

" No Bengali employee should co-operate with the enemy ; employees of all ranks should act according to the directive of the Bangla Desh Government. In areas occupied by the enemy, they should work under the guidance of the popular representative and use their discretion as circumstances demand ".

At Their Posts

Mr. Ahmad says : " *Employees of Government* and semi-Government organizations who have taken shelter elsewhere will be considered as holding their posts and are expected to help the Bangla Desh Government and the Mukti Fauj according to their capacity ".

Officers and men of the military and para-military organizations, whether they are in service or retired, should immediately report for duty at the nearest liberation army unit and "should in no circumstances " allow themselves to be exploited by the enemy " nor should they co-operate with the enemy ".

The directive says " *only the Bangla Desh Government and none else has the right to collect taxes, revenues and duties. It should be remembered that a paisa collected by the enemy will be used to kill you and your children. So anybody who will pay taxes to the enemy or help them in the matter will be considered by the Bangla Desh Government as an enemy of the nation and will be punished accordingly* ".

Employees in the communication and transport system " should not co-operative with the enemy. At the first opportunity, they should vacate along with their means of transport, the enemy-held areas ". Proper attention should be paid to the food and commodity needs of the people and in this matter the people should be encouraged to produce more. " The people should remember that dependence on imported food or articles will be suicidal. There should be greater emphasis on farm produce, reliance on local available goods and production in cottage industry ".

Under Watch

The directive says that " *in our national crisis, our number one enemies are those who are blackmarketers, profiteers, hoarders and thieves. They should be kept under watch and should be dealt with severely if necessary*".

It adds: *We should also be ever cautions about another kind of anti-social and criminal elements who are acting as traitors. They should be marked, because they are our bitterest enemy. In the name of religion and a united country, they are trying to mislead the simple people. They are really the agents of the West Pakistan vested interests* ".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Meanwhile, the Bangla Desh Government has declared that all members of the former National Assembly will henceforth be called members of Parliament or MPs and those elected to the former provincial Assembly will be known as MLAs.

The Awami League, in a directive published in the Party's weekly Jai Bangla, has directed all MPs and MLAs to stay in their respective areas and help the liberation struggle. " If it appears absolutely impossible for an elected representative to stick to his constituency, he should move to the nearest liberation army unit and supervise training and arrange supplies for liberation fighters ", the party directive says.

The MPs and MLAs who have gone on the other side of the border into India should immediately act according to the Party directive, the Awami League high command has ordered people who are young or middle-aged and have taken shelter in India should immediately enlist themselves for military training.

" Those who have taken shelter in refugee camps on the other side of the border to save their lives should always keep it in mind that this is only a temporary arrangement. They have not gone to India for permanent settlement."

PTI adds from Mujibnagar : Mr. A. H. M. Kamaruzzaman, Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, yesterday announced the setting up of a liaison office to ensure "proper distribution of all available resources ".

(THE STATES MAN, New Delhi—May 15, 1971)

ARMY ACTION 'AN ATTACK' ON RIGHT TO LIVE

Interview report of Bangla Desh Home Minister, Mr. A. H. M. Kamaruzzaman on May 20, 1971

The Pakistan military junta has failed to restore civil administration in the areas under its control in Bangla Desh despite desperate efforts and it would never be able to do so, the Bangla Desh Home Minister Mr. A. H. M. Kamaruzzaman, told UNI in an in terview.

" The former civil servants of Bangla Desh have vowed not to support the occupational force, for every citizen in Bangla Desh considers the army action as an attack on his legitimate right to live as a free citizen of a free nation".

If the Pakistani claim of normalcy in Bangla Desh was true why was it still barring international organisations and bodies from Bangla Desh, he asked. The Pakistani rulers were concocting stories to hide the real state of affairs in Bangla Desh from the outside world. " They know if any impartial body is allowed into Bangla Desh, the mischievous propaganda and designs will stand revealed".

Regarding Pakistani propaganda that the troops had to intervene to put down racial and communal riots, he said the liberation war was not against any religion.

" Our struggle is not opposed to Islam. The value and teachings of Islam shall be preserved. The values and teachings of other religions shall also be protected. We envisage a State which is free of exploitation. Our aim is to establish an egalitarian and classless society in which there will be no barrier between man and man, irrespective of his caste, colour and creed".

" Those who accept Bangla Desh as their motherland and are connected with the liberation war are our brothers. Those who are playing the role of quislings, whatever their religion, are our enemies, and the enemies of Bangla Desh. They shall be tried by people's courts".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said : "The only solution to Pakistan's difficulties in Bangla Desh is to withdraw its troops and transfer power to the people of Bangla Desh".

The Bengalis of Bangla Desh could never form one nation with the people of West Pakistan by any political or economic standard.

The atrocities committed by the troops had no parallel in history. "Our innocent children have been killed, the modesty of our womenfolk has been outraged and our houses have been destroyed".

The whole scheme of the occupation army appeared to be to drive out Bengalis from their homeland to maintain the fiction of Bangla Desh being part of Pakistani nation.

The people of Bangla Desh have heroically resisted this attempt and shall continue to resist.

As declared in the Awami League manifesto, the administration of Bangla Desh Government would not only be "people-based", but would also be free of corruption and bureaucracy.

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—May 20, 1971)

BANGLA PM ASSAILS NATIONS AIDING PAK

Interview of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed broadcast by the Swadhin Bangla Kendra Report, dated May 29, 1971

Bangla Desh Prime Minister Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed. has said that he failed to understand how the democratic Government's of the world could support the dictatorial regime of Pakistan, which was crushing the democrati aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh.

Mr. Ahmed told a foreign correspondent in an interview, broadcast by the Swadhin Bangla Kendra : "We wanted to establish the democratic rights of the people of Pakistan and to that end, we tried our best".

According to the radio monitoreo here Mr. Ahmed said "We made all peaceful attempts in this direcion but Yahya's Army, most shamelessly cracked down on the unarmed people of Bangla Desh. We had no other alternative but to proclaim independence for the 75 million democratic Bangalis of Bangla Desh".

Meanwhile, Awami League sources ruled out a negotiated settlement of the Bangla Desh issue.

The radio quoting Awami League circles said "Bangla Desh is a free and sovereign country today and there is no scope for talks".

These circles were commenting on a statement by the spokesman of the U.S. State Department about a formula suggested by an emissary of Yahya Khan for a settlement of the issue.

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—May 29, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

YAHYA CALLED BIGGEST BETRAYER

Text of comments of Mr. A. H. M. Kamaruzzaman, Bangla Desh Home Minister, on Yahya's statement on May 30, 1971.

Somewhere in Bangla Desh, May 30 (UNI, PTI) Pakistan; President Yahya Khan had resorted to genocide in Bangla Desh after "accepting our demands during our parleys" and hence his words would never again be trusted, Bangla Desh Home Minister A. H. M. Kamaruzzaman said today.

General Yahya Khan had even promised to announce over the radio his agreement with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on 25th March but instead of doing so he ordered his troops to wipe out the Bengali race, he added.

Mr. Kamaruzzaman was commenting on General Yahya Khan reported statement in Karachi that he still intended to transfer power to civilian rule.

"To us in Bangla Desh the name of General Yahya Khan does not connote a normal human being: It connotes a blood-thirsty cold-blooded murderer, the greatest betrayer in world history the disintegrator of Pakistan."

As such his words, however sweet or reasonable they might sound, would never be accepted by the people of Bangla Desh who would react to them correctly by continuing the fight.

"*After what has been done—the killing of innocent children and citizens, the raping of our women folk and challenging our nationality—it is impossible for the people of Bangla Desh to live under a common roof with the Pakistanis. How can we do so when the design of General Yahya Khan and his henchmen is to wipe out the Bengali race?*"

The basis of living together should be not merely brotherly feeling and mutual consent but also implicit and explicit respect for each other. But this no longer exist, Mr. Kamaruzzaman said.

Lie nailed

Referring to General Yahya Khan's statement that some of the Awami League MNAS-elect had disqualified themselves from membership by their policies and actions, Mr. Kamaruzzaman said "Pakistani rulers have no right to question the authority of the Awami League members who have received the support of more than 98 per cent of the population.

"*The power-drunk Pakistani imposters, who have no respect for democratic values have also no right to judge on the authority of these members.*

"It was not the Awami League which broke off the talkes, The Awami League had not conceived of a war, not to talk of preparing for it.

"Now that a war has been thrust upon us, we shall continue to fight till the Pakistanis are removed from our holy land.

"Those nations which preach and practise democratic principles and values should try to protect the democratic forces now facing annihilation at the hands of the occupation army in Bangla Desh. They really are great who stand by the oppressed and the suffering."

Martyrs Extolled

The Home Minister has also announced that the Bangla Desh Government has decided to take up the responsibility of the families of those who were killed, seriously injured and disabled in their fight for the liberation of their motherland.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

According to a Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra broadcast, Mr. Kamaruzzaman has issued a circular to this effect and paid rich tributes to the martyrs and extolled the heroic deeds of the Mukti Fouj.

The circular, released from the Ministry yesterday, said that those brave soldiers and officers, who had shown such exemplary bravery, would be a perpetual source of inspiration to the future generations of the Bangla Government.

The broadcast said the government appreciated these heroic fights and would take steps to rehabilitate all the disabled and invalid soldiers and the families of the martyrs.

BENGALIS SACKED

Another broadcast disclosed that the West Pakistani military regime has started systematic elimination of Bengalis from government service and autonomous organisations in the "occupied areas of Bangla Desh".

A broadcast said that out of 1,800 employees of the Pakistan International Airlines, 1,100 employees—all Bengalis—had been screened out.

The broadcast said that 600 Bengali employees of another undertaking had already been served with notice of dismissal. Those who were paid salaries for the month of April, did not receive their pay for March when the non-co-operation movement was launched by the Awami League.

The army authorities appointed a screening committee in order to carry out systematic elimination of all Bengalis from the government offices in the Pakistan occupied areas of Bangla Desh, the broadcast added".

(PATRIOT, New Delhi—May 31, 1971).

FREEDOM ONLY WAY OUT: BHASHANI

Report of Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, National Awami Party Leader's talk with newsmen on current movement in Bangla Desh on May 31, 1971

Complete freedom for Bangla Desh is the only solution for saving the people from "inhuman exploitation of the Bengalees by West Pakistanis," Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, the National Awami Party leader, declared here yesterday.

He deplored the attitude of those who talked of a "political settlement" of the Bangla Desh problem and said that having been subjected to the world's worst savage repression and exploitation for the past 23 years, the people of Bangla Desh were now waging a total war. There was, therefore, no chance of any political settlement now. Either total destruction or total victory was in store for them but the supreme sacrifices by 7.5 million people would not go in vain, he said.

The octogenarian NAP leader was talking to newsmen on the current liberation movement in Bangla Desh.

Maulana Bhashani said it was a strange that those countries, which stood for the "oppressed" in the world had kept quiet at the unheard of oppression and wanton destruction of human lives in Bangla Desh now.

He said he had sent telegrams to the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Kosygin, the Chinese Chairman, Mr. Mao Tse-tung, the US President, Mr. Nixon, and the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, asking them not to be misled by Pakistani propaganda but to send their emissaries to study the situation here.

The NAP leader said that all sections of the people of his country had protested against the imperialist designs in Vietnam and the French bombing on the Suez Canal. But it was an irony of fate that the same people for whom they had wept, now seemed to be swayed by the vile propaganda by Pakistan that the struggle in Bangla Desh was a sessionist movement. They should know that it was a liberation war by 75 crores of people "reduced to mere skeleton through age-long exploitation, economically and politically," he said.

Maulana Bhashani said he had issued instrutcions to form all-party committees in the districts of Bangla Desh to continue the liberation movement.

The Maulana said that except for a section of the Muslim League, all parties, were now out to support the main issue—liberation of the people.

The exploited

Replying to a question if the extremist elements would join such an all-party committee in view of their attitude towards other parties, particularly the Awami League the NAP leader said : "I think national liberation is the main task before the people, whichever party they may belong."

Maulana Bhashani said that the fight in Bangla Desh was between two sections of Muslims—the exploiters and the exploited.

In a talk with newsmen, the NAP leader denied that the current "revolution" in his country had been imported from India or any other land. Whenever the Pakistani rulers could not solve any problem, they blamed India to save their skin. Had India abetted this revolution. it could have given recognition to the provisional Government, of Mujibur Rahman, he said adding that on many occasions he himself had been described as "an agent of India".

The octogenarian leader said that the British had left the Indian sub-continent in time and it was high time that Yahya regime left Bangla Desh. The more the delay the more would be the complications, he added.

Maulana Bhashani does not know where his wife and children are at present.

"I do not know whether they are dead or alive," he said, answering a question by a corrrespondent about a Pakistani report of his "arrest" by the Yahya Khan Government.

He said that he had heard the report after his house at Kagmari in Mymensingh district had been destroyed. But he had no information about his wife and children. However, what hurt him most personally was the total destruction by Pakistani troops of his small library, which contained the "collection of a life time," he said.

(INDIAN EXPRESS, New Delhi—June 2, 1971)

BHASHANI : NO POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

Report of Maulana Bhashani's talk with some local and foreign correspondents somewhere in a liberated area of Bangla Desh on June 2, 1971

The octogenarian National Awami Party leader, Maulana Bhashani, made it absolutely clear that they did not want any mediation for a political settlement of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Bangla Desh issue. He, however, reiterated his earlier stand that a referendum could be held under the direct supervision of the United Nations to assertain the wishes of the Bangla Desh people. The NAP leader was talking with some local and foreign correspondents somewhere in a liberated area of Bangla Desh. He asked : "How can there be a political settlement with the invaders who have killed lakhs of defenceless people and unleashed a reign of terror in Bangla Desh?"

The Maulana said that their main aim was to liquidate the hordes of West Pakistan. "We will fight to the finish ; either we achieve victory or die", he said.

Mr. Bhasani spoke in the same vein as the leaders of the Awami League had done a few days ago. During his talk with newsmen he called the Chinese bluff and said that he was never a Communist.

Deprecating the international inaction, he said it was strange that the world community behaved like a silent spectator when Bangla Desh was being drenched with the blood of its people. There was not a single country left to whom he had not approached seeking recognition to the Bangla Desh Government, he said. They had only expressed sympathy.

The NAP leader expressed his gratitude to the Indian Government for helping lakhs of refugees with food and shelter. He felt sorry that no other country, be it a socialist or imperialist, had taken any note of the pitiable plight of the people of Bangla Desh.

In reply to a query he said that China's friendliness with the military junta of Islamabad was a strange politics. He ruled out the possibility of his ever visiting China. For long popularly known as a friend of China, the Maulana said that Peking would one day realise mistakes in supporting Islamabad.

The Maulana is against the formation of a liberation front or a National Government at this stage because, according to him, there might be a struggle for leadership "which will jeopardise our cause." He said he was in favour of an all-party action committee to mobilise the people for the long-drawn battle against Pakistan.

He emphatically said that Pakistan and Bangla Desh "can never meet together, the breach is total and final", he prophesied.

(NATIONAL HERALD, New Delhi—June 3, 1971)

FREEDOM AT ALL COSTS : TAJUDDIN

Report of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's interview with All India Radio on June 2, 1971

The Bangla Desh Prime Minister, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed said in Mujibnagar today that Bangla Desh "is sovereign and independent and its people will defend its separate and free entity at all costs".

In an interview with All-India Radio, Mr. Ahmed reiterated "our irrevocabe commitment to a policy of friendship for all, especially our neighbours..... irrespective of variations in the response of world Powers to our present difficulties.

"Beyond this it is not possible to define too rigidly the foreign policy of a two-month-old State", Mr. Tajuddin said in reply to a question...

He added : "There are encouraging developments and no final judgment need be made on the long-term developments."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Prime Minister said that any attempt, if made, to instal a puppet government in Dacca, will certainly be abortive for "no collaboration between the killers and the quislings will be tolerated by the people of Bangla Desh who are struggling for securing and protecting their independence."

Asked about Pakistan Government's claim that Sheik Mujibur Rahman had been taken to Dacca and that he had urged the people to co-operate with the army, Mr. Ahmed said: "We do not know where exactly Sheikh Sahib has been detained by the Pakistan Government. But the claim that has urged the people to co-operate with the army of Pakistan should be rejected with utmost contempt. The claim is preposterous."

Mr. Ahmed said his Government had approached the United States for intervening for a political settlement. "We should like to make it absolutely clear to everyone that there is no room for compromise within the framework of Pakistan, Bangla Desh is sovereign and independent and we shall defend its separate and free entity at any cost."

Big Powers' silence

Asked what was his Government's feeling about the silence or ambivalence of big Powers, especially the U.S.A., the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, Mr. Ahmed replied: "Our friendship for all" policy shall continue to guide our foreign policy irrespective of the variations in the response of world powers to our present difficulties.

He said the work of the emissaries sent by his Government abroad was bearing fruit in creating favourable lobbies in these areas and in organising public opinion in favour of Bangla Desh.

Asked about the present functioning of his Government, Mr. Tajuddin said, it never lost contact with the vast rural areas of Bangla Desh and "we are in contact with cities and towns in occupied areas through our local leadership cadres. We have set up an administrative machinery for the areas within our control as well as a centralised command for all operations aimed at driving the enemy out.

Questioned about the reported activities of the Leftist forces in Bangla Desh, Mr. Ahmed said that as far as Bangla Desh was concerned "we do not know of any problem of Leftist forces. Only the other day a nationwide election was held and the people of Bangla Desh rose as one man in support of their demands. And also all people, irrespective of their political opinions, and all patriotic elements are rallying together to give their unstinted support for the cause of the independence of Bangla Desh.

He added: "Maulana Bhashani of the National Awami Party and other patriotic leaders and elements have already held out their unqualified support to the struggling people and the Bangla Desh Government and demanded its recognition by other countries."

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—June 3, 1971)

BANGLA DESH PM'S PLEA FOR AID, RECOGNITION

Bangla Desh Prime Minister Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's appeal to Nations, dated June 13, 1971

Bangla Desh Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed, today called upon the Big Powers, "in the name of the wronged people of Bangla Desh", not to "interfere", in favour of a "blood-thirsty Pakistan against the forces of democracy".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

" I urge them also not to try to prop up the crumbling economic base of the oppressive Government at Islamabad either, directly or through the World Bank and the IMF, unless it withdraws its occupation army of Bangla Desh. Let there be no doubt anywhere that aid given to Islamabad now will be sucked, in cynical and devious ways, into its war machine and used to hold down the people of Bangla Desh", Mr. Ahmed said in a broadcast to the nation from the Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra.

Renewing his appeal to the world for arms for the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh, Mr. Ahmed said they were fighting for democracy against a brutal dictatorship to uphold the freely expressed wishes of a vast section of mankind for a just political and economic order.

Appealing to the nations of the world to accord recognition to the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, the Prime Minister said this Government alone represented legitimacy " in our land, founded, as it is upon the freely expressed will of its people. Our people have completely repudiated the colonial rule based in West Pakistan and are now fighting to defend their freedom ", he said.

Appeal to Arabs

Mr. Ahmed said " their case for recognition was based on this rather than on their suffering which had few parallels in history." I should like to assure those who have taken no position on our struggle or been only lukewarm towards it or opposed it outright, that the People's Republic of Bangla Desh is on the map of the world and the determination of its 75-million people will keep it there."

" *Is it rational in the interest of the nations to ignore so vast a section of mankind*? " *he asked.*

In a special word to those in other Muslim and Arab countries who had not yet found it possible to condemn the mass slaughter in Bangla Desh, the Prime Minister said : " It is a tragic error on their part to think that Yahya's hordes are waging a war of Islamic righteousness in Bangla Desh. Their silence, therefore, condones colonalism and barbarism, their moral in some cases barely concealed. Material support to Islamabad puts them on side of dictatorship and its well-documented crimes of arson, loot, rape and murder."

Mr. Ahmed said : " *I want the Arabs to recall how they once fought to free themselves from the colonial rule of the Turks who were Muslims. Our struggle against West Pakistan-based colonialism is exactly analogous to their struggle against the Turks not very long ago.*"

Support sought

Reminding the foreign countries that the people of Bangla Desh had vowed to continue the war till the enemy was liquidated or forced to withdraw from their soil. Mr. Ahmed urged the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America to support their struggle in the same way as, we supported their struggle against colonialism and imperialism. We say to the Big Powers : " Please step out of the strait-jacked of your short-sighted prudence and come out on the side of justice and democracy."

" You cannot regard massacres involving 75-million people and forcing five million to move out of their homes into another country as the private amusement of any government. Do not use your aid to aggravate the monumental wrong done to a peace and freedom-leving democratic people. Instead, use the lever to bring the paranoiacs in Islamabad to their senses," he added.

Mr. Ahmed said the war of liberation was now in its 11th week and the valiant freedom fighters had put despair into Yahys' heart. The staggering casualty

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

figure of the West Pakistan army testified to the success of the defensive operations. The twin methods of massive terror and murder had not succeeded in breaking the will of a nation determined to fulfil its destiny in freedom. The usurping enemy, on the other hand was in a hopeless mess.

He said the refusal of the people to co-operate had resulted in an economic crisis which the military junta could not resolve without foreign aid. They had now resorted to demonetization of Rs. 100 and Rs. 500 currency notes without paying their value. This was not only a plain admission of their economic desperation but a shameless attempt to rob the people of what was theirs in order to replenish the void in Islamabad's coffers.

Right cause

Congratulating the people of Bangla Desh on their heroic resistance, the Prime Minister said in the new phase of their struggle, the freedom-fighters were better organized and their ranks were swelling with new recruits. And they had a cause : Their inalienable right to govern themselves and live with dignity in their own land.

The aim of the genocide, driving out of the people of Bangla Desh, the climination of the intellectuals and political leadership and the destruction of the present economic base was the ecomplete political and economic subjugation of the Bengalis to the military lords and capitalists of West Pakistan, he said.

" *To say that the methods employed by them (West Pakistan) to achieve their objectives is barbarous is inadequate. To call them bestial is a little unfair to some beasts.*"

" These methods and these objectives, however make absolutely clear the nature of our enemy and the cause we are fighting for. We want the world to understand that we are fighting for nothing less than our existence as a nation ", Mr. Ahmed added.

Mr. Ahmed also accused the Big Powers of having " a large share " in the tragedy that was being perpetrated in Bangla Desh today.

He said the Big powers assisted the rise of dictatorship and in the setting up of a capitalist-bureaucratic-military oligarchy in Pakistan by giving it arms and economic aid without regard to the manner of their use.

U. S. accused

Without naming the Big Powers, the Prime Minister said they let this obligarchy grow at the expense of democratic Bangla Desh. They must now recognize that the blood that strains Yahya's hands " is also on their hands. It is being realized by Americans themselves that the economic and military aid given to Pakistan by their country made possible the carnage in Bangla Desh ".

The Prime Minister complimented India for her efforts to shelter several million evacuees from Bangla Desh who had fled following the Pakistani army's plan of depopulating Bangla Desh through systematic massacres and a ruthless scorched earth policy.

The Pakistani plan had succeeded in creating for India the problem of looking after the evacuees, which had constituted an undoubted strain on the economy.

Mr. Ahmed said : " We are grateful to India for what she has been doing to relieve the distress of this mass of uprooted war-scarred men, women and children who have been forced to throw themselves on her generosity ".

Rain, Epidemics

Mr. Ahmed added : " I however, note with regret that even after the appeal of UN Secretary-General U Thant, which did not come a day too soon and which was the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

first indirect recognition of the situation created by the continuing terror and genocide in Bangla Desh, the offer of help has not been commensurate with the dimension of the problem." " And now the monsoon and epidemics have added to the already unbearable distress of the evacuees " he said.

The Prime Minister, however, assured all concerned that the evacuees were keen to come back home and were actively trying to hasten the day of their return by joining the liberation forces. This was the only way they could return home.

" I also solemnly promise that those citizens of Bangla Desh who have been unlawfully dispossessed of their houses, land and other property since 25 March will have these restored to them on their return " he said.

Sounding a note of caution about the attempts of Gen. Yahya Khan to whip up communal tension like the one he had done between Bengalis and non-Bengalis· Mr. Ahmed said in this, Yahya's aim was to weaken the liberation movement by destroying their unity and to distract the world's attention from the genocide committed by his army in Bangla Desh.

But his machinations would not succeed because the people regarded the present struggle as one of every Bengali irrespective of class, community or creed, he added.

(PATRIOT, New Delhi—June 14, 1971)

MALIK WARNS INDIA AGAINST PAK LIES

Report of an address by Vice-Chancellor of Chittagong University, Mr. A.R. Malik, on June 21, 1971

Vice-Chancellor of Chittagong University, A. R. Malik on Monday warned the people of India against the Pakistan Government plot that aimed at creating communal disturbances in refugee camps and elsewhere in the country.

He was addressing a gathering of intellectuals and artists at the Rabindra Bhavan.

Pleading support for the freedom struggle in Bangla Desh, he said, " We have been compelled by a ruthless enemy to take up arms and fight for what we cherish most—our freedom. Over a million have lost their lives and over four million rendered destitute. Yet the struggle goes on."

He refuted the Pakistani lies about the imaginary riots between the Bengali and the non-Bengali Muslims in East Bengal.

Mr. Malik condemned the military junta for spreading lies about the riots and for inflicting untold human suffering on thousands of East Pakistanis, especially the women who had been stripped of their clothes and modesty and forced to seek refuge across the border.

Mr. Subid Ali, an M.P. from Bangla Desh, gave the reasons that had compelled millions to leave the green fields and beautiful rivers of " Sonar Bangla Desh."

He recalled the dreadful night of 25 March—a night that, he said, would go down in history as a black day. The period, he said, was reminiscent of the Hitler era when rape and butchery were rampant.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Recalling the various struggles and movements in Bangla Desh between 1947 and 1959 he hoped the people of Bangla Desh would once more rise to the occasion.

* * * * *

(PATRIOT, New Delhi—June 22, 1971)

BANGLA MINISTER HAILS CONSORTIUM DECISION

Comments of Home Minister Mr. A.H.M. Kamruzzaman on June 23, 1971

The Bangla Desh Home Minister, Mr. A. H. M. Kamruzzaman, today welcomed the decision of the Aid Pakistan Consortium to withhold further aid until there is political settlement of the Bangla Desh issue.

"In my opinion, the consortium could not have taken a better decision and the people of Bangla Desh expect it to stop further aid until the occupation army is withdrawn."

Any aid to Pakistan at this time would have been diverted to the "inhuman and barbarous activities in Bangla Desh."

Regarding a political settlement, he said, he wanted to make it clear that the emotional ties or bonds of the people of Bangla Desh with West Pakistan "have completely broken down after what has happened here since March 25"—UNI.

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—June 24, 1971)

ISLAM: DON'T CONTRIBUTE TO GENOCIDE

Appeal by Bangla Desh Acting President, Mr. Syed Nazrul Islam, to U.S. on June 23, 1971

The Government of Bangla Desh and the Acting President, Mr. Syed Nazrul Islam, today strongly deprecated renewed U.S. arms supply to Pakistan.

Mr. Islam, in a telegram to President Nixon, said the Government and people of Bangla Desh are most hurt and distressed to learn about the arms supply.

He pointed out that Pakistan was using all the weapons in its armoury including boats supplied for relief purposes to commit genocide and said "as an Independent and sovereign nation now, we appeal to conscience and even national interest of U.S. not to contribute to genocide and mass eviction of people and destruction of scarce resources of an impoverished nation."

A Foreign Office spokesman of Government of Bangla Desh described the renewed sale as a "stern blow to the bleeding people of Bangla Desh" and declared that the liberation war would be carried on relentlessly whatever be the aid to Pakistan.

Even accessories and spares for U.S. militarty hardware already at the disposal of West Pakistan's war machine were reportedly being supplied by the U.S.

The Foreign Office spokesman said this act of the U.S. Government will create in the people of Bangla Desh a sense of disillusionment with the free world, particularly the U.S. "The U.S. Government action is an utter disregard of the surging

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

public opinion of freedom loving people of the U.S. and the rest of the world against the bloodbath and atrocities in Bangla Desh caused by an alien enemy junta," he added.

The spokesman, while giving the background of the U.S. military aid to Pakistan since 1951, recounted that Pakistan received U.S. economic aid amounting approximately to $ 3,000 million by 1969. The quantum of U.S. military aid to Pakistan was between $1,500 million $ 2,000 million for the period between 1954 and 1965. This massive military aid, the spokesman said, " had all through been used to stifle the struggle for freedom of the Bengalis."

The spokesman said information was available that the U.S. offered to supply Pakistan the following items : nearly 300 armed personnel carriers, four maritime reconnaissance air crafts, six F-104 jet fighters and seven B-57 bombers.

The spokesman said " the present arms supply goes to establish that U.S. is now implementing the above offer and furthermore to replenish the exhausted armoury of Pakistan due to her war on Bangla Desh.

He added that the Government would appeal to the U.S. to call back the ships, freeze stock of all U.S. arms in Pakistan and stop forthwith all further shipment of arms, equipments and supplies to Pakistan.

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—June 24, 1971)

GENOCIDE IN THE NAME OF ISLAM

PRESS REPORT OF THE TELEGRAM SENT TO VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE ISLAMIC

Conference at Jeddah by Acting President of Bangla Desh on June 24, 1971

Syed Nazrul Islam, acting President of Bangla Desh, today sent a telegram to Tengku Abdul Rahman, General Secretary of the Islamic Conference at Jeddah, to use its influence and authority to put an immediate end to the genocide in Bangla Desh.

Copies of the telegram have been sent to all members of the Secretariat, including King Feisal of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Sabban and Sheikh Bin Baz.

Mr. Islam also requested them to support the independence demand of Bangla Desh and referred to the killings, torture, desecration of mosques, murders of Imams and the burning of the holy Koran.

UNI adds : The telegram gave a description of the devastation caused by the Pakistani Army and said, " The warlords of West Pakistan are bent upon perpetrating the worst crimes in human history while trying to cover their guilt under the holy name of Islam ".

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—June 25, 1971)

NO COMPROMISE WITH YAHYA ON INDEPENDENCE: BHASANI

Press statement on June 29, 1971

Maulana Bhasani, the National Awami Party leader, today made it emphatically clear that there could not be any compromise regarding the political settlement of the Bangla Desh issue.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In a Press statement, Maulana Bhasani reiterated that, however, deep the conspiracy against the freedom of Bangla Desh might be, it was bound to fail.

The people of Bangla Desh, he said, would not accept a hoax in the name of a political settlement when they had lost their most valuable assets, when the honour of their women had been violated, when they had lost their hearths and homes and had been driven out from their own country and when they had sacrificed one million valuable lives.

U.S Criticised

"They are determined either to have full independence or to choose death. There can be no compromise or hotch-potch solution. Any party, which ignores the demand for full independence and joins hands with Yahya, will be hated more than the anti-people Muslim League. Their political death is inevitable."

The Maulana vehemently criticised the arms supply by America and said not only the people of free Bangla Desh but also the democratic and peaceful people of the world, including those of America, had repeatedly appealed to the US Government not to extend arms or monetary help to the "most-hated Yahya Government."

He regretted that the US Government had ignored the world opinion and was giving modern weapons and planes, more in quantity than before, to Pakistan. "They have thus exposed their own character which is against humanity. The Nixon Administration must bear the consequences of this policy," Maulana Bhasani added.

Since the last great war, the imperialist U.S. Government was indulging in a conspiracy and was trying to perpetrate its domination and exploitation in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. But the American Government should realise that though they might give the aggressor Yahya all the arms, they could not succeed in crushing the struggle of the 75 million Bengalis to liberate their country from the hands of the aggressors.

Maulana Bhasani said the population of Vietnam was much less than that of Bangla Desh. Yet the Nixon Government was unable to crush the peoples' movement there, eventhough it was spending Rs. 50 million per day. "Those countries, including the U.S., China and Britain, who would give arms and monetary aid to Yahya to perpetrate his regime in free Bangla Desh, will one day be accused by history."

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—June 30, 1971)

BANGLA DESH MINISTER ASSAILS YAHYA PLAN

PRESS REPORT OF COMMENTS BY HOME MINISTER OF BANGLA DESH Mr. K. A. H. M. Kamaruzzaman on June 29, 1971

Mr. Kumaruzzaman, Home Minister of the Bangla Desh Government, today ridiculed President Yahya Khan's plan for holding by-elections to fill the seats vacated by disqualifying Awami League legislators.

The Home Minister said the concept of Pakistan was dead. It would exist only in history books. No man was more hated than President Yahya Khan in Bangla Desh. The self-imposed dictator could not represent Bangla Desh or talk about a political settlement with the people.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bangla Desh was an independent State with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as President. The Government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was the only competent authority which could speak for the people of Bangla Desh.

The constitution which President Yahya Khan was trying to impose on the people of Bangla Desh was designed to perpetuate army rule. The people of Bangla Desh would never accept a constitution from a foreign source.

Men of the Mukti Fauj were capable of wiping out the enemy. "We welcome moral and material support from all those nations which believe in the supremacy of human rights and democracy. The people of Bangla Desh were solidly behind the Awami League.

The Bangla Desh Government was in complete control of liberated areas. Civil administration had been restored in some areas.

(TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi, June 30, 1971)

YAHYA WILL GET A REPLY ON THE BATTLEFIELD

Syed Nazrul Islam, Bangla Desh Acting President's radio broadcast on June 30, 1971

Syed Nazrul Islam, acting President of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, has said that freedom fighters would give a befitting reply on the battlefield to Gen. Yahya Khan's "audacious" radio broadcast, reports PTI.

According to Radio Bangla Desh, the Acting President said in a statement that the Pakistan President's speech did not merit any serious consideration. About 75 million freedom fighters had listened to his speech with "hate and disgust".

Syed Nazrul Islam said: "We are now in the middle of a war of liberation. We cannot rest until we eliminate every alien soldier from our soil".

Cruel joke

According to The Statesman Special Representative, the National Awami Party (led by Wali Muzaffar) of Bangla Desh has described President Yahya Khan's constitutional plan as "a cruel joke perpetrated on the 75 million people of Bangla Desh".

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—July 2, 1971)

PAKISTAN WILL MEET HER WATERLOO IN BANGLA DESH

Statement of Mr. Amjadul Huq, Bangla Desh Press Attache, made to foreign and Indian Journalists on July 3, 1971

Mr. Amjadul Huq, Bangla Desh Press Attache, told foreign and Indian journalists here today that Bangla Desh was the expression of the determination and will of the entire people. "The new state, comprising 75 million people, has been formed after hardwon battles and heroic resistance which not all the forces of Pakistan can put down. It is based on a near unanimous vote of the people and its constitutionality, reality and popular base cannot be questioned", he said.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Huq, who switched over his allegiance to the Bangla Desh Government three months ago recalled that the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh Government. Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed at the time of installation of his Government said that Pakistan was dead and buried under a mountain of corpses. The statement he issued on the tortuous negotiations which led to the declaration of independence of Bangla Desh supports Mr. Ahmed's conclusion. It is a story of treachery, duplicity, negation of democracy throughout on the part of Yahya, Bhutto and their agents of the West Pakistan military regime. At no time throughout the negotiations there was any intention on their part to preserve the unity of Pakistan on the basis of respect for democratic rights. It was planned genocide, planned destruction of democracy and planned suppression of peoples' will.

Mr. Huq added "There has rarely been such cold-blooded murder of democracy. But Bangla Desh, built of the blood of thousands of martyrs, can never be undone by the Timurs of West Pakistan. It has come to stay. There is no power which can undo it".

Tracing the history of exploitation of Bangla Desh for the last 23 years, the Press Attache of Bangla Desh here said that 90 per cent of the total bank deposits were controlled by the West Pakistanis and almost 85 per cent of the total capital of Pakistan was concentrated in Karachi alone and 87 per cent of the total private investment was monopolised by 22 families of West Pakistan. Fifty per cent of the national budget was deployed for the defence whereas there had been hardly 10 per cent of the total defence expenditure made in Bangla Desh. In other words, politically, economically, administratively and militarily, the people of Bangla Desh were completely subjugated and the democratic and freedom loving people of Bangla Desh utterly hated to remain so.

The dark forces within Pakistan that ruled the country were basically anti-people, Mr. Huq said. They were part of the conspiracy between the military and civil bureaucracy and monopoly capitalists. These forces collaborated hand in hand and never allowed the democratic forces to gather any strength. "Any student of the affairs of Pakistan knows it too well that it was a deliberate effort on the part of these vested interests to suppress the growth of healthy political institutions and time and again these forces combined and cruelly suppressed them by force".

Yahya exposed

Mr. Huq said at the time Yahya took over from Ayub the restoration of democracy was promised by the military junta. The Awami League moved forward to establish a democratic system in the country. Between December 7 and January 17 this year elections were held. The Awami League not only established itself as an sbsolute majority party in the former province but also an absolute majority in the National Assembly in the whole of Pakistan.

Awami League's astounding and spectacular victory in the last general elections were the complete defeat for the vested interests of West Pakistan in Bangla Desh".

"It is now clear", Mr. Huq said, "that Yahya and his generals had not the slightest intention of solving Pakistan's political crises peacefully and democratically but were only interested in buying time to crush the democratic people of Bangla Desh".

"A well trained and mechanized army of West Pakistan pounced on the weak and unarmed civilian population of Bangla Desh on March 25 while negotiations were going on with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his close associates to find out a peaceful solution. This was an act of treachery.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Bangla Desh is now a free and sovereign country. A Government headed by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed as Prime Minister is now functioning and is in full control of the affairs in Bangla Desh. The West Pakistan army is nothing but an occupation force in Bangla Desh. They must quit Bangla Desh and the sooner they do so, the better for them and us.

At war with Pindi

"Our country is now at war. It is a total war of the total population of Bangla Desh. Our present struggle is a struggle for liberation. There is no difference between our struggle and the struggle of the people of Russia, China and Cuba and Algeria which they had to sustain for their liberation. Our struggle is the same in nature as that of the American struggle for independence in the eighteenth century.

Bangla Desh bleeds today. Its people are crying aloud in torment and agony. The blood bath the world has seen on the soul of Bangla Desh remains unsurpassed in brutality and bestiality.

Cities and towns of this unfortunate land have been soaked with blood. For Bengalis it is a battle for survival. It is a war which we never wanted. It is a war which has been thrust on us by the power-hungry military junta.

We are 'fighting our battle with courage, determination and fortitude. Our brave men on the front, Mukti Fauj, have already proved their exceptional valour. Imbibed with the spirit of defending the honour and dignity of the motherland, the Mukti Fouj has alreay shattered the phoney myth of the enemy's superiority. We have sufficient fighting manpower. What we need now is arms assistance. This is imperative to contain the diabolical enemy equipped with latest war machines. Only then the Pakistan marauders will realise what people they have taken on".

Against Islam

Regretting the attitude of the Muslim countries to Bangla Desh Mr. Huq said that "we know that the West Pakistan colonial Government is carrying on heinous propaganda in the Muslim countries in the name of Islam." But we hope our friends in Muslim countries will not be victims of their utterly false propaganda. Bangla Desh is a fait accompli and there cannot be any question of any political solution. Today there cannot be any compromise on the basis of a united Pakistan in the name of Islam. The Pakistanis are utilizing the name of the great religion of Islam for mischievous purposes to mislead the Muslims. Let us ask you, can an innocent Muslim child be butchered by a Msulim? Can the innocent Muslim girls be raped and butchered by the Muslim soldiers of West Pakistan in the name of Islam and unity? Why are the West Pakistan soldiers raping Muslim women and butchering them killing Muslim doctors, teachers, scholars, businessmen? If that Islam upon which West Pakistan rulers are relying today? Our earnest appeal to the Muslim countries is they should come forward and condemn openly the inhuman messacre and genocide that are being carried on by the West Pakistani trigger-happy troops in Bangla Desh in the name of Islam.

"The war of West Pakistan troops should not be taken to be the only with the people of Bangla Desh. It seriously threatens the peace of the whole of South Asia".

Expressing his surprise at the attitude of the Human Rights Commission on Bangla Desh issue, Mr. Huq asked "When 75 million people of Bangla Desh are fighting a war of freedom, justice, democratic principles and peace, what are

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the international organizations doing today. What are then the objectives of such international organisation? What are the ethics of international solidarity and what are the principles of international relations?".

Gratitude to India

Expressing his firm confidence in the ability of the people of Bangla Desh. Mr. Huq said we are fighting a winning war because we are fighting out of conviction. We know our ultimate goal and brave soldiers of Mukti Fouj shall continue to fight for years, if necessary, till complete victory is achieved and West Pakistan forces are driven out of Bangla Desh. In this effort, we seek active support, both moral and material, from all nations of the world. We urge all the countries of the world to recognise our Government of Bangla Desh. We want all nations give us recognition the honour that we most certainly deserve. "He expressed his deep gratitude to the people of India for their moral support to the cause of Bangla Desh".

Expressing great concern over the six million refugees who have crossed over for shelter to India, he said the people of Bangla Desh "will remain ever grateful to the people and Government of India what are they doing for the helpless refugees. This is not a simple task which can be undertaken by India alone". He appealed to the international community to rush relief to the succour of the suffering humanity.

Referring to the resumption of American Arms sales to Pakistan, Mr. Huq said that "it has set off waves of sanger and resentment amongst the 75 million people of Bangla Desh. We urge the U.S. Government that it should immediately stop arms shipments to Pakistan and also demand an assurance that no further shipments of military stores will be made to Pakistan to perpetrate the genocide on Bangla Desh". He urged the U.S.A. with all its traditions of freedom and humanitarianism to stop giving aid to Pakistan either military or economic.

Those who still believe in united Pakistan should understand clearly that as Yahya flew out of Dacca on the night of March 25, he took away with him last hopes of "united Pakistan. Yahya must have known that he was destroying the last hope of a United Pakistan".

Asked for his reaction to Yahya's latest broadcast, Mr. Huq said "this is all a load of rubbish and nonsense. Anyway we are not concerned with it. Ours is a independent country and Yahya is the head of another state. Many diplomats in Delhi have told me that Yahya is not an intelligent man. You can clearly see that till today he has not been able to get a quisling to form a puppet Government there".

About the Urdu press, he said that on June 26 he attended a seminar on the Urdu press. If the speakers at the session were truly representative of the Urdu press in general, he felt that the Urdu press shared the Indian national mood on Bangla Desh.

"We hope and appeal to them to come forward to expose the treachery of Yahya Khan in Bangla Desh more and more support our cause wholly".

Commenting on the acute economic crisis in Pakistan, Mr. Huq said that the austerity measures announced by the Pakistan Government to meet the grave economic crisis shows how much they are economically bankrupt today. The war in Bangla Desh has led to a complete dislocation of the economy there. It is costing around 52 million a day. It has led to their huge budget deficit

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which has not been recorded to the world entirely. This is about 50 per cent of the budget cost and will have to be finance by creating paper currency which must inevitably add to the inflationery pressure. With West Pakistan import deficit running at $ 40 million a month Pakistan's reserves have reached a vanishing point. A unilateral mora-torium on foreign debt repayments falling due by this time merely publicises Pakistan's total bankruptcy.

About a political solution Mr. Huq said: "Our Acting President, Syed Nazrul Islam, and the Prime Minster, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, have already spelt out four conditions for a political settlement. They are unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, recognition of the Bangla Desh Government, withdrawal of the invading West Pakistan army, compensation for the losses suffered by the people during the last three months of barberrous activities by the West Pakistan army. Until and unless they fulfil these conditions the people of Bangla Desh will continue to fight till they achieve their independence fully".

(NATIONAL HERALD, New Delhi—July 4, 1971)

AWAMI M.P.s' ALL-OUT WAR PLEDGE

Declaration by the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, on July 15, 1971

The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, has declared that military victory is the only solution to the situation in Bangla Desh.

The People, an English weekly published from Bangla Desh, said today that Awami League members of the National and Provincial Assemblies, at a meeting held early this week, took an "oath of all-out war till victory".

The Paper said that 110 members of the National Assembly and 200 members of the Provincial Assembly attended the meeting which was held somewhere in Bangla Desh.

The oath read: "The enemy shall be engaged not only on land, but also in the air and on the sea, if need be, and shall be defeated once and for all to safeguard the independence of the people of Bangla Desh".

Amid cheers and standing ovation from the assembled representatives, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed declared: "There can be only one solution to the situation in Bangla Desh and it is a military victory".

He also gave a detailed account of the situation in the wake of the military crackdown on Bangla Desh.

The meeting decided to rename the Mukti Fauj as "Mukti Bahini", signifying the "advent of the air force and navy," the report said.

Mr. Ahmed later met the Commander-in-Chief of the liberation forces, Col. A. G. Osmani, and sector commanders.

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—July 16, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TALK OF WAR: YAHYA TRYING TO DISTRACT WORLD

Statement by Bangla Desh Prime Minister on July 22, 1971.

Bangla Desh Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed has said that Gen. Yahya Khan's blustering talk of "war with India" is an indication of his despair, aimed at deflecting the world's attention from the liberation movement and creating communal and racial disharmony.

Mr. Ahmed said in a statement that consistently with this design the Pakistani president was also trying to represent the war between the sovereign people of Bangla Desh and the Pakistani military regime as an Indo-Pakistan conflict.

Unflattering

"The Pakistani Army", the Bangla Desh Premier said, "has suffered unflattering losses in men and morale and Gen. Yahya Khan probably fears more in future. His attempt to form a puppet government with the help of quislings and the elected representatives, now held in capativity, has also failed".

Mr. Ahmed said: "The Mukti Bahini and the people of Bangla Desh are determined not to give any comfort to Yahya and his fellow generals now or in future. This determination also explains the Pakistani President's need for preparing the world in advance for any possible intensification of the war with the Mukti Bahini by ascribing belligerent motives to India."

Mr. Ahmed said Yahya Khan had coupled his threat of declaring war on India, if the latter made an attempt to seize any part of Bangla Desh, with his plan of putting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman before a military court to be tried in camera.

Guilty

"Those who have usurped power in Pakistan are guilty of suppressing the people's will and human rights in Bangla Desh and have no moral or legal right to try the Banglabandhu who has come to symbolise all that the Bengali nation stands for," he said.

"Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is not only the undisputed leader of the 85 million people of Bangla Desh but also the leader of the majority party in the National Assembly of what was Pakistan. His party is the only legitimate authority in Bangla Desh, deriving his sanction from one of the most unanimous electoral verdicts of history. His life is important not only for the peace and prosperity of Bangla Desh people but also for maintenance of peace and stability in this part of the world".

Mr. Ahmed urged all the nations and governments of the world to take individual as well as collective action through the U.N. to stop the ghastly charade of a trial in which the prosecutor, the judge and the executioner would be one and the verdict all too predictable.

He said Yahya Khan must be made to abandon his heinous plot against the life of Sheikh Mujib and release him forthwith.

"For the world to remain an idle spectator at the proposed trial", Mr. Ahmed said, "will be to abet a terrible crime and betrayal of all human and civilised values."

(PATRIOT, New Delhi—July 23, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BANGLA DESH OPPOSITION

Bangla Desh Foreign Minister Mr. Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed's comments on July 23, 1971, on the proposal to post U. N. observers in Bangla Desh.

The Bangla Desh Foreign Minister, Mr. Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed today opposed the proposal to post U.N. observers in Bangla Desh.

He said that the U.N. should post observers " in West Pakistani sea and airports to ensure that the Pakistani military junta cannot send any more troops and arms to Bangla Desh."

"The Pakistani warlords appear to be engineering another master scheme of escaping the inevitable defeat in the hands of the gallant fighters of Bangla Desh under the umbrella of the U.N. Their pretext is that posting U.N. observers on both the sides of the border of Bangla Desh and India would inspire the refugees to go home. The refugees will go home only when the Pakistani soldiers go home to West Pakistan."

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—July 24, 1971)

SOVEREIGN BANGLA DESH IS THE AIM

Press statement by Maulana Bhashani on July 26, 1971.

The President of the National Awami Party, Maulana Bhashani, said today that everyone in Bangla Desh, irrespective of political shades—Rightist, Leftist or Centrist—barring a few self-seekers, must subscribe to the goal an independent Bangla Desh.

"Only Mir Jafars will try to create a division on our ranks for their own personal gains," the Maulana said in a Press statement, repudiating reports that he ever stood for a united front of Leftist parties.

The Maulana said, "Since the inception of Pakistan, I have been harping on the same theme—ushering in of an independent, sovereign and socialist Bangla Desh for economic, social and cultural freedom of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and tribals."

"I have never before or after the fateful day of March 25 pleaded for the creation of a United Front of all Leftist parties of Bangla Desh, excluding the Awami League."

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—July 28, 1971)

BANGLA FOREIGN MINISTER WARNS

Comments of Bangla Desh Foreign Minister Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed, on July 31, 1971, regarding the UN move to station observers on either side of the Bangla Desh border with India.

Bangla Desh Foreign Minister Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed said today that attempts to make "Bangla Desh" an India-Pakistan issue was a "wrong attitude and cannot bring peace in this part of the world".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Commenting on the U.N. move to station observers on either side of the Bangla Desh border with India, Mr. Ahmed said: "indications are too obvious that Pakistan as last-minute efforts to polish her already tarnished image has geared up activities in and around the U.N. to save itself from certain defeat at the hands of Bangla Desh liberation forces.

"We want to make it very clear that any attempt to sidetrack the Bangla Desh Government on Bangla Desh issue is fraught with grave danger. Any attempt to ignore the fighting people of Bangla Desh will lead to nowhere."

U.N. Envoy

Mr. Ahmed accused the U.N. High Commissioner for Relief and Rehabilitation with having taken a partisan view of the refugee situation.

"He wants to administer a palliative when it requires a severe surgery. By now he should be in a better position to say whether or not his personal presence and assurance could inspire any refugee to go back home or cause still larger overflow to India. We feel no further experiments on this line should be undertaken. We, therefore, call upon the U.N. to put off this vain attempt to tackle the refugee problem."

Only the Government formed by the duly elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh could take the refugees back to their homes. "The rational approach would be to recognise the Bangla Desh Government which alone can speak on behalf of the people of Bangla Desh as the sole arbiter of their destiny."

(PATRIOT, New Delhi—August 1, 1971)

U. N. TOLD TO PUT OFF ATTEMPT TO AID DPs

Appeal by Bangla Desh Foreign Minister, Mr. Ahmed on July 31, 1971.

Mr. Khandaker Mushtaque Ahmed, the Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh, appealed to the United Nations yesterday to put off its attempt to tackle the refugee problem since only a Government formed by the duly elected representatives could take the evacuees back to their homes.

Commenting on the reported move of the Pakistan Government to make Bangla Desh an Indo-Pakistan issue in the Security Council, he said this was a symptom of Pakistan's desperation. "We want to make it very clear that any attempt to sidetrack the Bangla Desh Government on this issue is fraught with grave danger."

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—August 2, 1971)

YAHYA TOLD HINDU VOTE WAS 15 PER CENT

Comments of Bangla Desh Foreign Office spokesmen on August 4, 1971.

A Bangla Desh Foreign Office spokesman today denounced as a "blatant lie" the Pakistan President's statement that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had won the election mainly because of Hindu minority vote.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Commenting on Yahya's interview with a Teheran daily, the spokesman pointed out that the Awami League had won 82 per cent of the votes while the Hindu minority vote represented not more than 15 per cent.

"Even if it is accepted that the Awami League bagged all these votes, the question still remains where did the remaining 67 per cent votes come from?

The spokesman said it was curious to note that Gen. Yahya who after the election, took pride to declare that the election was free and fair now wanted to make the world believe that the Awami League won the election through intimidation, threat and malpractices.

The spokesman recalled that during and prior to the election, Gen. Yahya had deputed the army, police and ansars to maintain law and order.

"This confession to the Iranian journalist that he was ill-informed about the happenings in the country is sufficient evidence that Gen. Yahya has no capacity to be the Head of a State.

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—August 5, 1971)

———

BANGLA DESH GOVT. HAILS U.S. HOUSE DECISION

Comments of Bangla Desh Government spokesman on House of Representatives decision on August 5, 1971.

The Bangla Desh Government today expressed satisfaction at the U.S. Congress ban on aid to Pakistan.

A spokesman of the Bangla Desh Foreign Office said: "We have learnt with great satisfaction that the United States House of Representatives has voted restrictive provisions in the Foreign Aid Bill which would in effect suspend all economic and military aid to Pakistan."

"*We extend our warm felicitations* to American Congressmen for their wisdom in correctly evaluating the present situation in Bangla Desh. It is gratifying that the members of the august body have not been deluded by the Pakistan propaganda that all is well in the land inhabited by 75 million Bengalis".

The spokesman especially thanked Mr. Thomas Morgan, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Mr. Cornelius Gallagher. Chairman of the House Sub-Committee on South Asia, "for their role in bringing home to the members of Congress the magnitude of the man-made disaster which has overtaken our country".

"It is with special pride that the democratically elected representatives of Bangla Desh salute Congressmen of the United States for upholding democracy", he said and added: "We trust that the U.S. Administration will respect the verdict given by their own House of Representatives".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In Calcutta, the Bangla Desh Mission Chief Mr. Hossain Ali, expressed joy at the "inspiring news" that all Bengali diplomats of Pakistani missions in New York and Washington had joined the war of independence.

In a statement Mr. Ali said that in doing so the diplomats "had broken the shackles of slavery, and exercised the right of independence as free citizens of a sovereign Bangla Desh".

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—August 6, 1971)

WHITE PAPER CALLED BUNCH OF WHITE LIES

Comments of Foreign Office spokesman of the Bangla Desh Government on the Pakistan Tournament White paper on August 7, 1971.

A FOREIGN OFFICE *spokesman of the Bangla Desh Government* today described Pakistan's "White Paper" on Bangla Desh as a "Bunch of white lies."

The spokesman said: "*The army junta in its heinous move to hoodwink world opinion, so strong against it, has completely distorted contemporary events and facts*".

The facts were too clear to be reiterated and largely known to the world by the "courtesy of the world fraternity of journalists".

"We want to tell the world that if Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had planned any armed struggle he would not have faced the possibility of arrest in the hand of the junta against whom his own army would be waging a war."

Non-violence and non-co-operation were the Sheikh's creed. He had repeatedly emphasised that he was against secession because it was meaningless for Bangla Desh, comprising the major part of the Pakistan, to secede from the minor part.

"His six-point programme was for all the provinces of Pakistan and he stubbornly fought for the right of the minority provinces."

Zero hour

The course of events proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the zero hour was fixed by the army junta while it continued the "hypocrisy of a prolonged dialogue".

"On the 24th evening also" the spokesman pointed out, "there was a meeting between Yahya's advisory group and the Awami League high command. Principles of agreement were made out, and the draft of a Government proclamation was being finalised for announcement any time".

The spokesman said that the whole nation was "bursting with expectation". But instead of the announcement there came the army crackdown.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"We want to warn the conspirators that any attempt to execute the idol of Bangla Desh will be avenged to the last."

He strongly repudiated the charges that non-Bengalis were killed by Bengalis before the army crack down.

"During and after the days of non co-operation, Bengalis never treated the non-Bengalis as aliens, not to speak of killing them. Thus even on March 9 non-Bengali army and navy personnel joined hands to wage a communal war in which hundreds of Bengalis were killed."

The communal tension was so high that Maulana Bhashani rushed to Chittagong and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman sent two leaders to that town to study the situation. The leaders directly charged the army and navy with killing Bengalis.

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—August 8, 1971)

FAZRUL ISLAM WARNS YAHYA KHAN

Warning by Acting President of Bangla Desh against any attempt on Mujib's life, August 9, 1971.

The acting President of Bangla Desh, *Syed Nazrul Islam* on Sunday warned President Yahya Khan of Pakistan against any "attempt" on the life of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and said that it would not only be avenged on the battle-fields in Bangla Desh but would also trigger off developments which would destroy Pakistan itself.

In a message on the occasion of Mujib Release Day, he appealed to all countries which loved democracy, freedom and justice to help stop the sinister attempt of Yahya Khan to try Mr. Rahman.

* * * *

(THE STATESMAN, New Delhi—August 9, 1971)

BANGLA DESH PEOPLE WANT JUSTICE

Press report of exclusive interview to a 'New Wave' correspondent at Mujibnagar by Mr. Kamaruzzaman, Home Minister of Bangla Desh, dated August 12, 1971.

Mr. KAMARUZZAMAN, Home Minister of Bangla Desh, has stated that his Government and the people were profoundly grateful to India and the Soviet Union for the "firm support" they were giving to the cause of Bangla Desh.

In an exclusive interview to a "New Wave" correspondent at Mujibnagar in Bangla Desh, he said: "This struggle is not a war between the Mukti Fauj and the occupation army. It is a people's war, in which each citizen of Bangla Desh is participating. The question of morale does not arise here, because the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

entire nation is determined to liquidate the occupation army. Any sacrifice that might be required for it is considered by the people insignificant."

Victory is Certain

Mr. Kamaruzzaman said: "Victory is certain. About the time factor, nothing can be said precisely. No power on earth has ever been able to hold a territory, the inhabitants of which form a determined force to achieve their objectives. The people of Bangla Desh want justice and fair play: they want to exist as a free people in the comity of nations, pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence with all. We do not want to usurp any nation's rights but those who want to usurp ours, will be dealt with appropriately".

Asked if he would say something about the role of India, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A, the Bangla Desh. Home Minister replied: "Greatness of a nation lies not in mere acceptance of certain principles and values. It lies in determined effort to act upon these principles, whatever might be the cost. The great people of India have stood behind us and are determined to stand by us. We are grateful to them. They are undoubtedly a great and noble people. The U.S.S.R. which is the homeland of certain new conceptions of the right of human beings, especially the right to live in equality in a socialistic economy, has lent us moral support and we expert that the people of the U.S.S.R. will stand by us in the coming difficult days".

As regards the U.S.A., Mr. Kamaruzzaman said, "The democratic forces in that country are raising their voice in support of the suffering people of Bangla Desh and we expect that the rest of the people will also soon follow the lead given by the democratic forces. We should all remember that any help of aid given to Yahya will not be utilised for the benefit of the people. On the contrary it will be used for crushing the aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh".

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—August 12, 1971)

BANGLA PRIME MINISTER'S WARNING ON FAKE MUJIB TRIAL

Press report of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed's interview with a correspondent of the Bangla Desh Radio on August 13, 1971.

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, has warned that the entire South-East Asia might face a serious crisis if anything untoward happened to Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

In an interview with a correspondent of the Bangla Desh Radio here, Mr. Ahmed said the entire political atmosphere in this part of the world would be jeopardised if the life and welfare of our beloved leader is adversely affected by a fake judgment at the proposed trial".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The reported trial of the Bangabandhu", the Bangla Desh Premier said, "has shocked the entire world. The self-imposed President of Pakistan has no through to try Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who has proved himself to be a leader authority the people's verdict".

Mr. Ahmed made a fervent appeal to all the big powers of the world to come forward to resist the heinous design of the Yahya regime to execute the undisputed leader of the 75 million people of Bangla Desh.

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—August 14, 1971)

———

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER VI

GENOCIDE IN BANGLA DESH

I. SOME EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS

"HOW DACCA PAID FOR A 'UNITED' PAKISTAN"

Report by Simon Dring of Daily Telegraph, London.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, East Pakistan's popular political leader, was seen being taken away by the army, and nearly all the top members of his Awami League Party have also been arrested.

Leading political activities have been arrested, others are dead, and the offices of two papers which supported Mujibur's movement have been destroyed.

But the first target as the tanks rolled into Dacca on the night of Thursday, March 25, seems to have been the students.

An estimated three battalions of troops were used in the attack on Dacca—one of armoured, one of artillery and one of infantry. They started leaving their barracks shortly before 10 p.m. By 11, firing had broken out and the people who had started to erect makeshift barricades—overturned cars, three stumps, furniture, concrete piping—became early casualties.

Sheikh Mujibur was warned by telephone that something was happening, but he refused to leave his house. "If I go into hiding they will burn the whole of Dacca to find me," he told an aide who escaped arrest.

The students were also warned, but those who were still around later said that most of them thought they would only be arrested. Led by American-supplied M-24 World War II tanks, one column of troops sped to Dacca University shortly after midnight. Troops tookover the British Council Library and used it as a fire base from which to shell nearby dormitory areas.

Caught completely by surprise, some 200 students were killed in Iqbal Hall, headquarters of the militantly anti-government student's union, I was told. Two days later, bodies were still smouldering in burnt-out rooms, others were scattered outside, more floated in a nearby lake, an art student lay sprawled across his easel.

The military removed many of the bodies, but the 30 bodies still there could never have accounted for all the blood in the corridors of Iqbal Hall.

At another hall, reportedly, soldiers buried the dead in a hastily dug mass grave which was then bull-dozed over by tanks. People living near the university were caught in the fire too, and 200 yards of shanty houses running alongside a railway line were destroyed.

Army patrols also razed nearby market area. Two days later, when it was possible to get out and see all this, some of the market's stall-owners were still lying as though asleep, their blankets pulled up over their shoulders. In the same district, the Dacca Medical College received direct bazooka fire and a mosque was badly damaged.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As the university came under attack, other columns of troops moved in on the Rajabag headquarters of the East Pakistan police, on the other side of the city. Tanks opened fire first, witness said; then the troops moved in and levelled the men's sleeping quarters, firing incendiary rounds into the buildings. People living opposite did not know how many died there, but out of the 1,100 police based there not many are believed to have escaped.

Mujib's arrest

As this was going on, other units had surrounded the Sheikh's house. When contacted shortly before 1 a.m. he said that he was expected an attack any minute and had sent everyone except his servants and bodyguard away to safety.

A neighbour said that at 1-10 a.m., one tank, an armoured car, and trucks loaded with troops drove down the street firing over the house. "Sheikh you should come down", an officer called out in English as they stopped outside. Mujibur stepped out onto his balcony and said, "Yes, I am ready, but there is no need to fire. All you need to have done is call me on the telephone and I would have come."

The officer then walked into the yard and told Mujibur: "You are arrested."

He was taken away along with three servants, an aide and his bodyguard, who was badly beaten up when he started to insult the officer. One man was killed—a night watchman hiding behind the fence of the house next door.

As the Sheikh was driven off—presumably to army headquarters—the soldiers moved into the house, took away all documents, smashed everything in sight locked the garden gate, shot down the green, red and yellow "Bangla Desh" flag and drove away.

By 2 O'Clock Friday

Fires were burning all over the city, and troops had occupied the university and surrounding areas. There was still heavy shelling in some areas, but the fighting was beginning to slacken noticeably. Opposite the Intercontinental Hotel a Platoon of troops stored the empty office of "The People" newspaper, burning it down along with most houses in the area and killing the night watchman.

City lies silent

Shortly before dawn most firing had stopped, and as the sun came up an eerie silence settled over the city, deserted and completely dead except for noise of the crows and the occasional convoy of troops or two or three tanks rumbling by mopping up.

At noon, again without warning, columns of troops poured into the old section of the city where more than 1 million people lived in a sprawling maze of narrow, winding streets.

For the next 11 hours, they devastated large areas of the "old town", as it is called, where Sheikh Mujibur had some of his strongest support in Dacca. English Road, French Road, Niar Bazaar, City Bazaar were burned to the ground.

"They suddenly appeared at the end of the street", said one old man living in French Niar Bazaar area. "Then they drove down it, firing into all the houses."

The lead unit was followed by soldiers carrying cans of gasoline. Those who tried to escape were shot. Those who stayed were burnt alive. About 700 men, women and children died there that day between noon and 2 p.m. I was told.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The pattern was repeated in at least three other areas of upto a half square mile or more. Police stations in the old town were also attacked.

Constables killed

"I am looking for my constables," a police inspector said on Saturday morning as he wandered through the ruins of one of the bazaars. "I have 240 in my district, and so for I have only found 30 of them—all dead."

In the Hindu area of the old town, the soldiers reportedly made the people come out of their houses and shot them in groups. This area, too, was eventually razed.

The troops stayed on in force in the old city until about 11 p.m. on the night of Friday, March 26, driving around with local Bengali informers. The soldiers would fire a flare and the informer would point out the houses of Awami League supporters. The house would then be destroyed—either with direct fire from tanks or recoilless rifles or with a can of gasoline, witness said.

Meanwhile, troops of the East Bengal Regiment in the suburbs started moving out towards the industrial areas about 10 miles from the Sheikh's centres of support.

Firing continued in these areas until early Sunday morning, but the main part of the operation in the city was completed by Friday night—almost exactly 24 hours after it began.

One of the last targets was the daily Bengali language paper "Ittefaq". More than 400 people reportedly had taken shelter in its offices when the fighting started. At 4 o'clock Friday afternoon, four tanks appeared in the road outside. By 4-30 the building was an inferno, witnesses said. By Saturday morning only the charred remains of a lot of corpses huddled in back rooms were left.

Curfew lifted

As quickly as they had appeared, the troops disappeared from the streets. On Saturday morning the radio announced that the curfew would be lifted from 7 a.m. until 4 p.m. It then repeated the Martial Law Regulations banning all political activity, announced press censorship and ordering all government employees to report back to work. All privately owned weapons were ordered to be turned in to the authorities.

Magically, the city returned to life, and panic set in. By 10 a.m. with palls of black smoke still hanging over large areas of the old town and out in the distance toward the industrial areas, the streets were packed with people leaving town. By car and in rickshaws, but mostly on foot, carrying their possessions with them, the people of Dacca were fleeing. By noon the refugees numbered in the tens of thousands.

"Please give me lift, I am old man"—"In the name of Allah, help me"—"Take my children with you".

Silent and unsmiling, they passed and saw what the army had done. They looked the other way and kept on walking. Down near one of the markets a shot was heard. Within seconds, 2,000 people were running; but it had only been someone going to join the lines already forming to turn in weapons.

Government offices remained almost empty. Most employees were leaving for their villages, ignoring the call to go back to work. Those who were not fleeing wandered aimlessly around the smoking debris, lifting blackened and twisted sheets of corrugated iron (used in most shanty areas for roofing) to salvage from the ashes what they could.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nearly every other car was either taking people out into the countryside or flying a red cross and conveying dead and wounded to the hospitals.

In the middle of it all occasional convoys of troops would appear, the soldiers peering—equally unsmiling—down the muzzles of their guns at the silent crowds. On Friday night as they pulled back to their barracks they shouted "Narai Takpir", an old Persian war cry meaning "We have won the war". On Saturday when they spoke it was to shout "Pakistan zindabad—Long live Pakistan".

Fast-selling Flags

Most people took the hint. Before the curfew was reimposed the two hottest-selling items on the market were gasoline and the national flag of Pakistan. As if to protect their property in their absence, the last thing a family would do before they locked up their house would be to raise the flag.

At 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon, the streets emptied again. The troops reappeared and silence fell once more over Dacca. But firing broke out again almost immediately. "Anybody out after four will be shot", the radio had announced earlier in the day.

A small boy running across the street outside the Intercontinental Hotel two minutes after the curfew fell was stopped, slapped four times in the face by an officer and taken away in a jeep.

The night watchman at the Dacca Club, a bar left over from the colonial days, was shot when he went to shut the gate of the club. A group of Hindi Pakistanis living around a temple in the middle of the race course were all killed apparently because they were out in the open.

Refugees who came back into the city, after finding that roads leading out of it were blocked by army, told how many had been killed as they tried to walk across country to avoid the troops.

Beyond these roadblocks was more or less no-man's land, where the clearing operations were still going on. What is happening out there now is anybody's guess, except the army's.

Many people took to the river to escape the crowds on the roads, but they ran the risk of being stranded waiting for a boat when curfew fell. Where one such group was sitting on Saturday afternoon there were only bloodstains the next morning.

Hardly anywhere was there evidence of organized resistance. Even the West Pakistani officer scoffed at the idea of anybody putting a fight.

"These bugger men", said one Punjabi leiutenant, "could not kill us if they tried."

"Things are much better now", said another officer. "Nobody can speak out or come out. If they do we will kill them—they have spoken enough—they are traitors, and we are not. We are fighting in the name of God and a united Pakistan."

(Despatch by Simon Dring of
Daily Telegraph, London,
IN WASHINGTON POST, March 30, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RECENT EVENTS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Extract from Record of the U.S. Senate containing letter dated April 17, 1971 from Dr. John E. Rohde, a physician evacuated from East Pakistan, to Senator William B. Saxbe.

Mr. SAXBE. Mr. President, I recently received a letter from a physician who worked in East Pakistan under USAID. He gives a good account of the recent events in East Pakistan. As you know, I objected last year to the sale of $ 15,000,000 worth of military equipment to Pakistan because I feared the tragic consequences of this action. I have just co-sponsored Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 which urges the suspension of our military assistance to Pakistan until the conflict is resolved.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the letter from Dr. John E. Rohde because I feel that Senators should have the benefit of his insight.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

HUDSON, OHIO
April 17, 1971

HON. WILLIAM B. SAXBE,
NEW SENATE OFFICE BUILDING,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Senator Saxbe: Two days ago my wife and I were evacuated from Dacca, East Pakistan, where I have been posted for the past three years as a physician under USAID. I am certain that you are aware of the political events preceding the army crackdown on March 25th. As a result of complete censorship and the expulsion of journalists, banning of the major political party in Pakistan, and repressed information about the military campaign against the civilians of East Pakistan, it must have been difficult to obtain a clear picture of events since that date. From the outset of the army action, the American Consul General and his staff in Dacca, have continued to send detailed factual accounts enumerating first-hand reports of the situation. These reports have been carefully collected and verified before transmission to the State Department. Publicly the State Department claims they do not have enough facts; but I have seen the factual reports sent daily from Dacca. The American Consul in Karachi stated to me that they only recently began to receive the accounts about the situation in East Pakistan, when the Consulate in Dacca has been transmitting information from the very start of the action.

Although Consul Blood's reports contain a more detailed account of the current situation, I wish to bring to our attention the observations I have made in the past weeks in Dacca. My wife and I watched from our roof the night of March 25th as tanks rolled out of the Cantonment illuminated by the flares and the red glow of fires as the city was shelled by artillery, and mortars were fired into crowded slums and bazaars. After two days of loud explosions and the continual chatter of machineguns, we took advantage of a break in the curfew to drive through the city. Driving past streams of refugees, we saw burned out shacks of families living by the railroad tracks, coming from Gulshan to Mohakhali crossing. A Bengali friend living closeby had watched the army set fire to the hovels, and as the families ran out, he saw them shot down "like dogs". He accepted our offer to take him and his family of twelve into our

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

home. In the old city we walked through the remains of Nayer Bazaar, where Moslem and Hindu wood cutters had worked, now only a tangle of iron, and sheet and smouldering ruins. The Hindu shopkeepers and craftsmen still alive in the bombed ruins of Shankari Bazaar begged me to help them only hours after the army had moved in with the intention to kill all inhabitants. One man had been shot in the abdomen and killed only one half hour before we arrived. Others were lying in the streets rotting. The day before we were evacuated, I saw Moslem names in Urdu, on the remains of houses in Shankari Bazaar previously a totally Hindu area. On the 29th we stood at Ramna Kali Bari, an ancient Hindu village of about two hundred fifty people in the center of Dacca Ramna Race Course, and witnessed the stacks of machine-gunned, burning remains of men, women and children butchered in the early morning hours of March 29. I photographed the scene hours later.

Sadarghat, Shakaripatti, Rayer Bazaar, Nayer Bazaar, Pailpara and Thatari Bazaar are a few of the places where the homes of the thousands are razed to the grounds.

At the university area on the 29th, we walked through Nagannath Hall and Iqbal Hall, two of the student dormitories at Dacca University shelled by army tanks. All inmates were slaughtered. We saw the breach in the wall where the tank broke through, the tank tracks and the mass grave in front of the hall. A man who was forced to drag the bodies outside, counted one hundred three of the Hindu students buried there. Outside were the massive holes in the walls of the dormitory, while inside were the smoking remains of the rooms and the heavily blood-stained floors. We also saw evidence of tank attack at Iqbal Hall where bodies were still unburied.

The two ensuing weeks have documented the planned killing of much of the intellectual community, including the majority of professors of Dacca University. These include: Professor G. L. Dev, Head of the Philosophy Department; Professor Maniruzzaman, Head of the Department of Statistics; Professor Jotirmoy Guhathakurta, Head of the English Department; Dr. Naqvi and Dr. Ali, Head of the Department of History; Professor Innasali, Head of the Physics Department and Professor Dr. M. N. Huda, Head of the Economics Department, former Governor and Finance Minister were shot in their quarters, injured and left for dead. Many families of these professors were shot as well. Full documentation of the people is difficult due to the army's thorough search leaving Dacca. Complete censorship was facilitated when three prominent mass circulation dailies were burned: The People, The Ittefaq and the Sangbad.

Military action continued after the attack of the first two days. We listened as the early morning of April first was wracked for two hours by artillery pounding Jinjira, a town across the Buriganga from Dacca, that had swollen in size with an estimated one hundred thousands civilians fleeing terrorized Dacca. Radio Pakistan continued to broadcast that life in Dacca had returned to normal but we witnessed a nearly a deserted city.

In Gushan, one of the suburban area of Dacca, where we lived, we witnessed the disarming of the East Pakistan Rifles, stationed in the Children's Park across the street, the army looting the food supplies from the market nearby, and finally the execution of several EPR as they were forced by Punjabi soldiers onto a truck to be "taken away". The mass execution of several thousands of Bengali policemen and East Pakistan Rifles is already documented. We also witnessed from a neighbour's house, army personnel fire three shots across Gushan Lake at several little boys who were swimming. Nearly every night there was sporadic gunfire near our home adding to the fear of twenty-six refugees staying with us. During the day Pakistan planes flew overhead to their bombing missions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It would be possible for me to chronicle many specific atrocities, but we have left close friends behind whose lives might be more endangered. It is clear that the law of the juggle prevails in East Pakistan where the mass killing of unarmed civilians, the systematic elimination of the intelligentia, and the annihilation of the Hindu population is in progress.

The reports of Consul Blood, available to you as a Congressmen, contains a more detailed and complete account of the situation. In addition, he has submitted concrete-proposals for constructive moves our government can make. While in no way suggesting that we interfere with Pakistan's internal affairs, he asserts, and we support him, that the United States must not continue to condone the military action with official silence. We also urge you to read the Dacca official community's open cable to the State Department. It is for unlimited distribution and states the facts about the situation in East Pakistan.

By not making a statement, the State Department appears to support the clearly immoral action of the West Pakistani army, navy, and air force against the Bengali people.

We were evacuated by Pakistan's Commercial airline. We were loaded on planes that had just disembarked full loads of Pakistani troops and military supplies. American AID dollars are providing support of military action. In Teheran, due to local support of Pakistan, I was unable to wire you the information I am writing.

Fully recognizing the inability of our government to oppose actively or intervene in this desperate oppression of the Bengalis, I urge you to seek and support a condemnation by Congress and the President of the United States of the inhuman treatment being accorded the seventy-five million people of East Pakistan.

No political consideration can outweigh the importance of a humanitarian stand, reiterating the American belief in the value of individual lives and a democratic process of government. The action of President Yahya banning the democratically elected majority party, who had ninety-eight percent of the East Wings electorate backing them, ought to arouse a country which prides itself on the democratic process.

We urge you to speak out actively against the tragic massacre of civilians in East Pakistan.

Sincerely yours,

JON E. ROHDE, M.D.

(*Mr. William B. Saxbe's speech in the U.S. Senate on April 29, 1971*)

A FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE OF TURMOIL IN EAST PAKISTAN

Extract from Record of the U. S. Senate containing letter, dated April 19, 1971 from Mr. James F. Ragin, an Americal citizen evacuated from Dacca, to Senator Gordon Allott

Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. President, I urgently want to call to the attention of the Senate a letter I have received from a person with first-hand experience of the recent turmoil in East Pakistan.

The letter is from Mr. James F. Ragin, of Fort Collins, Colo. He recently was evacuated from Dacca, and has composed a most impressive and alarming report on what he saw before being evacuated.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Ragin s letter is the more impressive because it does not indulge rhetorical flourishes. With deadly matter of factness he recounts the orgy of mindless bloodletting he saw while in East Pakistan.

I am sending copies of this letter to appropriate persons in other branches of the Federal Government. I expect to be apprised by these persons concerning the U.S. response to the events Mr. Ragin describes and concerning appropriate modifications of U.S. policy in the light of these events.

Meanwhile, I urge all Senators to read Mr. Ragin's letter, which I commend him for writing and which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Fort Collins, Colo
April 19, 1971

Hon. GORDON ALLOTT
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Senator Allott: As an American citizen recently evacuated from Dacca, East Pakistan, and a member of your constituency, I am writing to you regarding the lack of an official American response to the events in Pakistan since March 25th. As a result of complete Press censhorship by the Pakistan Government and sensationalism by some news media, it may have been difficult for you to obtain a first hand account of the Civil War which is raging in East Pakistan. My own personal experience in Dacca upto April 6th verifies many of the reports appearing in the International Press regarding the brutal tactics being used by the Pakistan Army against unarmed civilians. In addition, the American Consulate in Dacca has sent lengthy reports to the Department of State containing detailed accounts of systematic and random killing of civilians, students, faculty members and political leaders.

Amidst the myriad of political and strategic considerations surrounding our Government's lack of response to the inhumane repression of the 75-million people of East Pakistan, several relevant facts are clear. The first democratically-elected majority party of Pakistan the Awami League, has been banned and its leaders including Mr. Mujibur Rahman, have been jailed or killed. American weapons which were allocated to Pakistan for defence are being used by the military against unarmed Bengalis. The statement by the Soviet Union on April 1st condemning the massacre and urging an end to the carnage was widely hailed in India and East Pakistan.

Fully realizing the inadvisability of the United States to actively intervene in a Civil War, I urge you to seek and support a condemnation by Congress and the President of the United States of the inhumane treatment being accorded to the citizens of East Pakistan. The silence of our Government is being regarded as tacit approval of the action taken by the West Pakistan military. No political or strategic consideration should outweigh the importance of a humanitarian stand reiterating the American belief in the value of individual lives and in a democratic process of government.

I urge you to speak out now and to help bring an end to this tragic situation.

Sincerely,

JAMES F. RAGIN.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FACT SHEET ON INCIDENTS AND INFORMATION COLLECTED BY AMERICANS IN DACCA

Attack on unarmed civilian inhabitants in Dacca

(*a*) Sadarghat is the dock area of old Dacca. On the morning of March 26th Army troops attacked the terminal. No civilians were armed in that area. A machine gun was installed on the terminal roof and all men, women and children were fired upon. Inspection of the terminal on March 29th revealed pools of dried blood on the terminal floor. The washrooms were completely soiled and soaked with blood. According to an eye-witness, a Bengali student, all civilians who were waiting for boats in the terminal were killed. After the massacre, bodies were draged into buses and burned. Corpses were still floating in the Buriganga River adjacent to the terminal on March 29th.

(*b*) Shandari Bazaar is a Hindu artisan center of old Dacca. According to an American missionary who lives near the area, machine guns were placed at the ends of the street and soldiers attacked the entire bazaar area without warning on the morning of March 28th. On March 29th and 30th, not a sign of life remained in a once busy Bazaar area, Corpses remained unburied on the street and inside gutted homes. Parts of threestorey buildings had completely collapsed from the ferosity of the attack and shell holes marked heavy armament attacks.

(*c*) Ramna Kalibari is an ancient small Hindu settlement situated in the middle of the Dacca Race Course. Even during the most violent Hindu-Muslim riots of partition, the village was able to avoid participation in communal strife. On the night of March 28th soldiers attacked the village killing all inhabitants—estimated at 200 people. On March 29th, a pile of approximately 70 to 100 bodies charred and machine-gunned, was on visible display in Kalibari. The entire village was burned to the ground.

(*d*) Other areas of Dacca, such as Nyar Bazaar, Ryar Bazaar and multiple "bustis" (shanty areas) were completely destroyed by fire because soldiers attacked during curfew under the cover of darkness. Details surrounding these attacks are not well known. However, many eyewitnesses described sudden attacks of submachine guns, grenades and burning to force the civilians out into at 7.00 a.m. on March 29th when near a hospital in Mohakali, bustis were set a fire and fleeing inhabitants "gunned-down like dogs."

Attack against Universities, students and faculty members

(*a*) Iqbal Hall, student dormitory center of the Student Council, was attacked on the morning of March 26th by tanks and soldiers with submachine guns and grenades. Although the exact number of students killed is uncertain not one survivor was found.

Inspection of the Hall two days later revealed a building demolished by tank blasts and gutted by fire. Bodies were still visible—many of them having been taken to the roof to prevent body count. One man and two children corpses were charred leaning against a window. The degree of armed resistance offered by the students is not clear. One American physician upon inspection of the Hall saw a pile of burned rifles. All of these rifles had false wooden barrels and may have reflected the degree of armed resistance which these students offered.

(*b*) Jagannath Hall is the dormitory of the Hindu students at Dacca University. According to one student survivor who was treated at Dacca Medical

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

College, all 103 students were killed. Soldiers attacked the dormitory on the morning of March 26th without warning. Approximately six students were spared and forced at gunpoint to dig a mass grave (in a field adjacent to the dormitory). They were then shot. This student was left for dead and was able to crawl away to the hospital under the cover of darkness.

(*c*) Home of Professor G.C. Dev, Head and Professor of Philosophy at Dacca University, was also attacked the same night. Professor Dev, a noted Bengali Hindu Philosopher, has never been politically involved. He was an elderly bachelor who housed poor students, often leading discussions about philosophy and religion. His home was attacked and all students were killed. Professor Dev himself was marched to the adjacent field and killed.

(*d*) Names and rank of faculty members at Dacca University who were killed or sounded:

1. G. C. Dev, Head and Professor of Philosophy, killed.
2. Moniruzzaman, Head and Professor of Statistics, killed.
3. Professor Ali, Head and Professor of History, killed.
4. Professor Guhathakurta, Head and Professor of English, killed.
5. Dr. Munim, Instructor of English, killed.
6. Dr. Naqui, Instructor, department not known, killed.
7. Professor Huda, Head of Department of Economics, wounded.
8. Professor Innasali, Head of Department of Physics, wounded.

Other faculty members were also killed during the attack on the university, but their deaths could not be verified. Personal reports by wives of faculty members indicated that specific professors were sought by the army, especially those involved with Economics, Political Science and Bengali Culture. Although the exact circumstances of death are not known, one example has been pieced together by visits to faculty housing and eyewitness accounts from family members. On March 28th Building 34 contained pools of blood on the first and second floor foyers. According to wives of faculty members, troops attacked the building on the morning of March 26th. Apartment A was entered forcibly and the faculty member marched to the courtyard where he was shot. Fortunately he was only injured with a neck wound and was last known to be in critical condition at Dacca Medical College. The soldiers then went to Flat D, where Professor Muniru Zaman lived. He, his son, his brother who was an advocate on the East Pakistan High Court and the only son of his sister-in-law were marched to the first floor foyer, lined up against the wall and machine-gunned. The wife of Professor Zaman dragged her wounded husband back to their apartment, hiding him in the bedroom; Three hours later when the soldiers returned to remove the bodies they re-entered his apartment, again dragged him down the stairs and killed him.

(*e*) The British Council which is located near Dacca University was also attacked on the morning of March 26th. According to a British Council official, who was trapped in his home near the Council Building during the gunfire, the troops broke into the Council and destroyed some books because they mistook the Council for the University Library. In addition, eight Bengali local policemen who were stationed at the Council were killed during the surprise attack. This official's bedroom and house were subjected to machinegun fire during the entire night. Only after day break did he dare tell the soldiers that he was a British subject and they did not kill him.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Attack on indigenous armed militia

(*a*) The East Pakistan Police barracks are located in Dacca. It housed approximately 5,000 policemen. On the morning of March 26th, it was attacked without warning by mortar, tanks and a large number of troops. Although there was resistance, most policemen were believed to be asleep when the attack occurred and to have died during the fighting. The barracks building were completely levelled by heavy arm fire and were gutted by fire.

(*b*) East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) was formed as a native Bengali force to concentrate its efforts at border patrol. On the morning of March 26th the EPR barracks in Dhanmondi was attacked by a similarly equipped force. Once again the number of deaths is unknown, although reliable estimates indicated that approximately 1,000 EPR's were stationed in Dacca. Groups of EPR soldiers were seen by Americans being trucked away. The fate of these soldiers is unknown.

(*c*) It is known that many Bengali officers who were members of the Pakistan Armed Forces were killed for "disloyalty." Whether these officers actually mutinied is unclear. One source, the recently retired Director of the Information Ministry of East Pakistan, indicated that four Bengali officers were called to General Tikka Khan's office and disarmed. While being disarmed, one managed to shoot General Khan in the leg. but the General was not killed. This may have been the source of rumours printed in the Indian newspapers that General Khan had been killed.

Terror of unarmed civilians

(*a*) Not only were large villages completely destroyed by the Pakistan Army, but individual Bengalis were subjected to terror and harassment. Martial Law regulations indicated on March 26th that all government semi-autonomous and associated agencies would open immediately and that absent personnel were required to return to work or face ten years' imprisonment.

(*b*) When large numbers of civilians fled from the war-torn capital, Dacca, the Army forced many at gunpoint to remain in the city.

(*c*) Barda is a small village adjacent to Gulshan (a residential area for foreigners). On April 2nd it was raided early in the morning by 40 soldiers. All 600 men of the village were rounded up and marched at gunpoint to Gulshan Park where they were interrogated. Students, politicians, faculty members and those who were leaving their jobs in Dacca were particular people in whom the army had an interest. After one full day of terror under the sun with constant threats of a mass slaughter, ten selected men were trucked away.

(*d*) One American physician visited old Dacca and was shown a man who had been shot by the army only one hour earlier. This Bengali had refused to open his shop at the request of soldiers and had been killed with a submachine gun at 3.30 in the afternoon, when curfew was not operating.

(*e*) One American missionary described the army tactics in old Dacca. Soldiers during the day carried whistles, which were blown when they wanted to search a civilian. At the blowing of a whistle any moving person was immediately shot.

(*f*) An official of USAID, while driving through Gulshan, witnessed a jeep-load of soldiers fire submachine guns at three children who were playing in the rice paddles. No one was injured.

(*g*) Multiple episodes of the army plundering shops were witnessed by many Americans in Dacca from March 26th to April 6th.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Not only was censorship complete, but news that was distributed by the Pakistan Government by radio and newspapers was contrary to the true situation in Dacca. From March 25th life never returned to "normal" in Dacca. Even on April 6th when we were evacuated, fewer than 10 per cent of the shops were open for business, English and Bengali newspapers were forced to open and printed only martial law news. Opposition Bengali language papers such as The People, Itifaq and Sangbad were completely destroyed by the troops at night.

The Awami League is the first truly democratic party of Pakistan. Placed into its position as the majority party of Pakistan by an honest election, it has been outlawed and its leader Mujibur Rahman jailed and accused of treason. Prominent members of the party (which includes virtually the entire educated and prominent community of Dacca) have been systematically sought after. In addition to high-level members, as of April 4th people such as Gabriel Gomez, a teacher at Holy Cross College and a Christian leader of the Awami League, was being sought. Miss Doli De Rosario, a young woman Bengali appointee MNA was also being sought.

Harassment of foreign civilians

(*a*) On March 30th, three British citizens were almost executed by the Pakistan Army. These civilians were walking through old Dacca taking photographs of the destruction when they were arrested by the army. Two Americans who were accompanying the Britishers were subsequently released and immediately reported the incident to the British High Commission. Only the last-minute insistance of the British representative saved the lives of the three British subjects who were lined up against a wall in an army station ready to be shot after three hours of interrogation.

(*b*) The home of an American doctor was entered by two soldiers when his wife was home alone. One soldier at gunpoint looted the servant quarters. Another armed with a hand granade threatened the wife and took money, clothing, rug and a watch.

(*c*) While driving in Gulshan, an American and his wife were stopped by two soldiers who ordered them out of their car. They were robbed of watch, money and a ring.

(*Mr. Gordon Allott's speech in the U.S. Senate on July* 14, 1971)

A LETTER WRITTEN BY AN AMERICAN FAMILY EVACUATED FROM EAST PAKISTAN

Extract from Record of the US House containing letter, dated April 18, 1971, from Mrs. Edward "Mrs. Edward Pat" Sammel to Denver Post.

Mr. Mc KEVITT : Mr. Speaker, among the Americans who were evacuated from East Pakistan were Mr. and Mrs. Edward Sammel, of Denver. The Sammels and their five children arrived in Dacca, East Pakistan, last November where Mr. Sammel, was with the U.S. AID Mission.

I would like to share with the House a letter written by Mrs. Sammel which was published in the Denver Post on April 18:

To The Denver Post:

You've no doubt heard the news that Americans were evacuated from East Pakistan.....and we were among them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Most of us have a deep concern and sympathy for the people of East Pakistan—the Bengalis—and for Bangla Desh their country.

We are also concerned that the United States hasn't issued a statement condemning the slaughter of unarmed civilians and the suppression of a democratically elected majority.

We have been witness to what amounts to genocide. The West Pakistan army used tanks heavy artillery and machine guns on unarmed civilians, killed 1,600 police while sleeping in their barracks (thus eliminating only source of armed resistance), demolished the student dormitories at Dacca University and excavated a mass grave for the thousands of students; they've systematically eliminated the intelligentsia of the country, wiped out entire villages—I could go on and on. It's hard to believe it happened.

The only way I can draw an analogy is to ask you to imagine that after the last election—after Nixon was elected Johnson postponed the inauguration, went out for "talks" with Nixon in California, then during the next three weeks moved almost the entire army out there. Then in a lightning move arrested Nixon, outlawed the Republican party and eliminated the Republican party leaders. Then went on a killing and burning spree.

I'm spending my first days in Tehran in a frenzy of letter writing, asking people to write, wire or phone President Nixon and congressmen asking that the United States issue a statement.

Russia has, and although this seems hypocritical they at least acknowledged it was happening. The United States has not. Perhaps our reluctance stems from our embarrassment at MY LAI and Lieutenant Calley...

MRS. EDWARD "PAT" SAMMEL

Tehran, Iran.

(*Mr. James D. (MIKE) Mc KEVITT'S speech in the House of Representatives on May* 11 1971).

AN EYE WITNESS ACCOUNT

Mr. A. Hossain of the Pakistan observer speaking to Mr. Peter Hazelhurst of the Times, London.

I saw many bodies floating down the Buriganga between May 6 and May 10. Their hands were tied together and in some cases six to seven victims had been roped together. There were no signs of violence on the bodies. Some people near by told me that the victims were workers belonging to the Sattar match factory on the outskirts of Dacca and that non-Bengalis were responsible for the killings. But I have no proof of this.

"Mr. Hassan Ullah Chowdhury, the Manager of the Bengali edition *PURAB DESH*, was hacked to death two weeks ago by non-Bengalis in his house in Mirpur, nine miles out of Dacca. This is a non-Bengali residential area and most of the Bengalis were either attacked or killed there after the army took over.

On May 5, I was passing Nawabpur Road in the old area of Dacca. I saw three army trucks stop next to a group of Bihari Muslims. They pointed towards a Bengali at a nearby shop. A soldier lifted his rifle and shot the man without asking a question.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If they see any able-bodied Bengalis, they pick them up in a truck and take them away. I don't know what happens to them.

One of my colleagues was sent to Jessore and told to write a story about the normal conditions there. Every member of his family had been butchered, but they still wanted him to write a story claiming that the situation was normal".

Mr. A. Hossain of the Pakistan Observer, speaking to Peter Hazelhurst of the *TIMES*, London.

(THE TIMES, London—May 24, 1971)

GENOCIDE

An account by Anthony Mascarenhas, former Assistant Editor, Morning News, Karachi.

ABDUL BARI had run out of luck.

Like thousands of other people in East Bengal, he had made the mistake—the fatal mistake—of running within sight of a Pakistani army patrol.

He was 24 years old, a slight man surrounded by soldiers. He was trembling, because he was about to be shot.

"Normally we would have killed him as he ran," I was informed chattily by Major Rathore, the G-2 Ops. of the 9th Division, as we stood on the outskirts of a tiny village near Mudafarganj, about 20 miles south of Comilla. "But we are checking him out for your sake. You are new here and I see you have a squeamish stomach."

"Why kill him?" I asked with mounting concern.

"Because he might be a Hindu or he might be a rebel, perhaps a student or an Awami Leaguer. They know we are sorting them out and they betray themselves by running."

"But why are you killing them? And why pick on the Hindus?" I persisted.

"Must I remind you," Rathore said severely, "how they have tried to destroy Pakistan? Now under the cover of the fighting we have an excellent opportunity of finishing them off."

First Glimpse of Blood stains

"Of course," he added hastily, "we are only killing the Hindu men. We are soldiers, not cowards like the rebels. They kill our women and children."

I WAS GETTING my first glimpse of the stain of blood which has spread over the otherwise verdant land of East Bengal. First it was the massacre of the non-Bengalis in a savage outburst of Bengali hatred. Now it was massacre, deliberately carried out by the West Pakistan army.

The pogrom's victims are not only the Hindus of East Bengal—who constitute about 10 per cent of the 75 million population—but also many thousands of Bengali Muslims. These include university and college students, teachers, Awami League and Left-Wing political cadres and every one the army can catch of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

176,000 Bengali military men and police who mutinied on March 26 in a spectacular, though untimely and ill-starred bid, to create an independent Republic of Bangla Desh.

What I saw and heard with unbelieving eyes and ears during my 10 days in East Bengal in late April made it terribly clear that the killings are not the isolated acts of military commanders in the field.

The West Pakistani soldiers are not the only ones who have been killing in East Bengal, of course. On the night of March 25—and this I was allowed to report by the Pakistani censor—the Bengali troops and paramilitary units stationed in East Pakistan mutinied and attacked non-Bengalis with atrocious savagery.

Thousands of families of unfortunate Muslims, many of them refugees from Bihar who chose Pakistan at the time of the partition riots in 1947 were mercilessly wiped out. Women were raped, or had their breasts torn out with specially fashioned knives. Children did not escape the horror: the lucky ones were killed with their parents; but many thousands of others must go through what life remains for them with eyes gouged out and limbs roughly amputated. More than 20,000 bodies of non-Bengalis have been found in the main towns, such as Chittagong, Khulna and Jessore. The real toll, I was told everywhere in East Bengal, may have been as high as 100,000; for thousands of non-Bengalis have vanished without a trace.

The Government of Pakistan has let the world know about that first horror. What it has suppressed is the second and worse horror which followed when its own army took over the killing. West Pakistani officials privately calculate that altogether both sides have killed 250,000 people—not counting those who have died of famine and disease.

Reacting to the almost successful breakaway of the province, which has more than half the country's population, General Yahya Khan's military Government is pushing through its own "final solution" of the East Bengal problem.

"We are determined to cleanse East Pakistan once and for all of the threat of secession, even if it means killing of two million people and ruling the province as a colony for 30 years," I was repeatedly told by senior military and civil officers in Dacca and Comilla.

The West Pakistan army in East Bengal is doing exactly that with a terrifying thoroughness.

WE HAD BEEN racing against the setting sun after a visit to Chandpur (the West Pakistan army prudently stays indoors at night in East Bengal) when one of the *jawans* (privates) crouched in the back of the Toyota Land Cruiser called out sharply: "There's a man running, Sahib".

Major Rathore brought the vehicle to an abrupt halt, simultaneously reaching for the Chinese made light machine-gun propped against the door. Less than 200 yards away a man could be seen loping through the knee-high paddy.

"For God's sake don't shoot," I cried. "He's unarmed. He's only a villager."

Rathore gave me a dirty look and fired a warning burst.

As the man sank to a crouch in the lush carpet of green, two *jawans* were already on their way to drag him in.

The thud of a rifle butt across the shoulders preceded the questioning.

"Who are you?"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Mercy, Sahib! My name is Abdul Bari. I'm a tailor from the New Market in Dacca.

"Don't lie to me You're a Hindu. Why were you running?"

"It's almost curfew time, Sahib, and I was going to my village."

"Tell me the truth. Why were you running?"

Before the man could answer he was quickly frisked for weapons by a *jawan* while another quickly snatched away his *lunghi*. The skinny body that was bared revealed the distinctive traces of circumcision, which is obligatory for Muslims.

The truckloads of human targets

At least it could be plainly seen that Bari was not a Hindu.

The interrogation proceeded.

"Tell me, why were you running?"

By this time Bari, wild eyed and trembling violently, could not answer. He buckled at the knees.

"He looks like a *fauji*, sir," volunteered one *jawan* as Bari was hauled to his feet, (Fauji is the Urdu word for soldier: the army uses it for the Bengali rebels it is hounding.)

"Could be," I heard Rathore mutter grimly.

Abdul Bari was clouted several times with the butt end of a rifle, then ominously pushed against a wall. Mercifully his screams brought a young head peeping from the shadows of a nearby hut. Bari shouted something in Bengali. The head vanished. Moments later a bearded old man came haltingly from the hut. Rathore pounced on him.

"Do you know this man?"

"Yes, Sahib. He is Abdul Bari."

"Is he a *fauji*?"

"No Sahib, he is a tailor from Dacca."

"Tell me the truth."

"Khuda Kassam (God's oath), Sahib, he is a tailor."

There was a sudden silence. Rathore looked abashed as I told him "For God's sake let him go. What more proof do you want of his innocence?"

But the *jawans* were apparently unconvinced and kept milling around Bari. It was only after I had once more interceded on his behalf that Rathore ordered Bari to be released. By that time he was a crumpled, speechless heap of terror. But his life had been saved.

Others have not been as fortunate.

For six days as I travelled with the officers of the 9th Division headquarters at Comilla I witnessed at close quarters the extent of the killing. I saw Hindus, hunted from village to village and door to door, shot off-hand after a cursory "short-arm inspection" showed they were uncircumcised. I have heard the screams of men bludgeoned to death in the compound of the Circuit House (civil administrative headquarters) in Comilla. I have seen truck loads of other human

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

targets and those who had the humanity to try to help them hauled off "for disposal" under the cover of darkness and curfew. I have witnessed the brutality of "kill and burn missions" as the army units, after clearing out the rebels, pursued the pogrom in the towns and the villages.

I have seen whole villages devastated by "punitive action."

And in the officers mess at night I have listened incredulously as otherwise brave and honourable men proudly chewed over the day's kill.

"How many did you get?"

The answers are seared in my memory.

All this is being done, as any West Pakistani officer will tell you, for the "preservation of the unity, the integrity and the ideology of Pakistan." It is, of course, too late for that. The very military action that is designed to hold together the two wings of the country, separated by a thousand miles of India, has confirmed the ideological and emotional break. East Bengal can only be kept in Pakistan by the heavy hand of the army. And the army is dominated by the Punjabis, who traditionally despise and dislike the Bengalis.

The break is so complete today that few Bengalis will willingly be seen in the company of a West Pakistani. I had a distressing experience of this kind during my visit to Dacca when I went to visit an old friend. "I'm sorry," he told me as he turned away, "things have changed. The Pakistan that you and I knew has ceased to exist. Let us put it behind us."

Hours later a Punjabi army officer, talking about the massacre of the non-Bengalis before the army moved in, told me: "They have treated us more brutally than the Sikhs did in the partition riots in 1947. How can we ever forgive or forget this?"

Annihilation of Hindus

The bone-crushing military operation has two distinctive features. One is what the authorities like to call the "cleansing process"; a euphemism for massacre. The other is the "rehabilitation effort." This is a way of describing the moves to turn East Bengal into a docile colony of West Pakistan. These commonly used expressions and the repeated official references to "miscreants" and "infiltrators" are part of the charade which is being enacted for the benefit of the world. Strip away the propaganda, and the reality is colonisation—and killing.

The justification for the annihilation of the Hindus was paraphrased by Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, the Military Governor of East Pakistan, in a radio broadcast I heard on April 18. He said: "The Muslims of East Pakistan, who had played a leading part in the creation of Pakistan, are determined to keep it alive. However, the voice of the vast majority had been suppressed through coercion, threats to life and property by a vocal, violent and aggressive minority, which forced the Awami League to adopt the destructive course."

Others, speaking privately, were more blunt in seeking justification.

"The Hindus had completely undermined the Muslim masses with their money," Col. Naim, of 9th Division headquarters, told me in the officers mess at Comilla. They bled the province white. Money, food and produce flowed across the borders to India. In some cases they made up more than half the teaching staff in the colleges and schools, and sent their own children to be educated in Calcutta. It had reached the point where Bengali culture was in fact Hindu culture, and East Pakistan was virtually under the control of the Marwari businessmen

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in Calcutta. We have to sort them out to restore the land to the people, and the people to their Faith."

Or take Major Bashir. He came up from the ranks. He is SSO of the 9th Division at Comilla and he boasts of a personal bodycount of 28. He had his own reasons for what has happened. "This is a war between the pure and the impure," he informed me over a cup of green tea. "The people here may have Muslim names and call themselves Muslims. But they are Hindus at heart. You won't believe that the *maulvi* (mulla) of the Cantonment mosque here issued a *fathwa* (edict) during Friday prayers that the people would attain *janat* (paradise) if they killed West Pakistanis. We sorted the bastard out and we are now sorting out the others. Those who are left will be real Muslims. We will even teach them Urdu."

Everywhere I found officers and men fashioning imaginative garments of justification from the fabric of their own prejudices. Scapegoats had to be found to legitimise, even for their own consciences, the dreadful "solution" to what in essence was a political problem: the Bengalis won the election and wanted to rule. The Punjabis, whose ambitions and interests have dominated government policies since the founding of Pakistan in 1947, would brook no erosion of their power. The army backed them up.

Officials privately justify what has been done as a retaliation for the massacre of the non-Bengalis before the army moved in. But events suggest that the pogrom was not the result of a spontaneous or undisciplined reaction. It was planned.

General Tikka Khan takes over

It seems clear that the "sorting-out" began to be planned about the time that Lt-Gen. Tikka Khan took over the governorship of East Bengal, from the gentle, self-effacing Admiral Ahsan, and the military command there, from the scholarly Lt-Gen. Sahibzada Khan. That was at the beginning of March, when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's civil disobedience movement was gathering momentum after the postponement of the assembly meeting from which the Bengalis hoped for so much. President Yahya Khan, it is said, acquiesced in the tide of resentment caused in the top echelons of the military establishment by the increasing humiliation of the West Pakistani troops stationed in East Bengal. The Punjabi Eastern Command at Dacca continues to dominate the policies of the Central Government. [It is perhaps worth pointing out that the Khans are not related: Khan is a common surname in Pakistan.]

When the army units fanned out in Dacca on the evening of March 25, in pre-emptive strikes against the mutiny planned for the small hours of the next morning, many of them carried lists of people to be liquidated. These included the Hindus and large numbers of Muslims; students, Awami Leaguers, professors, journalists and those who had been prominent in Sheikh Mujib's movement. The charge, now publicly made, that the army was subjected to mortar attack from the Jaganath Hall, where the Hindu university students lived, hardly justifies the obliteration of two Hindu colonies, built around the temples on Ramna race course, and a third in Shakrepati, in the heart of the old city. Nor does it explain why the sizeable Hindu populations of Dacca and the neighbouring industrial town of Narayanganj should have vanished so completely during the round-the-clock curfew on March 26 and 27. There is similarly no trace of scores of Muslims who were rounded up during the curfew hours. These people were eliminated in a planned operation: and improvised response to Hindu aggression would have had vastly different results.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Touring Dacca on April 15 I found the heads of four students lying rotting on the roof of the Iqbal Hall hostel. The caretaker said they had been killed on the night of March 25. I also found heavy traces of blood on the two staircases and in four of the rooms. Behind Iqbal Hall a large residential building seemed to have been singled out for special attention by the army. The walls were pitted with bullet holes and a foul smell still lingered on the staircase, although it had been heavily powdered with DDT. Neighbours said the bodies of 23 women and children had been carted away only hours before. They had been decomposing on the roof since March 25. It was only after much questioning that I was able to ascertain that the victims belonged to the nearby Hindu shanties. They had sought shelter in the building as the army closed in.

THIS IS GENOCIDE conducted with amazing casualness. Sitting in the office of Major Agha, Martial Law Administrator of Comilla city, on the morning of April 19, I saw the off-hand manner in which sentences were meted out. A Bihari sub-inspector of police had walked in with a list of prisoners being held in the police lock-up. Agha looked it over. Then, with a flick of his pencil, he casually ticked off four names on the list.

"Bring these four to me this evening for disposal," he said. He looked at the list again. The pencil flicked once more. "... and bring this thief along with them."

Death sentence over Cold Drink

The death sentence had been pronounced over a glass of coconut milk. I was informed that two of the prisoners were Hindus, the third a "student," and the fourth an Awami League organiser. The "thief," it transpired, was a lad named Sebastian who had been caught moving the household effects of a Hindu friend to his own house.

Later that evening I saw these men, their hands and legs tied loosely with a single rope, being led down the road to the Circuit House compound. A little after curfew, which was at 6 o'clock, a flock of squawking mynah birds were disturbed in their play by the thwacking sound of wooden clubs meeting bone and flesh.

Captain Azmat of the Baluch Regiment had two claims to fame according to the mess banter. One was his job as ADC to Maj.-Gen. Shaukat Raza, Commanding officer of the 9th Division. The other was thrust on him by his colleagues' ragging.

Azmat, it transpired, was the only officer in the group who had not made a "kill" Major Bashir needled him mercilessly.

"Come on Azmat," Bashir told him one night, "we are going to make a man of you. Tomorrow we will see how you can make them run. It's so easy."

To underscore the point Bashir went into one of his long spiels. Apart from his duties as SSO, Bashir was also "education officer"' at Headquarters. He was the only Punjabi officer I found who could speak Bengali fluently. By general agreement Bashir was also a self-taught bore who gloried in the sound of his own voice.

A *dhari walla* (bearded man) we were told, had come to see Bashir that morning to inquire about his brother, a prominent Awami League organiser of Commilla who had been netted by the army some days earlier. *Dhor gaya*, Bashir said he told him : "He has run away." The old man could'nt comprehend how his brother could have escaped on a broken leg. Neither could I. So Major Bashir, with a broad wink, enlightened me.

The record would show *dhor gaya* : "shot while escaping."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I Never did find out whether Captain Azmat got his kill. The rebel Bengali forces who had dug in at Feni, seventy miles north of Chittagong on the highway to Comilla, had tied down the 9th Division by destroying all the bridges and culverts in the area. General Raza was getting hell from the Eastern Command at Dacca which was anxious to have the south-estern border sealed against escaping rebels. It was also desperately urgent to open this only land route to the north to much-needed supplies that had been piling up in the port at Chittagong.

So General Raza was understandably waspish. He flew over the area almost daily. He also spent hours haranguing the brigade that was bogged down at Feni. Captain Azmat, as usual, was the General's shadow. I did not see him again. But if experience is any pointer, Azmat probably had to sweat out his "kill" and the ragging—for another three weeks. It was only on May 8 that the 9th Division was able to clear Feni and the surrounding area. By then the Bengali rebels, forced out by relentless bombing and artillery barrages, had escaped with their weapons across the neighbouring border into India.

The escape of such large numbers of armed, hard-core regulars among the Bengali rebels was a matter of grave concern to Lt.-Col. Aslam Baig, G-1 at 9th Division headquarters. "The Indians," he explained, will "obviously not allow them to settle there. It would be too dangerous. So they will be allowed in on sufferance as long as they keep making sorties across the border. Unless we can kill them off, we are going to have serious trouble for a long time."

Lt.-Col. Baig was a popular artillery officer who had done a stint in China after the India-Pakistan war when units of the Pakistan Army were converting to Chinese equipment. He was said to be a pround family man. He also loved flowers. He told me with unconcealed pride that during a previous posting at Comilla he had brought from China the giant scarlet waterlillies that adorn the pond opposite the headquarters. Major Bashir adored him. Extolling one officer's decisiveness Bashir told me that once they had caught a rebel officer there was a big fuss about what should be done with him. "While the others were telephoning all over for instructions," he said, "he solved the problem. *Dhor gaya.* Only the man's foot was left sticking out of the ditch."

It is hard to imagine so much brutality in the midst of so much beauty Comilla was blooming when I went there towards the end of April. The rich green carpet of rice paddies spreading to the horison on both sides of the road was broken here and there by bright splashes of red. That was the *Gol Mohor*, aptly dubbed the "Flame of the Forest," coming to full bloom. Mango and coconut trees in the villages dotting the countryside were heavy with fruit. Even the terrier-sized goats skipping across the road gave evidence of the abundance of nature in Bengal. "The only way you can tell the male from the female," they told me, "is that all the she-goats are pregnant."

Fire and Murder their vengeance

In one of the most crowded areas of the entire world—Comilla district has a population density of 1,900 to the square mile—only man was nowhere to be seen.

"Where are the Bengalis?" I had asked my escorts in the strangely empty streets of Dacca a few days earlier." They have gone to the villages," was the stock reply. Now, in the countryside, there were still no Bengalis. Comilla town, like Dacca was heavily shuttered. And in ten miles on the road to Laksham, past silent villages, the peasants I saw could have been counted on the fingers of both hands.

There were, of course, soldiers—hundreds of unsmiling men in khaki, each with an automatic rifle. According to orders, the rifles never left their hands. The roads are

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

constantly patrolled by tough, trigger-happy men. Wherever the army is, you won't find Bengalis.

Martial law orders, constantly repeated on the radio and in the Press, proclaim the death penalty for anyone caught in the act of sabotage. If a road is obstructed or a bridge damaged or destroyed, all houses within 10 yards of the spot are liable to be demolished and their inhabitants rounded up.

The practice is even more terrible than anything the words could suggest. " Punitive action " is something that the Bengalis have come to dread.

We saw what this meant when we were approaching Hajiganj, which straddles the road to Chandpur, on the morning of April 17. A few miles before Hajiganj, a 15-foot bridge had been damaged the previous night by rebels who were still active in the area. According to Major Rathore (G-2 Ops.) an army unit had immediately been sent out to take punitive action. Long spirals of smoke could be seen on all sides up to a distance of a quarter of a mile from the damaged bridge. And as we carefully drove over a bed of wooden boards, with which it had been hastily repaired, we could see houses in the village on the right beginning to catch fire.

At the back of the village some *jawans* were spreading the flames with dried coconut fronds. They make excellent kindling and are normally used for cooking. We could also see a body sprawled between the coconut trees at the entrance to the village. On other side of the road another village in the rice paddies showed evidence of the fire that had gutted more than a dozen bamboo and mat huts. Hundreds of villagers had escaped before the army came. Others, like the man among the coconut trees, were slow to get away.

As we drove on, Major Rathore said, " They brought it on themselves. " I said it was surely too terrible a vengeance on innocent people for the acts of a handful of rebels. He dis not answer.

A few hours later when we were again passing through Hajiganj on the way back from Chandpur, I had my first exposure to the savagery of a " kill and burn mission ".

We were still caught up in the aftermath of a tropical storm which had hit the area that afternoon. A heavy overcast made ghostly shadows on the mosque towering above the town. Light drizzle was beginning to wet the uniforms of Captain Azhar and the four *jawans* riding in the exposed escort jeep behind us.

We turned a corner and found a convoy of trucks parked outside the mosque. I counted seven, all filled with *jawans* in battle dress. At the head of the column was a jeep. Across the road two men, supervised by a third, were trying to batter down the door of one of more than a hundred shuttered shops lining the road. The studded teak wood door was beginning to give under the combined assault of two axes as Major Rathore brought the Toyota to a halt.

" What the hell are you doing ?"

The tallest of the trio, who was supervising the break-in, turned and peered at us. " Mota, " (*Fatty*) he shouted, " what the hell do you think we are doing ? "

Recognising the voice, Rathore drew a water-melon smile. It was, he informed me, his old friend " Ifty "—Major Iftikhar of the 12th Frontier Force Rifles.

Rathore : " I thought someone was looting. "

Iftikhar : " Looting ? No. We are on kill and burn . "

Waving his hand to take in the shops, he said he was going to destroy the lot.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rathore : " How many did you get ? "

Iftikhar smiled bashfully.

Rathore : " Come on. How many did you get ? "

Iftikhar : " Only twelve. And by God we were lucky to get them. We would have lost those, too, if I hadn't sent my men from the back. "

Prodded by Major Rathore, Iftikhar then went on to describe vividly how after much searching in Hajiganj he had discovered twelve Hindus hiding in a house on the outskirts of the town. These had been " disposed of ". Now Major Iftikhar was on the second part of his mission : burn.

By this time the shop's door had been demobilised and we found ourselves looking into one of those tiny catch-all establishments which, in these parts, go under the title " Medical & Stores. " Under the Bengali lettering the signboard carried in English the legend " Ashok Medical & Stores. " Lower down was painted " Prop. A. M. Bose. " Mr. Bose, like the rest of the people of Hajiganj, had locked and run away.

In front of the shop a small display cabinet was crammed with patent medicines, cough syrups, some bottles of mango squash, imitation jewellery, reels of coloured cotton, thread and packets of knicker elastic. Iftikhar kicked it over, smashing the light wood-work into kindling. Next he reached out for some jute shopping bags on one shelf. He took some plastic toys from another. A bundle of handkerchiefs and a small bolt of red cloth joined the pile on the floor. Iftikhar heaped them all together and borrowed a matchbox from one of the *jawans* sitting in our Toyota. The *jawan* had ideas of his own. Jumping from the vehicle he ran to the shop and tried to pull down one of the umbrellas hanging from the low ceiling of the shop. Iftikhar ordered him out.

Looting, he was sharply reminded, was against orders.

Iftikhar soon had a fire going. He threw burning jute bags into one corner of the shop, the bolt of cloth into another. The shop began to blaze. Within minutes we could hear the crackle of flames behind shuttered doors as the fire spread to the shop on the left, then on to the next one.

At this point Rathore was beginning to get anxious about the gathering darkness. So we drove on.

When I chanced to meet Major Iftikhar the next day he ruefully told me, " I burnt only sixty houses. If it hadn't rained I would have got the whole bloody lot. "

Approaching a village a few miles from Mudarfarganj we were forced to a halt by what appeared to be a man crouching againts a mud wall. One of the *jawans* warned it might be a *fauji* sniper. But after careful scouting it turned out to be a lovely young Hindu girl. She sat there with the placidity of her people, waiting for God knows who. One of the *jawans* had been ten years with the East Pakistan Rifles and could speak bazaar Bengali. He was told to order her into the village. She mumbled something in reply, but stayed where she was, but was ordered a second time. She was still sitting there as we drove away. " She has, " I was informed, " nowhere to go—no family, no home. "

Major Iftikhar was one of several officers assigned to kill and burn missions. They moved in after the rebels had been cleared by the army with the freedom to comb-out and destroy Hindus and " miscreants " (the official jargon for rebels) and to burn down everything in the areas from which the army had been fired at.

Three shots to kill a man

This lanky Punjabi officer liked to talk about his job. Riding with Iftikhar to the Circuit House in Comilla on another occasion he told me about his latest exploit.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"We got an old one." he said. "The bastard had grown a beard and was posing as a devout Muslim even called himself Abdul Manan. But we gave him a medical inspection and the game was up."

Iftikhar continued : "I wanted to finish him there and then, but my men told me such a bastard deserved three shots. So I gave him one in the balls, then one in the stomach. Then I finished him off with a shot in the head."

When I left Major Iftikhar he was headed north to Bramanbaria. His mission : Another kill and burn.

Overwhelmed with terror the Bengalis have one of two reactions. Those who can run away just seem to vanish. Whole towns have been abandoned as the army approached. Those who can't run away adopt a cringing servility which only adds humiliation to their plight.

Chandpur was an example of the first.

In the past this key river port on the Meghna was noted for its thriving business houses and gay life. At night thousands of small country boats anchored on the river's edge made it a fairy land of lights. On April 18 Chandpur was deserted. No people, no boats. Barely one per cent of the population had remained. The rest, particularly the Hindus who constituted nearly half the population, had fled.

Weirdly they had left behind thousands of Pakistani flags fluttering from every house, shop and rooftop. The effect was like a national day celebration without the crowds. It only served to emphasise the haunted look.

The flags were by way of insurance.

Somehow the word had got around that the army considered any structure without a Pakistani flag to be hostile and consequently to be destroyed. It did not matter how the Pakistani flags were made, so long as they were adorned with the crescent and star. So they came in all sizes, shapes and colours. Some flaunted blue fields, instead of the regulation green. Obviously they had been hastily put together with the same material that had been used for the blue Bangla Desh flag. Indeed blue Pakistani flags were more common than the green. The scene in Chandpur was repeated in Hajiganj, Madarfarganj, Kasba, Brahmanbaria; all ghost towns gay, with flags.

Laksham was an example of the other reaction; cringing.

When I drove into the town the morning after it had been cleared of the rebels, all I could see was the army and literally thousands of Pakistani flags. The major in charge there had camped in the police station, and it was there that Major Rathore took us. My colleague, a Pakistani TV cameraman, had to make a propaganda film about the "return to normalcy" in Laksham—one of the endless series broadcast daily showing welcome parades and "peace meetings."

A 'Parade' and a Knowing Wink

I wondered how he could manage it but the Major said it would be no sweat. "There are enough of these bastards left to put on a good show. Give me 20 minutes."

Lieutenant Javed of the 39 Baluch was assigned the task of rounding up a crowd. He called out to an elderly bearded man who had apparently been brought in for questioning. The man, who later gave his name as Moulana Said Mohammad Saidul Huq, insisted he was a "staunch Muslim Leaguer and not from the Awami League" (The Muslim League led the movement for an independent Pakistan in 1947.) He was all too eager to please. "I will very definitely get you at least 60 men in 20 minutes," he told Javed. "But if you give me two hours I will bring 200."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Moulana Saidul Huq was as good as his word. We had hardly drunk our fill of the deliciouly refreshing coconut milk that had been thought fully supplied by the Major when we heard shouts in the distance. "Pakistan Zindabad!" "Pakistan army Zindabad!" "Muslim League Zindabad!" they were chanting. (Zindabad is Urdu for "Long live!") Moments later they marched into view a motley crowd of about 50 old and decrepit men and knee-high children, all waving Pakistani flags and shouting at the top of their voices. Lt. Javed gave me a knowing wink.

Within minutes the parade had grown into a "public meeting" complete with a make-shift public address system and a rapidly multiplying group of would-be speakers.

Mr. Mahbub-ur-Rahman was pushed forward to make the address of welcome to the army. He introduced himself as "N.F. College Professor of English and Arabic who had also tried for History and is a life-time member of the great Muslim League Party."

Introduction over, Mahbub-ur-Rahman gave forth with gusto. "Punjabis and Bengalis," he said, "had united for Pakistan and we had our own traditions and culture. But we were terrorised by the Hindus and the Awami Leaguers and led astra. Now we thank God that the Punjabi soldiers have saved us. They are the best soldiers in the world and heroes of humanity. We love and respect them from the bottom of our hearts." And so on, interminably, in the same vein.

After the "meeting" I asked the Major what he thought about the speech "Serves the purposes," he said, "but I don't trust that bastard. I'll put him on my list."

The agony of East Bengal is not over. Perhaps the worst is yet to come. The army is determined to go on until the "clean-up" is completed. So far the job is only half done. Two divisions of the Pakistan Army, the 9th and the 16th, were flown out from West Pakistan to "sort out" the Bengali rebels and the Hindus. This was a considerable logistical feat for a country of Pakistan's resources. More than 25,000 men were moved from the west to the east. On March 28 the two divisions were given 48 hours' notice to move. They were brought by train to Karachi from Kharian and Multan. Carrying only light bed rolls and battle packs (their equipment was to follow by sea), the troops were flown out to Dacca by PIA, the national airline. Its fleet of seven Boeings was taken off international and domestic routes and flew the long haul (via) Ceylon continuously for 14 days. A few Air Force transport aircraft helped.

The troops went into action immediately with equipment borrowed from the 14th Division which till then constituted the Eastern Command. The 9th Division, operating from Comilla, was ordered to seal the border in the east against movement of rebels and their supplies. The 16th Division, with headquarters at Jessore, had a similar task in the western sector of the province. They completed these assignments by the third week of May. With the rebels—those who have not been able to escape to India—boxed in a ring of steel and fire, the two army divisions are beginning to converge in a relentless comb-out operation. This will undoubtedly mean that the terror experienced in the border areas will now spread to the middle point. It could also be more painful. The human targets will have nowhere to run to.

On April 20 Lt.-Col. Baig, the flower-loving G-1 of the 9th Division, thought that the comb-out would take two months, to the middle of June. But this planning seems to have misfired. The rebel forces, using guerilla tactics, have not been subdued as easily as the army expected. Isolated and apparently unco-ordinated, the rebels have none the less bogged down the Pakistan Army in many places by the systematic destruction of roads and railways, without which the army cannot move. The ninth

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Division for one was hopelessly behind schedule. Now the monsoon threatens to shut down the military operation with three months of cloudbursts.

For the rainy season, the Pakistan Government obtained from China in the second week of May nine shallowdraught river gunboats. More are to come. These 80-ton gunboats with massive firepower will take over some of the responsibilities hitherto allotted to the air force and artillery, which will not be as effective when it rains. They will be supported by several hundred countrycraft which have been requisitioned and converted for military use by the addition of outboard motors. The army intends to take to the water in pursuit of the rebels.

There is also the clear prospect of famine, because of the breakdown of the distribution system. Seventeen of the 23 districts of East Pakistan are normally short of food and have to be supplied by massive imports of rice and wheat. This will not be possible this year beause of the civil war. Six major bridges and thousands of smaller ones have been destroyed, making the roads impassable in many places. The railway system has been similarly disrupted though the Government claims it is "almost normal".

The road and rail tracks between the port of Chittagong and the north have been completely disrupted by the rebels who held Feni, a key road and rail junction, until May 7. Food stocks cannot move because of this devastation. In normal times only 15 per cent of food movements from Chittagong to upcountry areas were made by boat. The remaining 85 per cent was moved by road and rail. Even a 100 per cent increase in the effectiveness of river movement will leave 70 per cent of the food stocks in the warehouses of Chittagong.

Two other factors must be added. One is large-scale boarding of grain by people who have begun to anticipate the famine. This makes a tight position infinitely more difficult. The other is the Government of Pakistan's refusal to acknowledge the danger of famine publicity. Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, the Military Governor of East Bengal, acknowledged in a radio broadcast on April 18 that he was gravely concerned about food supplies. Since then the entire Government machinery has been used to suppress the fact of the food shortage. The reason is that a famine, like the cyclone before it, could result in a massive outpouring of foreign aid—and with it the prospect of external inspection of distribution methods. That would make it impossible to conceal from the world the scale of the pogrom. So the hungry will be left to die until the clean-up is complete.

Let Them Die of Starvation

Discussing the problem in his plush air-conditioned office in Karachi recently the chairman of the Agricultural Development Bank, Mr. Qarni, said bluntly: "The famine is the result of their acts of sabotage. So let them die. Perhaps then the Bengalis will come to their senses."

THE MILITARY Government's East Bengal policy is so apparently contradictory and self-defeating that it would seem to justify the assumption that the men who rule Pakistan cannot make up their minds. Having committed the initial error of resorting to force, the Government, on this view, is stubbornly and stupidly muddling through.

There is, superficially, logic in this reasoning.

On the one hand, it is true that there is no let up in the reign of terror. The policy of subjugation is certainly being pursued with vigour in East Bengal. This is making thousands of new enemies for the Government every day, and making only more definitive the separation of the two wings of Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On the other hand, no government could be unaware that this policy must fail (There are just not enough West Pakistanis to hold down the much greater numbers in East Bengal indefinitely.) For hard administrative and economic reasons, and because of the crucial consideration of external development assistance, especially from America, it will be necessary to achieve a political settlement as quickly as possible. President Yahya Khan's Press conference on May 25 suggests that he acknowledges the force of these factors: And he said he would announce his plan for representative government in the middle of June.

All this would seem to indicate that Pakistan's military Government is moving paradoxically, in opposite directions, to compound the gravest crisis in the country's 24-years history.

This is widely held view. It sounds logical, But is it true?

My own view is that it is not. It has been my unhappy privilege to have had the opportunity to observe at first hand both what Pakistan's leaders say in the West, and what they are doing in the East.

I think that in reality there is no contradiction in the Government's East Bengal policy. East Bengal is being colonised.

This is not an arbitrary opinion of mine. The facts speak for themselves.

The first consideration of the army has been and still is the obliteration of every trace of separatism in East Bengal. This proposition is upheld by the continuing slaughter and by everything else that the Government has done in both East and West Pakistan since March 25. The decision was coldly taken by the military leaders, and they are going through with it—all too coldly.

Will The Killing Stop ?

No meaningful or viable political solution is possible in East Bengal while the pogrom continues.

The crucial question is: Will the killing stop ?

I was given the army's answer by Major-General Shaukat Raza, Commanding Officer of the 9th Division, during our first meeting at Comilla on April 16.

"You must be absolutely sure," he said, "that we have not undertaken such a drastic and expensive operation—expensive both in men and money—for nothing. We've undertaken a job. We are going to finish it, not hand it over half done to the politicians so that they can mess it up again. The army can't keep coming back like this every three or four years. It has a more important task. I assure you that when we have got through with what we are doing there will never be need again for such an operations".

Major-General Shaukat Raza is one of the three divisional commanders in the field. He is in a key position. He is not given to talking through his hat.

Significantly, General Shaukat Raza's ideas were echoed by every military officer I talked to during my 10 days in East Bengal. And President Yahya Khan knows that the men who lead the troops on the ground are the *de facto* arbiters of Pakistan's destiny.

The single-mindedness of the army is underscored by the military operation itself. By any standard, it is a major venture. It is not something that can be switched on and off without the most grave consequences.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The army has already taken a terrible toll in dead and injured. It was privately said in Dacca that more officers have been killed than men and that the casualty list in East Bengal already exceeds the losses in the India-Pakistan war of September, 1965. The army will certainly not write off these "sacrifices" for illusory political considerations that have proved to be so worthless in the past.

Militarily—and it is soldiers who will be taking the decision—to call a halt to the operation at this stage would be indefensible. It would only mean more trouble with the Bengali rebels. Implacable hatred has been displayed on both sides. There can be no truce or negotiated settlement; only total victory or total defeat. Time is on the side of the Pakistan Army, not of the isolated, uncoordinated and ill-equipped rebel groups. Other circumstances, such as an expanded conflict which takes in other powers, could of course alter the picture. But as it stands today the Pakistan Army has no reason to doubt that it will eventually achieve its objective. That is why the casualites are stolidly accepted.

The enormous financial outlay already made on the East Bengal operation and its continuing heavy cost also testify to the Government's determination. The reckless manner in which funds have been poured out makes clear that the military hierarchy, having taken a calculated decision to use force, has accepted the financial outlay as a necessary investment. It was not for nothing that 25,000 soldiers were airlifted to East Bengal, a daring and expensive exercise. These two divisions, the 9th and the 16th, constituted the military reserve in West Pakistan. They have now been replaced there by expensive new recruitment.

The Chinese have helped with equipment, which is pouring down the Karakorum highway. There is some evidence that the flood is slowing down: perhaps the Chinese are having second thoughts about their commitments to the military rulers of Pakistan. But the Pakistan Government has not hesitated to pay cash from the bottom of the foreign exchange barrel for more than $ 1-million-worth of ammunition to European arms suppliers.

Conversations with senior military officers in Dacca, Rawalpindi and Karachi confirm that they see the solution to this problem in the speedy completion of the East Bengal operation, not in terms of a pull-out. The money required for that purpose now takes precedence over all other governmental expenditure. Development has virtually come to a halt.

In one sentence, the Government is too far committed militarily to abandon the East Bengal operation, which it would have to do if it sincerely wanted a political solution. President Yahya Khan is riding on the back of a tiger. But he took a calculated decision to climb up there. SO THE ARMY is not going to pull out. The Government's policy for East Bengal was spelled out to me in the Eastern Command headquarters at Dacca. It has three elements:—

(1) The Bengalis have proved themselves "unreliable" and must be ruled by West Pakistanis;

(2) The Bengalis will have to be re-educated along proper Islamic lines. The "Islamisation of the masses"—this is the official jargon—is intended to eliminate secessionist tendencies and provide a strong religious bond with West Pakistan;

(3) When the Hindus have been eliminated by death and flight, their property will be used as a golden carrot to win over the under-privileged Muslim middle-class. This will provide the base for erecting administrative and political structures in the future.

This policy is being pursued with the utmost blatancy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Because of the mutiny, it has been officially decreed that there will not for the present be any further recruitment of Bengalis in the defence forces. Senior air force and navy officers, who were not in anyway involved, have been moved "as a precaution" to non-sensitive positions. Bengali fighter pilots, among them some of the aces of the Air Force, had the humiliation of being grounded and moved to non-flying duties. Even PIA air crews operating between the two wings of the country have been strained clean of Bengalis.

The East Pakistan Rifles, once almost exclusively a Bengali para-military force, has ceased to exist since the mutiny. A new force, the Civil Defence Force, has been raised by recruiting Biharis and volunteers from West Pakistan. Biharis, instead of Bengalis, are also being used as the basic material for the police. They are supervised by officers sent out from West Pakistan and by secondment from the army. The new superintendent of police at Chandpur at the end of April was a military police major.

Hundreds of West Pakistani Government civil servants, doctors, and technicians for the radio, TV, telegraph and telephone services have already been sent out to East Pakistan. More are being encouraged to go with the promise of one and two-step promotions. But the transfer, when made, is obligatory. President Yahya recently issued an order making it possible to transfer civil servants to any part of Pakistan against their will.

I was told that all the commissioners of East Bengal and the district deputy commissioners will in future be either Biharis or civil officers from West Pakistan. The deputy commissioners of the districts were said to be too closely involved with the Awami League secessionist movement. In some cases, such as that of the deputy commissioner of Comilla, they were caught and shot. That particular officer had incurred the wrath of the army on March 20 when he refused to requisition petrol and food supplies "without a letter from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman."

The Government has also come down hard on the universities and colleges of East Bengal. They were considered the hot beds of conspiracy and they are being "sorted out". Many professors have fled. Some have been shot. They will be replaced by fresh recruitment from West Pakistan.

Bengali officers are also being weeded out of sensitive positions in the Civil and Foreign Services. All are currently being subjected to the most exhaustive screening.

This colonisation process quite obviously does not work even half as efficiently as the administration wishes. I was given vivid evidence of this by Major Agha, Martial Law Administrator of Comilla. He had been having a problem getting the local Bengali executive engineers to go out and repair the bridges and roads that had been destroyed or damaged by the rebels. This task kept getting snarled in red tape, and the bridges remained unrepaired. Agha, of course, knew the reason. "You can't expect them to work," he told me, "when you have been killing them and destroying their country. That at least is their point of view, and we are paying for it."

CAPTAIN DURRANI, of the Baluch Regiment, who was in charge of the company guarding the Comilla airport, had his own methods of dealing with the problem. "I have told them," he said with reference to the Bengalis maintaining the control tower, "that I will shoot anyone who even looks like he is doing something suspicious." Durranni had made good his word. A Bengali who had approached the airport a few nights earlier was shot, "Could have been a rebel,"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I was told. Durrani had another claim to fame. He had personally accounted for "more than 60 men" while clearing the villages surrounding the airport.

The harsh reality of colonisation in the East is being concealed by shameless window dressing. For several weeks President Yahya Khan and Lt-Gen. Tikka Khan have been trying to get political support in East Pakistan for what they are doing. The results have not exactly been satisfying. The support forthcoming so far has been from people like Moulvi Farid Ahmad, a Bengali lawyer in Dacca, Fazlul Quadeer Chaudhary and Professor Ghulam Azam, of the Jamat Islami, all of whom were soundly beaten in the General Elections last December.

The only prominent personality to emerge for this purpose has been Mr. Nurul Amin, an old Muslim Leaguer and former Chief Minister of the Province who was one of only two non-Awami Leaguers to be elected to the National Assembly. He is now in his seventies. But even Nurul Amin has been careful not to be too effusive. His two public statements to date have been concerned only with the "Indian interference".

Bengalis look with scorn on the few who "collaborate". Farid Ahmad and Fazlul Quadeer Chaudhury are painfully aware of this. Farid Ahmad makes a point of keeping his windows shuttered and only those who have been scrutinised and recognised through a peephole in the front door are allowed into the house.

By singularly blunt methods the Government has been able to get a grudging acquiescence from 31 Awami Leaguers who had been elected to the national and provincial assemblies. They are being kept on ice in Dacca, secluded from all but their immediate families, for the big occasion when "representative government" is to be installed. But clearly they now represent no one but themselves.

ABDUL BARI the tailor who was lucky to survive is 24 years old. That is the same age as Pakistan. The army can of course hold the country together by force. But the meaning of what it has done in East Bengal is that the dream of the men who hoped in 1947 that they were founding a Muslim natiom in two equal parts has now faded. There is now little chance for a long time to come that Punjabis in the West and Bengalis in the East will fell themselves equal fellow-citizens of one nation. For the Bengalis, the future is now bleak: the unhappy submission of a colony to its conquerors.

—Anthony Mascarenhas, Former Assistant Editor, Morning News, Karachi, in Sunday Times, London, June 13, 1971:

A REGIME OF THUGS AND BIGOTS

An account by Murray Sayle

The Pakistan military regime last week repeated its claim that East Pakistan is rapidly returning to "normalcy" after its prolonged military operation against "rebels and miscreants" and that the way was now open for refugees to return from India and resume their normal lives.

I spent last week touring one of the areas from which many thousands of refugees fled and found that this is untrue: that in fact a repulsive political system is rapidly taking shape which may well make it impossible for them to return.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If the refugees do ever go home, it will be to places like Lotapaharpur village, a collection of mud-brick houses with palm-thatched roofs six miles north of Khulna, East Pakistan's biggest river port. Lotapaharpur stands a little way off the main road between Khulna and Jessore which I found busy with military traffic, big shiny American trucks full of soldiers from West Pakistan, armed incongruously with Chinese automatic rifles, and an occasional civilian carrying a .303 Lee-Enfield rifle.

I drove along a side road perched high on an embankment, across a landscape looking like a green and silver chessboard, lush standing crops alternating with ponds and flooded fields.

Here and there a few farmers were ploughing the wide wet prairie with cows and water buffaloes; but there seemed very few people at work for such a crowded country.

Then I stumbled on Lotapaharpur. It was just off the road, up a muddy track which twisted through the palm trees. The village is like any other in East Pakistan. A score or so of houses stand in a neat circle on an earthen platform a few feet above the flood-plain. But there were no men in loincloth, no women in bright saris, no brown children and ginger dogs playing among the banana trees.

I have seen many East Bengal villages which have been burnt, or which seem to have strangely few people. This was the first I saw which was seemingly undamaged and completely deserted.

No clue

With my interpreter I looked around. A coloured picture of the elephant headed God Ganesh, the remover of obstacles, showed that this had been a Hindu village. But why had the villagers gone? There was no clue in the empty houses. Then, timidly, a woman in a tattered sari, with three young children at her heels, came forward.

She was a Muslim and a refugee herself. Her husband had been killed and she had run away and found this empty village, as we had, by accident. She had been living on some rice the Hindus left behind. But it was finished and she was at her wit's end to feed her children. She did not want to go to the authorities because she was afraid they would find out her husband was "Joy Bangla"—"Victory to Bengal" the slogan of the banned and smashed Awami League.

Then more people came up, Muslim farmers from a village a few hundred yards away named Aramghata. The story they told was like many I have heard in the past week.

Two local men named Ali Hamed and Shaukat both claimed possession of a corrugated iron shed. Some time in April Hamed had returned to the village accompanying two truckloads of West Pakistan soldiers. An argument broke out between the soldiers and the villagers, there was shooting by the soldiers, and six villagers were killed.

Two of the dead were members of the local council: Indu Babu, a farmer, and a relative, Profulla Babu, headmaster of a local high school. Both are Hindu names. The other 150 Hindus in the village fled with a few belongings as soon as the soldiers went.

I asked them why they were telling me about this incident. They said I had not heard the end of the story. Some Muslims from their village had come up to see what was going on. The soldiers grabbed four of them and told them to recite something from the Holy Koran.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

They said the four Muslims were terrified but managed to begin "Bismillah Irrahman Irrahim....." (the opening words of the Koran). They said the soldiers shouted: "These are not Muslims! They have been taught to say this to trick us!" They then shot all four.

The villagers told me they were angry about this, as they had never had any trouble with their Hindu neighbours. Hamed, they said, now had the iron shed. They said he carried a rifle and they thought he was a "razakar" (volunteer), a term we meet again.

What had happened to the Hindus' land? The villagers pointed to the surrounding emerald green fields. It was a standing crop of linseed, a valuable cash crop. In June some people from the Martial Law administration had conducted an auction of 2,000 acres in the absence of the owners.

It was normally worth Rs. 300 an acre. It had been sold for Rs. 1½ an acre. But the buyers had not got much of a bargain. They could not hire people to harvest most of it and the rest was now flooded and worthless.

True Position

Lotapaharpur summarized for me the true position about the refugees. No one here really expects them to return in any numbers, because there is an atmosphere of terror in East Pakistan, because the material difficulties in the way of their returning are almost insuperable, and their homes, farms, crops, small businesses, and other assets are being transferred under paper-thin legal devices to people who have strong motives to make sure they never come back—in fact to their political and religious enemies. But the military administration has indeed opened "reception centres" and "transit camps".

I drove up to Benapol, close to the Indian border, to inspect these preparations. I was received by the officer in charge of the whole Khulna district, Lt.-Col. Shams-uz-Zaman, in his headquarters near the frontier. Col. Shams said there were frequent mortar exchanges with the Indian troops over the border—always, he said, begun by the Indians.

"They certainly need us here to defends them," he said. "These Bengalis don't know how to fight. Now, I come from the North -West Frontier, where fighting is in our blood. I have been using a rifle since I was ten. We've got guts."

Col. Shams directed the military operations of the past three months in this area, beginning with the "securing" of Khulna town during the period March 25-29. He told me that it was only in the past month that his troops had been able to get the upper hand all over the district from "miscreants and rebels".

It appears that it was Shames who began the system of razakars by distributing police rifles to civilians in Khulna—"good chaps, good Muslims and loyal Pakistanis," he explained.

There are now, according to the military authorities, 5,000 razakars in East Pakistan, 300 of them in Khulna district. They are paid Rs. 3 a day (25 pence at the official rate) and receive seven days' training which appears to consist entirely of learning how to shoot a police Lee-Enfield rifle. Their work consists of "security checks" — guiding the West Pakistan troops to the homes of supporters of the Awami League. They are supposed to be under the orders of local 'peace committees" which are selected by the military authorities on a similar basis of "loyalty to Pakistan". These people are, in fact, representatives of the political parties which were routed at the last elections, with an admixture of men with criminal records

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and bigoted Muslims who have been persuaded that strong arm methods are needed to protect their religion — a mixture weirdly reminiscent of the Orange Lodges. "B Specials" and political terrorists of Northern Ireland.

But at least there are a lot of Protestants in Ulster. The election results in Khulna district show how minute the non-criminal political base of the peace committees and razakars really is: the now banned Awami League won all eigght seats in the district and scored 75% of the total votes cast. The three branches of the Muslim League got 3 to 4% between them and the fanatical Jamate-Islam 6%.

I asked Shams whether he expected refugees to come over the border at Benapol — the main road from Calcutta to Dacca, opposite some of the biggest refugee camps in West Bengal — when his men had blocked the road with a truck and were covering it with machine-guns.

He said they would have no trouble coming by "unauthorized routes" which included rowing down rivers and wading through rice fields. "Miscreants, rebels and Indian infiltrators" could not, however, sneak across so easily because he was maintaining constant and vigilant patrols. "Let them come, were ready for them." he said.

My notes leave it unclear whether he meant the Indian Army, or the refugees.

I walked back with a captain assigned to me by Col. Shames from the border to the Benapol refugee reception centre, about a mile away.

"We have a problem here," said the captain, who wore a heavy upcurving moustache and parachutist's wings. "Look at them," he said, indicating Bengali farmers in conical straw hats squatting to plant rice in the flooded green fields. "They all look the same to us. How can we tell the miscreants and rebels from the ordinary people?"

Forlorn Dogs

The entire population of the Benapol reception centre was five forlorn dogs.

The captain said the centre was probably closed because of its proximity to the border and directed me to a camp further back at Satkhira. I drove to this camp and found that there were 13 refugees in residence, three of them Hindus. The number tallied with the arrivals and departures noted on the camp's admissions board. As I walked around I got a snappy military salute from two razakars, two young men armed with shotguns. I was told that they were there to guard the camp. (From whom? From miscreants, rebels, etc.) and to help with security checks. I was asking the people in charge of the camp (ordinary Bengali munipal workers whose sincerity I fully accept) whether the presence of unknown armed men asking about people's political views was, in the climate of East Pakistan, the way to make a returned refugee feel at ease when the sudden arrival of another 100 refugees was announced.

These people looked well fed and dressed and told me they had all come from the same place in India, Hasnabad, just over the border, had all been there the same time, 22 days, and had all come back together.

None of them could produce an Indian ration card because, they said, they had not been given any. I asked the people in charge of the camp, which has enough room in an old school house and adjoining buildings for 2,000 people, whether refugees who had not actually been over the Indian border were eligible for help at the Satkhira centre. I was told they were not.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

From Satkhira I proceeded to Khulna, administrative capital of the district. On the way I passed a bridge being hastily rebuilt. It had been blown up by saboteurs ten days ago — presumably by members of the Mukti Fauj, the "Freedom army", which now claims to be operating underground. Local people told me — I thought with some glee — that the bridge had been defended by 25 razakars who had fled at the first burst of gunfire. I was unable to confirm this when I later met the razakar high command.

A quarter of the population of the whole district, which was more than three million at the last census, is missing, dead or gone to India. The local civil authorities estimate that one half of the land in the district is not being cultivated. On orders of the Government in Dacca arrangements are being made to put abandoned land, shops and property in the hands of "caretakers" who are to be selected by the peace committees.

The ordinary work of civil administration is close to a standstill. The Senior Magistrate, Rajendra Lal Sarkar (a Hindu) is missing, believed killed, while Khulna was being "secured".

The senior Muslim magistrate, Chaudri Senwar Ali, has been arrested by the army and his whereabouts is at present unknown.

The police chief, Superintendent Abdul Akib Khondaker, has been transferred and the District Commissioner, Nurul Islam Khan, has been informed that he will be transferred.

Musical Chairs

This is part of the game of administrative musical chairs going on in East Pakistan. Officials of Bengali origin like all the above men are being moved about at dizzying speed.

Of the 300 clerical workers employed by the local authority, 66 were Hindus. Only two are now left and the rest, if still alive, have been automatically suspended.

I have been repeatedly told that there exists a confidential directive that "members of the minority community" — official jargon for Hindus — are to receive a "stringent security check" before being given a Government job, which would amount to a thinly veiled blacklist.

This is officially denied. However, a young Hindu, Arabinda Sen, came first among 500 entrants in the competitive examinations for clerical jobs with the Khulna administration last February. He is still unemployed, although the administration is desperately short-handed.

The work of the Khulna civic authorities has been severely hampered by army requisitions of their equipment. All the launches of the district administration used for food distribution, flood control work, and similar needs (half the district can only be reached by boat) have been taken over by the army and navy who have mounted .50 calibre machine guns on them and are using them on river patrols for "miscreants". The civil authorities are urgently trying to get them back, or get new boats, as there are alarming reports that farmers down river have not been able to repair many dykes round low-lying islands. If salt water were to flood this land it would ruin it for many years to come.

A tugboat belonging to the Pakistan River Services was sunk by a shell from a Pakistan Navy gunboat in the centre of the town. The local naval chief,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Commander Al Haj Gul Zarin, told me that his men had to sink the tug because miscreants had seized it and were attempting to ram a naval vessel. Local boatmen said the normal crew were aboard the tug but failed to answer a challenge, never having heard one before, as they steamed noisily past the naval base.

The work of the local peace committee and razakar high command could hardly be said to have achieved "normalcy" either. Two of its members, Ghulam Sirwar Mullah, vice-chairman of the district council, and Abdul Hamid, vice-chairman of the Khulna municipality, were killed by unknown masked assailants within the past month. And the official records indicate that 21 members of local peace committees throughout the district have been killed in the same period, while 12 are in Khulna hospital at the moment suffering from gunshot wounds and four with wounds caused by knives or daggers.

But a razakar field commander, Abdul Wahab Mahaldar, aged 31, whom I met leading his platoon to an operation, told me he believed that 200 razakars and peace committee members had been killed in Khulna district in recent weeks. Mahaldar said that his own group had a body count of two "miscreants" killed.

This may correspond to two allegations of murder which have been lodged with the Khulna city police against razakars. The police were informed that two school-teachers were shot down without warning or provocation.

The police cannot, however, investigate these cases as a military directive states that complaints against razakars are to be investigated by the military authorities Nor can the Khulna civil police proceed with the investigation of charges brought against Moti Ullah, a non-Bengali member of the Central Peace Committee of Khulna, of possession of explosives on the day before the army began "securing" the town.

A "Goonda"

Moti Ullah has previously been charged with aggravated assault and demanding money with menaces and was actually on bail on the explosives charge when appointed to the peace committee. There was an explosion at the back of his house where neighbours alleged he was storing dynamite for use in riots. The same man had been refused a gun licence on grounds of bad character, and a police report describes him as a "goonda"—a professional criminal specializing in violence.

I have been unable to arrive at even an estimate of how many people have been killed in rioting and army security operations in Khulna and the surrounding district. One observer, a magistrate confined to his riverside home by the army-imposed three-day curfew, counted 48 bodies floating down the river in one 10 minute period during the height of the operation. There are many areas in the town which have been burnt out—in what is described by the authorities as "slum clearance"—and one road leading to the Khulna news-print mill has been completely demolished on both sides for more than a mile.

Col. Shams told me he had a hard fight with "rebels" but had not used heavy weapons. He told me that the large holes in reinforced concrete buildings had been caused by miscreants using petrol bombs. Army casualties during the operation in the town were reported to me (not by Col. Shams) as none killed and seven wounded.

In the period around the army operation, Khulna hospital admitted 159 cases of bullet wounds, 25 gunshot wounds and 70 puncture wounds of the kind caused by knife, dagger or bayonet. It is likely that some of the deaths were caused by fighting or massacre of non-Bengalis by Bengalis, as well as by non-Bengalis killing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bengalis, and by the army operation. But it seems clear the army had all the fire-power. The truth may never be known as no official inquiries are under way about casualties or damage, in sharp contrast to the normal practice of the Pakistan police who have to submit a written report every time they fire one round and may only do so with the permission of a magistrate.

Even more obscure is what happened in the down-river port area of Mangla, which is reached by boat from Khulna. The whole waterfront and market area of this small port has been burnt out, and shell holes can be seen in some waterfront buildings of brick and reinforced concrete.

The local police chief, Sub-Inspector Hadi Khan, is a non-Bengali promoted in the past month from a job not requiring an examination test of literacy to one that does, although there have been no examinations. He told me that the damage, proportionately the worst I have seen so far, was caused by an accidental fire ignited when a lamp overturned in the market place, " or something like that."

But Commander Zarin of PNS Titumir said: " We had a sharp engagement with the miscreants of Mangla. The rascals opened upon us with a shore battery —a big home-made gun made out of some sort of iron pipe. But it blew up when they tried to fire it and burnt half the place down."

The Commander laughed heartily at this reminiscence. He could offer no explanation for the shell holes in waterside buildings. I could not pursue the the matter in Mangla because on this occasion I had to put up with the unasked and unwanted presence of two soldiers wished on me for my " security ". They clung to my heels like leeches and in their presence local people shrank away.

It would be wearsome to catalogue any more of the weird explanations offered by the Pakistan military authorities of what has evidently gone on and is still going on.

Welcome Doubtful

On the refugees issue, it is clear that only a very brave or very foolish refugee would even try to return as things are, and that his welcome would be very doubtful if he did. Only a peaceful joint operation by India and Pakistan will get any substantial number of refugees home and this seems totally out of the question as things stand.

Even more alarming is the development, with the peace committees and razakars, of two parallel Governments in East Pakistan; one the normal civil administration, which is well-intentioned, reasonably efficient, but now speedily approaching complete impotence; the other a regime of paid informers, bigots and thugs answerable to no one and apparently above whatever law is left in East Pakistan.

The pacification methods used on the North-West Frontier by the British of long ago, burning villages and gunning down their inhabitants, are bad enough when imported into a heavily populated and peaceful place like East Pakistan. The introduction of the political methods of Hitler and Mussolini even less defensible.

(MURRAY SAYLE, THE SUNDAY TIMES, London—July 11, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

II. WORLD PRESS

IN DACCA, TROOPS USE ARTILLERY TO HALT REVOLT

Sydney H. Schanberg in New York Times, March 28, 1971

Civilians Fired on sections of Dacca are set ablaze

Mr. Schanberg was one of 35 foriegn newsmen expelled Saturday morning from East Pakistan. He cabled this dispatch from Bombay, India.

The Pakistan Army is using artillery and heavy machine guns against unarmed East Pakistani civilians to crush the movement for autonomy in this province of 75-million people.

The attack began late Thursday night without warning. West Pakistani soldiers, who predominate in the army, moved into the streets of Dacca, the provincial capital, to besiege the strongholds of the independence movement, such as the university.

There was no way of knowing how many civilians had been killed or wounded. Neither was any information available on what was happening in the rest of the province, although there had been reports before the Dacca attack of clashes between civilians and West Pakistani soldiers in the interior.

From the hotel, which is in North Dacca, huge fires could be seen in various parts of the city, including the university area and the barracks of the East Pakistan Rifles, a para-military force made up of Bengalis, the predominant people of East Pakistan.

Some fires were still burning and sporadic shooting was continuing early this morning when the 35 foreign newsmen were expelled from Dacca.

"My God, my God," said a Pakistani student watching from a hotel window, trying to keep back tears, "they're killing them. They're slaughtering them."

Homes set afire

On the ride to the airport in a guarded convoy of military trucks, the newsmen saw troops setting fire to the thatched-roof houses of poor Bengalis who live along the road and who are some of the stanchest supporters of the self-rule movement.

When the military action began on Thursday night, soldiers, shouting victory slogans, set ablaze large areas in many parts of Dacca after first shooting into the buildings with automatic rifles, machine guns and recoilless rifles.

When the foreign newsmen, all of whom were staying at the Intercontinental Hotel tried to go outside to find out what was happening, they were forced back in by a heavily reinforced army guard and told they would be shot if they tried to step out of the building.

The fire began to increase in the vicinity of the hotel and at 1 A.M. it seemed to become very heavy all over the city.

At 1-25 A.M. the phones at the hotel went dead, shut down by order of the military guard outside. The lights on the telegraph office tower went out at about the same time. Heavy automatic-weapons fire could be heard in the university area and other districts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Attack at Shopping Bazaar

At about 2–15 A.M. a jeep with a mounted machine gun drove by the front of the hotel, turned left on Mymensingh Road and stopped in front of a shopping bazaar with its gun trained on the second floor windows. A dozen soldiers on foot joined those on the jeep, one group carrying some kind of rocket piece.

From the seond floor suddenly came cries of "Bengalis, united!" and soldiers opened fire with the machine gun, spraying the building indiscriminately The soldiers then started moving down an alley adjacent to the bazaar, firing into and then overturning cars that were blocking the alley. The scene was lit by the soldiers' flashlights, and to the newsmen watching from the 10th floor of the Intercontinental, it was an incredible drama.

As the soldiers were firing down the alley, a group of about 15 or 20 young Bengalis started along the road toward them, from about 200 yards off. They were shouting in defiance at the soldiers, but seemed unarmed and their hands appeared empty.

The machine gun on the jeep swung around toward them and opened fire. Soldiers with automatic rifles joined in. The Bengalis youths scattered into the shadows on both sides of the road. It was impossible to tell whether any hed been wounded or killed.

The soldiers then turned their attention back to the alley. They set a spare parts garage on fire and then moved on to what was apparently their main objective the office and press of the People, an English-language daily paper that had strongly supported Sheik Mujib and ridiculed the army.

Shouting in Urdu, the language of West Pakistan, the soldiers warned any persons inside that unless they surrendered they would be shot. There was no answer and no one emerged. The troops then fired a rocket into the building and followed this with small arms fire and machine-guns bursts. Then they set fire to the building and began smashing the press and other equipment.

Moving farther along, they set ablaze all the shops and shacks behind the bazaar and soon the flames were climbing high above the two-storey building.

Shortly after 4 A.M. the shouting eased somewhat, but artillery rounds machine-gun bursts could be heard occasionally. Tracer bullets from a long way off flew by the hotel.

At 4-45 A.M., another big fire blazed, in the direction of the East Pakistan Rifles headquarters.

At 5–45, in the hazy light of dawn six Chinese-made T-51 light tanks soldiers riding on them rumbled in to the city and began patrolling main thorughfares.

The intermittent firing and occasional artillery bursts continued through yesterday and early today, right up to the time the newsmen were expelled.

Helicopters wheeled overhead yesterday morning, apparently on reconnaissnace. Four helicopters given to Pakistan by Saudi Arabia for relief work after last November's cyclone and tidal wave in East Pakistan were reported being used for the military operation in the province.

Yahya in West Pakistan

At 7 A.M. the Dacca radio, which had been taken over by the army, announced that President Agha Mahammad Yahya Khan had arrived back in West Pakistan and would address the nation at 8 P.M.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shortly after 8 A.M., a black 1959 Chevrolet with an armed escort of troops in jeeps and trucks pulled up in front of the hotel. This convoy was to take Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his party to the airport to fly back to West Pakistan.

Mr. Bhutto, the dominant political leader of West Pakistan, opposed Sheik Mujib's demands for East Pakistan autonomy.

It is generally accepted that his opposition, supported or engineered by the army and business establishment in West Pakistan, was what forced the crisis. Mr. Bhutto, who is aware that the Bengalis largely blame him for their present troubles, came into the lobby flanked by civilian and army bodyguards with automatic weapons. He looked frightened and brushed off all newsmen's questions with, "I have no comment to make."

At 10 A.M. the radio announced the new martial orders.

Every time newsmen in the hotel asked officers for information, they were rebuffed. All attempts to reach diplomatic missions failed. In one confrontation, a captain grew enraged at a group of newsmen who had walked out the front door to talk to him. He ordered them back into the building and, to their retreating backs, he shouted, "I can handle you. If I can kill my own people, I can kill you."

Crisis Reported Controlled

Shortly afterward, the military government sent word to the hotel that foreign newsmen must be ready to leave by 6-15 P.M. The newsmen packed and paid their bills, but it was 8:20, just after President Yahya's speech, before their convoy of five trucks with soldiers in front and back, left for the airport.

Just before leaving, the lieutenant colonel in charge was asked by a newsman why the foreign press had to leave. "*We want you to leave because it would be too dangerous for you,*" he said. "*It will be too bloody.*" All the hotel employees and other foreigners in the hotel believed that once the newsmen left, carnage would begin.

"This isn't going to be hotel," said a hotel official, "it is going to be bloody hospital."

At the airport, with firing going on in the distance, the newsmen's luggage was rigidly checked and some television film, particularly that of the British Broad casting Corporation, was confiscated.

(SYDNEY, H. SCHANBERG, in NEW YORK TIMES—
March 28, 1971)

26-HOUR CHRONICLE OF THE DACCA DRAMA

U.P.I. report, Hongkong, March 29, 1971

The following is a diary through the eyes of Robert Kaylor of UPI of what happened in Dacca when the Pakistani Army took control.

11 p. m. Thursday March 25 : I go downstairs to the hotel lobby with a cable I have just written about a statement by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman warning of "grave consequences" if action against the population by the army continues. I am planning to take a taxi to the cable office to file it but I find a crowd miling around in the lobby. There are soldiers in battle dress ; helmets and carrying weapons outside. The hotel staff is placing a blackboard with the notice, "Please do not go outside," chalked on it in front of the door.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Someone has left a copy of a statement by the Sheikh calling for a general strike on Saturday pasted to the blackboard. Other correspondents say they have been ordered back inside the building by the soldiers when they tried to leave. The captain in charge of the guards says that anyone who goes outside will be shot.

11.15 p.m. : Everyone is trying to figure out what is happening. One theory is that the guards are there to protect West Pakistani political figure Zhulfikar Ali Bhutto, who is hated in Bangla Desh and is staying on the top floor of the hotel. Another theory is that a military coup is under way because President Yahya Khan has not taken a hard enough line to suit some generals. As time passes, it begins to look more like coup. Convoy's of troops are seen passing the hotel twice during the evening.

I have tried to call the personal number of a key aide to the President to check on rumours that he has left Dacca and someone has picked up the receiver on the other end and hung it up again without speeking. I call a loal news agency and ask if they have any idea what has happened. They don't and cannot leave their office.

Bangla Desh Flag Burnt

Midnight : Some British diplomats arrive. They say they were on their way home from a party and were stopped by soldiers and then brought to the hotel. They have seen army road blocks at various places around the city. A Bengali who lives downtown telephones and says that hundreds of civilians are pouring into the area, some of them armed with wooden staves, iron rods and other makeshift weapons. I reach Asrar Ahmad, a Pakistani correspondent for UPI. He is also trapped in his hotel and cannot get to the cable office. Soldiers outside the hotel pull down the Bangla Desh flag and burn it.

12.50 a.m. : After several tries, a phone call gets through to Sheikh Mujib's home and political headquarters. The unidentified person who answers the phone says the Sheikh is at the house and that the Awami League has road blocks on approaches to it. He says they have heard that two Awami League volunteers have been killed by soldiers at one road block. Calls to western diplomats show that they have been unable to find out what is happening either.

1 a.m. : The Bengali who called earlier calls back and says that he hears the sounds of machineguns in the downtown area. He has shut himself in his house. A short time later the telephones go dead. Sounds of automatic weapons fire begin to be heard clearly punctuated by heavier explosions. Later, I see some recoilless rifles mounted on army jeeps.

3 a.m. : Soldiers carrying torches are seen going toward the offices of " The People " newspaper near the hotel. There is some shouting and firing and the office is set on fire. " The People " is an English language newspaper which has been highly critical of the Government. Later, there are more sounds of firing near the hotel and what sounds like shouts and cheers but I cannot see what is going on from where I am. Heavy firing continues in all directions.

Columns of Smoke

Sunrise : The firing has quietened down and the streets are deserted. A huge column of smoke rises from the direction of the university. If troops have attacked there with heavy weapons, the carnage will be tremendous. The students at the university live in dormitories that hold about 400 each.

7 a.m.: Several of us go up to the 11th floor where Bhutto is staying. There are two of his bodyguards carrying assault rifles standing in the hallway. A member of Bhutto's party comes into the hall and says they have no idea what has happened. He says Bhutto is asleep and instructions are to wake him at 7-30.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8 a.m. : A radio broadcast carries a report from Karachi that President Yahya has returned to West Pakistan and will broadcast to the nation at 8 p.m. tonight The coup theory appears to be debunked. The telephones are still out.

8-30 a.m.: Word passes that Bhutto is leaving as a car and a camouflaged military bus appear outside the lobby. Soldiers pour into the lobby, Bhutto appears, wearing gray Suit and blue tie, but won't say anything. He keeps repeating "I have no comment to make" as he strides out his car. His bodyguards get in on either side of him and stick the muzzbs of their rifles out the window. The way they constantly keep their fingers on the trigger makes everybody nervous.

An aide to Bhutto says that when his advisers returned from a meeting at the Presidential residence at 5 p.m., the day before, they knew that chances for a political settlement were dead. It isn't clear whether this is because Bhutto doesn't agree with the agreement that Yahya and the Sheikh reached or whether Yahya has been getting pressure from the army. Bhutto's people probably want it thought that it was because their boss didn't agree.

We trail out onto the sidewalk as Bhutto departs and soldiers order us inside. A lieutenant colonel says we cannot leave the hotel. The captain in charge tells a staff member of the hotel in Urdu that he doesn't care whether we are foreigners or not. He will shoot us if we don't go inside. We go back inside. The captain tells the assistant manager of the hotel, a Pakistani, that he will be shot if a Pakistan flag is not raised within 15 minutes.

Then he leaves. Hotel employees produce a Pakistan flag and try to raise it, but are forbideen to go outside by soldiers. Apparently all armies are alike.

9 a.m. : A radio broadcast says that a 24-hours curfew is in effect and that anyone on the street will be shot on sight. It says a special announcement will be made at 10 a.m. The hotel manages to produce a cook from somewhere who makes coffee and breakfast for those who want it.

10 a.m.: The flag is raised on the hotel roof. The hotel manager, a German, grins and says, "We keep all kinds of flags handy." The special announcement turns out to be a series of martial law orders, but the curfew is not mentioned.

Firing at Random

Noon: From upstairs windows you can see patrols of jeeps and tanks moving through the deserted streets. They appear to be firing at random. As they go there are two more big smoke columns, one of them looking as though it is coming from the part of downtown where the Awami League office is. It is frustrating to see all this and not be able to communicate it to the outside world. Shortwave radio news broadcasts show that no word of the army's move has yet reached the outside world.

12.30 p.m.: The lieutenant colonel who talked to us earlier comes back and decides that we can use the swimming pool to while away the time. He issues orders that foreigners only can use the pool and that Pakistanis must stay inside. He won't answer questions about what is happening in the city or at the university and says "relax, have a swim, enjoy yourselves." The afternoon passes quietly with occasional sounds of gunfire. A new column of smoke appears on the southern edge of the city. You can see flames billowing upward in this one as the sun goes down.

8.15 p.m.: I go down to the lobby after listening to Yahya's radio speech calling Sheikh Mujib's non-co-operation movement an "act of treason" and banning his Awami League and find the lobby deserted. Correspondents have been ordered to leave and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bundled into army trucks for the airport as the speech was starting. Somehow I was missed. Troops at the hotel call for a patrol to take me to the airport. The patrol is a jeep driven by a mustachioed young lieutenant in a flat, world war I style helmet followed by a weapons carrier filled with troops. They put my suitcase into the weapons carrier. The lieutenant asks his radio operator to go to the back seat of the jeep and I climb in next to him.

Houses Shuttered

I ask how long he thinks the situation will continue and he says that he just follows orders. Then, he adds suddenly, that "Everything will work out all right here". He turns to me and grins, " We will fix these people, " he says.

1 p.m.: I get my customs check and the inspector tells me he is under "special orders" when I tell him that we were already checked in Dacca. He confiscates my notebooks, carbon copies of cables I have filed from Dacca, newspaper clippings and any scraps of paper he can find in my suitcase, including letters from my wife. He then seizes 14 rolls of unexposed film I have in my camera bag and puts everything in brown manila envelopes. When I ask about it, he says it will be sent to me by mail. I ask when, and he shrugs his shoulders. " Later ", he says. He declines to issue a receipt.

1-45 p.m.: I catch my flight to Bombay and consider myself lucky that although I have lost my notebooks, I still have a story which I wrote before leaving Dacca in my hip pocket. One other correspondent on the plane was subjected to a personal search and lost the copy he had hidden.

(U.P.I. REPORT, Hongkong—March 29, 1971.)

PLUNGE INTO CHAOS

Editorial, the Sydney Morning Herald, March 29, 1971.

It is impossible to know what is happening in East Pakistan. According to Radio Pakistan, President Yahya Khan's predominantly West Pakistani Army is in control of the east, Sheik Mujibur Rahman is under arrest as a " traitor ", and life is returning to normal. According to Indian reports, Sheik Mujibur is free, the 16,000 strong East Pakistani (Bengali) rifles and police are resisting General Tikka Khan's forces and two days of civil war have already brought a huge civilian death toll (10,000? 100,000?). What is clear is that Pakistan, as the world has known it, is in pieces and that a politicai miracle will be needed to put it together again.

Such a miracle is not credible. President Yahya, blind to some of the bloodiest lessons in history, to the British in Ireland, the French in Algeria and many more, is trying to restore solidarity by armed force. His ambition would be ludicrous if its consequences were not bound to be so tragic. He is attempting to impose loyalty to an always artificial Pakistan, dominated by a West Pakistani minority, upon 75-million Bengalis who have already shown by an overwhelming vote in democratic elections that their loyalty is to Sheikh Mujibur and his demand for an autonomous East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur, having won a majority of seats in the still-born constituent assembly, having demonstrated his authority by virtually establishing his own civil government in East Pakistan after the declaration of martial law, has been remarkably moderate in the interests of a feasible confederation. Only after the breakdown of his talks with the President did he call for independence. The blame for the breakdown rests with the President. He has repudiated the result of a democratic election in the interests of minority West Pakistani supremacy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

President Yahya has the power—tanks, artillery and planes—to win temporary victories in East Pakistani cities. But in the long run, with his army 1,000 miles from its bases, how can he hope to subdue the guerrilla warfare, fuelled by Bengali nationalism, which can be expected to continue indefinitely in the notoriously difficult rural terrain of the East? Nor is there a mediator in sight—certainly not India whose satisfaction at the preoccupation of the Pakistani Army will be tempered by fears of repercussions in turbulent West Bengal. Even Britain, with its unhappy memories of the very different war fought by a Biafran minority, is unlikely to want to become involved, despite its huge investments in West Pakistan. Only second thoughts by President Yahya can prevent prolonged tragedy. And he appears to be committed to chaos.

(THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD—March 29, 1971)

PAKISTAN TRAGEDY

Editorial, The Age, Canberra, March 29, 1971

Only a day before Pakistan's constitutional crisis exploded into civil war, there were hopes that the bitterly divided nation might hold together by peaceful political agreement, and perhaps return soon to democratic civilian rule. These hopes have been shattered by the tragic events of the past few days. Exactly what precipitated the violent upheaval in East Pakistan is not clear, the strict military censorship and expulsion of foreign correspondents have obscured the truth. But President Yahya had apparently conceded in principle the major demands of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, popular leader of the aggrieved Bengalis, whose cry for greater local autonomy had so far been suppressed by the West Pakistani-dominated military regime.

This hopeful pointer to a compromise settlement was suddenly reversed when the army, instead of lifting martial law and returning to barracks as agreed, imposed a massive clamp-down on East Pakistan and outlawed Sheikh Mujibur's party, the Awami League. The Sheikh retaliated by proclaiming, from a clandestine radio, the independence of his besieged province. Such an act of defiance had long been urged by Bengalis more militant than he. But to the Sheikh, confronted by military forces far stronger than any he could muster, it must have been an act of desperation. To President Yahya, it was plainly an act of treason, and the rebellious Bengalis are paying for it in savage bloodshed.

Even if reports are true that the army has managed to crush the revolt. President Yahya's goal of a strong and united Pakistan seems more remote than ever. His troops may be able to restore a semblance of central rule over East Pakistan. They may be able to suppress the Awami League, which won not only the overwhelming support of the people of East Pakistan, but also an absolute majority of seats in the subsequently suspended National Assembly, ending for the first time the electoral advantage—though not the political and military power—of the West Pakistani minority.

But a nation cannot be held together indefinitely by the military repression of a hostile majority of people. To the existing differences of race, custom, language and geography will be added an insuperable barrier of hatred and resentment. If the violent conflict of the past few days has not already killed the prospects for a just and peaceful solution, then President Yahya would be wise to accept proposals for a federal structure that will give East Pakistan a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fair measure of self-rule without breaking Pakistan completely and permanently into two. But first the killing must stop.

(THE AGE, Canberra—March 29, 1971)

EAST PAKISTAN

Editorial, The New Herald, Kathmandu, March 30, 1971

We hope our Pakistani friends will by now have realised the concern being expressed over the fighting going on in East Pakistan between Bengalis and West Pakistan. Indeed the concern over military operations launched by the Pakistani army against the followers of the Awami League, which alone represents the people of what they now call 'Bangla Desh' spring from humanitarian feelings. *It must be admitted that the brutal military suppression to which the people of East Pakistan are being subjected by the military machine of West Pakistan has brought forth the sympathy of the entire world for them. No one in fact, can deny that the people of all countries, be they of the West or East, support the aspirations of the East Bengalis.*

The West Pakistanis, by employing brute force against the helpless Bengalis of East Pakistan, who want nothing but freedom, have killed whatever hope there remained of maintaining a permanent link between the Eastern and Western wings of Pakistan. Bad handling of the constitutional crisis by President Yahya Khan has brought about a disaster of unimaginable magnitude to Pakistan, from which she may never recover. His order in 'restoring authority in East Pakistan' and starting a bloody military repression of freedom-seeking Bengalis, constitutes the gravest of mistakes committed by him so far.

In view of the strict military censorship imposed by the military regime of Pakistan it is difficult to ascertain the facts regarding the present situation in East Pakistan. But one thing is clear. East Pakistanis who are, by and large, unarmed are bravely resisting the harsh military rule imposed on them. It is also clear that they are sacrificing their lives in thousands in the cause of freedom.

The sooner the West Pakistanis realise that unity imposed on the East Pakistanis cannot definitely prove durable, the better for them. They may yet retrieve the situation, by ending all military operations in East Pakistan and formally accepting Mujibur Rahman's proposals for ending the present crisis, even though it may mean a loose federation between East and West Pakistan."

(THE NEW HERALD, Kathmandu—March 30, 1971)

A MASSACRE IN PAKISTAN

Editorial, The Guardian, London, March 31, 1971

"Only now are we getting Pakistani facts to abet fears. President Yahya Khan has written to suppress these facts, filling his air waves and press with evasive propaganda, deporting every journalist he could find. But a few independent reporters escaped this net and their stories—just emerging—reek with horror : crows indiscriminately machine-gunned, student hostels razed by shells, shanty towns burned and bombed, civilians shot dead in their beds. We do not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

yet know the fate of those arrested in East or the true level of resistance through the province. But we do know first-hand and reliably that many unarmed and unready Bangalis have died.

From this point the whole complexion of the crisis changes. Before troops moved, many leaders shared responsibility, and blame Sheikh Mujib and his wilder henchment among them. But Yahya Khan's licensed mayhem has swept all this toward irrelevancy. While he negotiated with Mujib, his generals planned carnage. His vaunted bluff sincerity (and sincerity of Pakistan's brief return to democracy) lies tattered. Henceforth, the country must be regarded as particularly brutal and insensitive military dictatorship, its elected political leadership in prison majority party obliterated by decree. Guardian, with many others, has long believed that balance of advantage lay with united Pakistan. But unity can never come through murder and is not worth the price of innocent lives. East Pakistan survives today only as occupied and exploited territory, a living proof of every Bengali suspicion of years. Bhutto, who purports to be national leader, "thanks God" for this miserable carnage. Yahya Khan hears none of Pakistan's friends who counsel mercy and morality even at this late stage.

But he must be made to hear. In contrast with Biafra, rights and wrongs of East Pakistan are easily determined. Those—like America—who stock the Pakistan army, must realize to what uses their weaponary is put. Those—like China and Ceylon—who permit forces to ferry from West must realize that acts and purposes those forces pursue. Those—like Britain—who retain some prestige of influence in the area, should spend it openly and forcefully. The fate of Dacca is a crime against humanity and human aspirations; no one should stand mealy-mouthed by."

(THE GUARDIAN, London—March 31, 1971)

IN THE NAME OF PAKISTAN

Editorial, New Yark Times, March 31, 1971

Acting "in the name of God and a united Pakistan", forces of the West Pakistan-dominated military government of President Yahya Khan have dishonoured both by their ruthless crackdown on the Bengali majority seeking a large measure of autonomy for their homeland in the country's eastern region.

Any appearance of "unity" achieved by vicious military attacks on unarmed civilians of the kind described by correspondents and diplomats who were in the East Pakistani capital of Dacca when the crackdown began cannot possibly have real meaning or enduring effect. The brutality of the Western troops toward their "Moslem brothers" in the East tends only to confirm the argument of the out-right secessionists in Bengal who argue that differences between East and West Pakistan are irreconcilable.

Although this is a domestic dispute, the struggle in Pakistan could have dangerous international consequences, especially if a prolonged period of guerrilla warfare ensues. The least the world community can do at this stage is to call on President Yahya, in the name of humanity and common sense, to stop the blood-shed and restore Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to his rightful role as elected leader of his people.

The United States, having played a major role in training and equipping Pakis. tan's armed forces, has a special obligation now to withhold any military aid to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Yahya Government. Economic assistance should be continued only on condition that a major portion be used to help bind up East Pakistan's grievous wounds.

(NEW YORK TIMES—March 31, 1971)

* * * *

Radio Pakistan is nothing if not official, and its claim that the situation in East Pakistan is returning to normal may be noted with that in mind. In fact with the expulsion of foreign reporters from Dacca there is no trustworthy source of present information. The official channels say what they are told to say. A rebel radio speaks of continued fighting in Dacca, Chittagong and elsewhere, but the authority of that source is not established. Intelligence by way of India is in large part rumor.

One thing does seem clear, however. The observations of the foreign reporters before they were expelled give a picture of the events of late last week quite at variance with the government's picture. The army, which is to say the West Pakistani army, did not act to suppress an uprising. It struck calculatedly, dealing death beyond all immediate provocation.

John E. Woodruff of *The Sun*, one of the reporters expelled, writes today from New Delhi of earlier rumors, received with some skepticism at the time, that President Yahya Khan's regime was deliberately prolonging the recent Dacca talks, to lull East Bengal into believing a compromise imminent, and then would attack without warning.

True or not, that reading is given credence by the regime's curious explanation that the crisis was brought to a head, and the brutal crackdown justified, on a legal technicality—that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Bengali leader, had demanded a turn-over of power to elected civilians before any meeting of the projected National Assembly. That the Pakistan People's party led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto offers the same story indeed suggests a scheme and a connivance not of recent date.

If the government's notion of normality is ruthless military oppression, it may be that East Pakistan can be made to appear normal, after a while and for a while. Even that is doubtful; and it may be taken as certainty that the divisions between the two Pakistans have now been widened beyond repair, and that the East Bengalis will not permanently endure physical rule by troops who in looks and habits and language are, after all, foreign troops.

WEEP FOR BENGAL

Mervyin Jones in New Statesman, London, April 2, 1971.

"Despite censorship and official lies, reports are coming out of Dacca that must shock even readers accustomed to all that's implied in the sinister phrase: 'Order was restored'. President Yahya Khan's tanks have been ordered into destructive action, no holds barred, against the people of East Pakistan: and, in grim logic, the enemy must be the whole people because they had declared themselves with rare unanimity for demands of self-rule.

"For the moment, one has to think of the human tragedy. With pitiful wooden shacks burned to the ground—soldiers were seen 'armed' with petrol cans —those who had little have lost their all. Many thousands, it seems, are fleeing to the countryside, dodging tanks that fire at random; but it is a countryside they

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

can barely feed its normal inhabitants. Hunger and disease must be the followers of sudden death. And, this is only an episode in the bitter history of a people whose experience for almost 200 years has been of poverty, oppression and exploitation—at the hands of British rulers, of moneylenders and land sharks from other parts of the sub-continent, and, since 1947, of the arrogant oligarchy that dominates Pakistan.

"Nehru reflected in *The Discovery of India* (written during his last spell in prison) that the poverty of India can be correlated with the duration of subjection—the deepest misery in Bengal subdued by Clive, and the most effective maintenance of a viable economy in Punjab where the British defeated the Sikh princes as late as 1845. Of course, there are other factors. Still, the sorrows of history gather weight with time, each generation laying a load on the last. And, it was chiefly Bengal that endured the primitive stage of imperialism as sheer robbery and wrecking. 'Bungalow' and 'jungle' are British words taken from Hindustani, but so is 'loot'.

"The extreme of poverty has continued to be a major theme in Bengal's experience: over-population long before the rest of the world knew it, marginal subsistence farming in the countryside, squalor in the cities (Dacca's slums have long rivalled those of Calcutta), famine in 1891, famine in 1943. The other theme was desperate revolt and political violence.

"The background picture must also take account of a Bengali national character. One must handle this concept with caution, of course, but both reputation and self-awareness react upon reality. These, then, would be the generalisations: Bengalis are spontaneous, talkative, emotional, sensitive to slights, quick with the handshake or the embrace but also with the knife. They value poetry and music, the decorative arts, good food, and beauty in women. Outsiders regard them as undisciplined, rather comic and certainly no fighters (the British excluded them from the 'martial races' and recruited only a regiment of Sappers and Miners); resenting this, they are prone to demonstrative acts of heroism. They are skilful and inventive, but not systematic at work. West Pakistanis are the opposite of all this, and the absurd state of Pakistan is something like a forced union of Britain and Italy, with France in between.

"Pakistan is a Moslem nation, but history qualifies this too. Being a Moslem in the West is partly a racial inheritance, deriving from settlement by people of Iranian and Afghan origin. Conversion to Islam in Bengal was an opting out of the caste system by the poor. Moslem or not, Bengalis still felt passionately Bengali, so much so that they protested furiously when, in 1905, Lord Curzon tried to divide the province into East and West Bengal; it was one of the rare occasions when a Viceroy had to renounce a pet project. That Bengal was thus partitioned in 1947, with British rule ending, is a wry historical irony.

"Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, was an upperclass Bombay Moslem, anglicised in his habits and not very religious, just as Carson was an upper-class Dublin Protestant. Power in the new state was monopolised by landowners and Sandhurst-type generals, all from West Pakistan, with no background in the fight against imperialism. This, in addition to the theocratic basis of Pakistan, was what Indians like Nehru so disliked about them.

"From the outset, they had no more intention of creating a democracy than had the similar oligarchy in Northern Ireland. True, the Bengalis were fellow-Moslems and had no yearnings to reunite with India (though they wanted neighbourly relations and lacked interest in the Kashmir vendetta). The point was that they were unreliable chaps, outside the closer circle. Top jobs in the civil service and the police went to men from the West. Economic development, not very

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

impressive anywhere, favoured the already wealthier western provinces. Attempts to right the balance were frustrated, when government was not openly dictatorial, by a limited franchise (80,000 citizens in a population of 100 million could vote for the presidency) and a judicious mixture of intimidation and bribery. I happened to be in East Pakistan when Ayub Khan was getting himself re-elected in 1965. An American friend used to exclaim 'There's a voter' whenever we saw a man inexpertly riding a new Honda.

"When real elections came, Sheikh Mujib's Awami League won a victory in the East comparable only to Sinn Fein's sweep in 1918. The difference was that he was demanding only 'home rule'. He was aware both of the appalling consequences of an armed clash and of the hard row that an independent Bangla Desh would have to hoe even if it could be achieved, given its wretched poverty. Popular feeling and Yahya Khan's stubbornness drove him, in the moment of crisis, to claim independence. I suspect that one could listen to an interesting debate if one could be a mouse under a table in Washington. There would be advocates of the oligarchy as the 'safe men', the counterparts of similar regimes endorsed from Greece to Brazil. There might be voices arguing that Bengal can't be held down and that Mujib — a popular leader but no revolutionary—is the best insurance against less controllable forces.

"Certainly, though the army may have won the first round by sheer brutality, maintaining a detested suzerainty over 73 million people isn't like sending the police to Anguilla. Bengal has no forests or mountains except on its eastern borders, but in its odd way it is fine guerilla country. The great Ganges-Brahmaputra delta is spattered with water at any time; when the monsoon breaks, after early June, main roads on embankments rise above an immense lake. I've only been there in the dry season, but I recall seeing the noses of boats, submerged to keep the wood from cracking in the sun, which are the sole means of movement once the rains begin.

"The crime of Yahya Khan in provoking war—if not now then surely some time—is not incalculably but calculably appalling. We know from the Congo and Biafra that a rural population with minimal living standards can be plunged into the abyss of famine by any disturbance of the tenuous rhythm of sowing and reaping, marketing and buying. Last year's typhoon, with the Royal Navy rushing to the rescue, took 200,000 lives according to probably minimised figures. A season's war is bound to take millions. A starving child does not suffer the less because the ends of power are being secured—nor because it is statistically surplus to its homeland's resources."

(Mervynjones in NEW STATESMAN, London—April 2, 1971)

THE SLAUGHTER IN EAST PAKISTAN

Editorial, The Times, London, April 3, 1971

The more the news from East Pakistan accumulates, the more harrowing it becomes. Senseless murder hysterical cruelty and what must be a creeping fear run like a current throughout this packed mass of human beings. All this the distant observer may assume despite the protests of the Pakistan Government at some of the stories that have been given circulation.

They have a case—or had in the first days following the orders given to the Pakistan army to restore order. When authentic first-hand accounts are not to be had the temptation to report anything that comes from any hearsay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

source is rarely resisted. And when Western reports—news agencies, broadcasts, and newspapers—become the source of information for so many parts of the world, the objections are all the stronger. Figures for those killed in the first days of shooting were often widely beyond anything one person could possibly have observed or calculated. In the period of negotiation between President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujib expectations of a united East Bengal, standing to arms had grown so strongly that they led to battle lines being drawn where none existed.

By now the picture is a little more clear and a great deal more gruesome. Enough first-hand reports from Dacca itself and from some of the major towns have come into confirm that what is happening is far worse than what might have been expected in a war of East Pakistan is resisting the forces of the Central Government in their demand for independence. The accounts piling up make conditions in East Bengal sound only too much like the massacres that broke out between Muslims and Hindus in the months leading up to the partition of India. Sparks from one fire set another going. Murder here demands vengeance there. And when the forces of order, military or police, are themselves the objects of one side or the other's hatred there are no boundaries to the hysteria of fear and murder. Yet in some ways the killing now in East Pakistan is worse. Hindus and Muslims had always been separate communities, brought up to regard each other as different. Outbreaks of violence between them were nothing new. Apart from Hindus who may have been caught up in the present slaughter there is no religious feeling to divide Punjabi from Bengali. There is unfortunately just enough difference for fear and hysteria to work on. Hence the ready and relished decapitations of any West Pakistanis who may find themselves innocently among the Bengalis. Vengeance is everywhere and no one can tell when he may be its victim.

How much of this must be blamed on the orders given to the Pakistan army in its task of restoring order? If not the orders themselves the manner in which they were carried out seems to have been well calculated to arouse fear and hatred on all sides.

From the evidence available one must conclude that the aim was so to wipe out the Awami League leadership that it could no longer provide an effective leadership for any resistance movement. Sheikh Mujib was arrested and may have been taken to West Pakistan. How many of his lieutenants are gone is impossible to say. The slaughter of students in Dacca, as likely orgainizers of guerrilla operations, seems well attested. If some move to reverse the orders were now to be made, lest the slaughter go on spreading, leaders who might help to moderate the passions on the Bengali side would be lacking. From Pakistan Radio there are still only the assurances that all is well and the army is in control. Nothing has been said or done that will put a stop to the reverberating fear. Yet nothing could be worse than to allow the present muddle of fighting and minor massacre to drift on.

Judging by the Pakistan Government's account of Dacca being restored to normal with civil servants returning to their duty, shops opening and normal life resuming, the expectation is that with a little more time at least all the populated centres of East Bengal will have been brought under control. Reports from East Pakistan, however, would suggest that the Pakistan army has not got the manpower to bring about this result other than in the main towns. Elsewhere popular resistance will be strong enough to control smaller urban pockets, leaving much of the countryside as an undeclared no-man's land. Some sort of lines of control will this be drawn. But what might such conditions presage? President Yahya Khan's conciliatory actions ever since the elections last year can hardly allow him to contemplate settling down to a long campaign merely to entrench the Central Government's authority throughout East Bengal. At some point the dialogue between the Govern-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ment and the leaders of East Pakistan must be resumed. The sooner the better judging by the horrors of the past few days.

(*Editorial*, THE TIMES, London—April 3, 1971)

THE HOLOCAUST IN EAST PAKISTAN MUST BE ENDED

Eye-witness reports from foreign residents evacuated from East Pakistan paint a more horrible picture of the carnage that has been unleashed by President Yahya's troops than had been suspected.

What has been happening is nearer to genocide. An army suppressing a revolt is not in a picnic and a certain amount of unnecessary killing, however deplorable and misguided, was to have been expected.

The way the army has acted it is now clear, surpasses anything that could pass for legitimate use of force. It has resorted to wanton murder of civilians, including women and children, in a deliberate plan to achieve submission by stark terror.

And the army is not succeeding. The resistance of the East Pakistanis, though unorganised and largely unaimed, gets more stubborn every day. The army's writ does not run beyond the major towns.

Given the normal difficulties of communications in East Pakistan, the army will have to be several times its present estimated size of 70,000 before an uprising which has the backing of practically the whole population can be put down. And when the monsoons arrive in six weeks from now, the army's mobility will be further impaired in a drastic manner.

Official Pakistani reports themselves cannot conceal any longer that the normalcy they have been announcing is very far from being restored. The factories are at a standstill and there is mass absenteeism from government offices.

If it was a misguided decision for President Yahya Khan to have ordered his armies out, to persist in it is an act of irresponsibility of such cruel magnitude that the world's conscience cannot continue to accept it as a matter that Pakistan only can decide.

The East Pakistan holocaust must stop. Appeals to see reason have been made to Rawalpindi by India, Russia and Britain. More countries must join in this effort to demonstrate that the voice of humanitarianism cannot be stilled by pedantic considerations of internal sovereignty.

(*Editorial*, THE NEW NATION, Singapore—April 6, 1971)

FOREIGN EVACUEES FROM EAST PAKISTAN TELL OF GRIM FIGHT

More than 100 foreign evacuees arrived here today after a 34-hour voyage from Chittagong, East Pakistan's major port, bringing the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

latest eyewitness reports about the Pakistani army's attempt to suppress the independence movement.

"It's a massacre," said John Martinussen, a Danish student.

"We saw the army shooting civilians," said Neil O'Toole, an American from New Rochelle, N.Y. "I don't want to say too much because I'am afraid of reprisals against our organization." He asked that the name of his organization not be mentioned.

The 119 foreigners, who arrived at the Calcutta docks this afternoon aboard a British cargo vessel that had been sitting in Chittagong harbour unable to unload because of the fighting, were of 17 nationalities. The two largest groups were 37 Americans and 33 Britons.

As they came down the gangplank of the vessel, the Clan Mac-Nair, they were met by diplomatic officials and a crowd of Indian and foreign newsmen.

Though some of the evacuees were reluctant to talk, others painted a grim picture of Chittagong, East Pakistan's second-largest city. Until now little has been known of how that city of 400,000 inhabitants has fared in the fighting.

The foreigners said that after several days of fighting, the army—all West Pakistani troops—had pushed the East Pakistani resistance forces out of the city.

But, they added, the army's control ends five miles outside the city, at the banks of the Karnalphuli River.

Everything from the river south, they said, is in the hands of the "liberation army which consists of civilians and members of the East Pakistani police, the East Pakistani Rifles and the East Bengal Regiment who have come over to the independence movement.

The foreigners said that they could hear shooting on the outskirts of the city even as they were leaving for Calcutta yesterday morning. Most of the residents have fled the city and gone into the countryside, they said.

Army Burns Slums

In the city, where fighting broke out early Friday morning, on March 26, the foreigners said the army had burned to the ground many of the flimsy slums of the poor, the stanchest supporters of independence.

The ashes of the bamboo huts in these neighbourhoods were still smoldering, the foreigners said, as they were taken to the docks under military escort yesterday morning to be evacuated.

The Pakistan Radio, speaking for the Pakistan Government, contends that all of East Pakistan is calm and that life is returning to normal.

"Nothing is calm, and nothing has come back to normal," said Mr. Martinussen, who came to Chittagong seven months ago with his wife Karen to study Pakistani politics as part of his master's degree program at Aarhus University in Denmark.

"They systematically burned down the districts of the poor people, apparently because they felt they could'nt search them thoroughly," he went on. "They seemed to be enjoing killing and destroying everything."

"Many Bengalis have been killed," the 23-year-old student went on. "In the river just four days ago, you could count 400 bodies floating in one area."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Martinussen, who related several accounts of civilians being gunned down in shops and on the street, forecast eventual victory for the 75 million East Pakistanis, who have long protested their exploitation by West Pakistan, which is situated more than 1,000 miles away across Indian territory.

Independence Movement

"So many Bengalis want their Bangla Desh," said the slim student, "that I'm sure they will get it."

Bangla Desh is Bengali for Bengal nation. It is the independence movement's name for East Pakistan.

His views were echoed by Mr. O'Toole, who is 26 years old. "Chittagong is controlled by the army," he said. "It is controlled by brute force and terror. The army kept coming in. They were shooting civilians. We saw dead bodies. We smelled the stench of death."

"There was a lot of harassment and beating," he added, "and there was indiscriminate looting and burning by outsiders."

Vengeance Reported

Mr. O'Toole did not explain what he meant by "outsiders"—but he apparently was talking about West Pakistanis living in East Pakistan.

Other refugees reported that some Bengalis had taken vengeance by killing non-Bengali businessmen.

The foreigners said that a 7 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew prevails in Chittagong, that electric power, cut for three days, has been restored only in some areas of the city, and that the port was virtually shut down since there were no Bengalis to work there.

Some of the evacuees left their homes during the heavy fighting and took refuge in the Hotel Agrabad, away from the center of action.

They said that soldiers had visited some of their homes while they were away.

"The army was very polite," Edward J. McManus, an American engineer from Montrose, N.Y., said with sarcasm. "They drank all my whisky, but they gave me all my glasses back. Very honest."

(SYDNEY H. SCHANDERG, IN NEW YORK TIMES—April 7, 1971)

MASS MURDERS IN BENGAL

The military regime in Pakistan has now released a photo which is supposed to prove that Mujibur Rahman has been taken prisoner.

By showing him as a prisoner they want to undermine morale in East Pakistan. But this photo is not convincing evidence. Why was it not released earlier? Why has no date been given? Why do they not show Rahman himself?

It is in any case obvious that Yahya Khan's regime wishes to prevent Rahman at all costs from becoming a martyr. The question is, however, whether such feelings would change the situation much in East Pakistan. With or without Rahman—there is no turning back for the East Bengalis.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We now know what is happening in spite of the attempts by the military regime to hide the facts. Refugees have testified to massive bombings, reckless rampages of West Pakistani troops and mass murders.

Hundreds of thousands of people are fleeing from their homes. Starvation threatens. The hostilities are directed against the majority of the country's population under the motivation that the unity of Pakistan must be preserved! The military regime is using violence to sweep aside the result of the country's first general parliamentary elections. The rulers were not prepared to swallow the consequences of this election; instead they set the military machinery going. It is obvious that this method will never lead to the reunification of East and West Pakistan. Ruthless occupation or drawn-out war; these are the only alternatives.

This is a policy that must be condemned.

(EXPRESSEN, Stockhom—April 12, 1971)

RHETORIC AND REALITY

"Where, after three weeks of messy bloodshed, do the military rulers of Pakistan now stand? Superficially they prosper. Bangla Desh's roving bands of "liberation fighters" have never and will never cope with the Pakistani Army in force. That force is being deployed to flatten urban resistance. Yahya Khan will soon have most cities and towns on a tight rein. He will also have all the Chinese spare parts overflying rights, and hire purchase rhetoric he can take. For the moment, the Awami League "miscreants" are dead, incarcerated or negligible. Pakistan is cowed, but united.

"Yet, the true balance sheet is very different. Perhaps (ideally, and even at some cost) Pakistan is better together than apart. Perhaps continual martial law can maintain that state and, as famine saps revolt, bring smouldering servility. But Yahya must be forced to take a wider view. May be a co-ordinated Bengali resistance movement will need years to organise, but in the meantime Bengalis will remain one of the most populous people on earth, always simmering in crowds, always ready to overwhelm and slaughter patrols or lone Punjabi soldiers. The province which—head for head—provides a majority of Pakistanis will have to be held down by tanks and planes and large concentrations of troops for as long as any prophet can see. There is no decent hope of passing the buck to some civilian regime, since virtually every civilian politicians — bar the ancient, sickly Nurul Amin — was obliterated at the polls last December. Collaborators with Islamabad will have no democratic justification; they will not be able to appear in public without peril.

"The Eastern prospect, in short, is long, weary gloom—economic stagnation, starvation, murders, the slow growth of extremism. Even Chinese friendship has a touch of poison in the embrace. Peking may care little if Maoist Bengalis like Maulana Bhasani find themselves at the wrong end of Yahya's bayonets: anything to worst the pro-American Sheikh Mujib. But once the Awami League is defunct and East Pakistan is given over to wild men of rebellion, then only the most stupid of generals will be surprised to find Chinese arms in every guerilla cache. And in the West there lies bleakness too. Mr. Bhutto may rejoice at army action today; but he will not rejoice long if it keeps him from the power he won at the ballot box. Pakistan is a nation in hock to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the World Bank and to the aid-givers of the world: They are already turning away, gorged on brutality Pakistani defence policy (and the whole existence of the generals) rests on confrontation with India over Kashmir. Pakistan alleges that India holds the Pakistani loving Kashmiris in check by steely repression. It is the most Iudicrous of cases now, as the junta of Islamabad openly exercises just such repression on 75 million bonafide Pakistanis. The United Nations will surely collapse in bitter laughter if Kashmir comes up again. The issue is as dead as the students of Dacca University.

"Nobody can tell precisely what Yahya's strategists whispered in his ear three weeks ago. Nobody can tell, but anyone can deduce. They appear to have thought that cutting off the head would kill Bengali nationalism: precisely the reverse. They appear to have forgotten about world opinion. They appear, most insanely of all, to have ruled India out of the military calculations, so that the uncontrolled border and aid seeping in has them as much by the throat as proliferatin– diplomatic complications. To reiterate: the Bangla Desh affair is not a second Biafra or the fruits of more interminable wrangling between Delhi and Rawalpindi. It arose simply when a well conducted, peaceful election produced a result the army could not stand. Sheikh Mujib himself has not, in any certain sence declared Benglai independence. He was not asking essentially for more than the programme he legally fought and won the election on. Of course there are shades of grey; of course, responsibility for the carnage is shared. But influential and intelligent Pakistanis in the west can stop that carnage tomorrow if they add up the balance sheet aright and put their soldiers in economic chains. This is not a Sino-Soviet slanging match about Marxist technicalities. It is, at root, a simple matter; of freedom, of morality, and of humanity".

(*Editorial*, **GUARDIAN**, London—April 14, 1971)

BLOOD OF BANGLA DESH

NEW STATESMAN on April 16 carried under the title above in red type on its front page, the following comment:

"If blood is the price of a people's right to independence, Bangla Desh has overpaid. Of all the recent struggles to bring down governments and change frontiers in the name of national freedom, the war in East Bengal may prove the bloodiest and briefest. On this level alone, the East Pakistanis have achieved a record of suffering. But even if their movement is destroyed within a few days or weeks, it may only be a temporary defeat in a war of liberation which will eventually be recognised as just.

In all such cases, establishment opinion is heavily weighted in favour of the status quo. The chances of any world power declaring support for Bangla Desh are minimal. The Bengalis' case for statehood may be hard to refute, but it is inconvenient to every one else. And yet, by an unusual combination of circumstances, Bangla Desh has managed to obey all the rules. So, this may be the moment to consider what we, and other countries, mean by those splendid words which recur like a chorus in the United Nations charter: 'the right to self-determination of peoples'. Objectively or subjectively, in Chinese or English, in capitalist or socialist jargon, it is hard to fault the East Bengalis, or justify their abandonment by all the major powers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Piously required, as third-world countries always are by the West, to make their demands known through the ballot box—they did so. They won an absolute majority in the all-Pakistan Assembly. It was the first general election the country had held, and the result came a considerable shock. Given the long history of Bengali separatism, from the language and anti-constitution movements of early Fifties until today, it should not have been so surprising. Loyalty become more important than ideology. A Bengali majority was the result.

Faced with this, the Islamabad Government of Yahya Khan, whose strength is based on an army from which the Bengalis are excluded, panicked; Islamabad fidgeted. The result was carnage. We have glimpsed via television and the newspapers what the West Pakistanis call restoring unity', the Easterners, genocide. The truth may lie somewhere in between the two. But for the forseable future pessimism is in order.

As with Biafra, many emotional left-wingers in the West have averted their eyes from the distasteful possibility that non-white people may be ill-treating each other, and concentrated on the humanitarian side. But beyond the salvage operation, it becomes more complicated. East Pakistan really cannot be called a 'breakaway' state in quite the same way. And the 'exploitation' takes a different form. The East Bengalis claim that they have been systematically used to subsidise West Pakistan ever since partition. It began as long ago as 1948, when President Jinnah made the first of several centralising moves by withdrawing the provinces' rights to raise their own income and sales taxes, and keep the major part of their import and export duties. East Pakistan was particularly hard hit, since it subvention from the central government was never correspondingly increased.

Over the last two decades, for instance, 70 per cent of Pakistan's investible funds went to the West and only 30 per cent to the East. 75 per cent of revenue was spent in the West, and only 25 percent in the East. Foreign aid is based on population: yet East Pakistan with two-thirds of the country's people, received only 20 per cent of the cash. East Pakistani economists estimate that since independence, the real transfer of resources from East to West Pakistan has been to the tune of some $ 3,000m. By this argument, Bangla Desh would certainly be more economically viable on its own. Another qualification for statehood fulfilled.

The question of aid leads to that of great-power politics. East Bengal does not fit neatly into the cold war pattern, and the position adopted towards it are particularly complicated. The British are allied with the West Pakistan government in CENTO and SEATO—mere planning organisations, to be sure, but through which weapons can be channelled. Yahya Khan's links with China though, are closer and more significant. There are rumours that Peking will create diversionary activity on the Indo-Chinese border if India (backed by the Russians) intervene in Bengal. China has cynically betrayed the West Bengali communists, who would have liked nothing better than to help their brothers across the border, but could not do it alone. (Perhaps this is final proof that the Chinese have achieved great-power status.) As for Britain, what our government has to say is regarded, since Singapore, with cynical contempt on all sides.

There are still, however, ritual motions to be gone through and lessons to be learned. The ritual concerns the U.N. The 75 million East Pakistanis feel they have at least as much 'national' call on the General Assembly as the 45 million Westerners, and are demanding what people always demand in such circumstances: that arms deliveries be stopped, aid cut off, sanctions imposed and so forth. None of this will happen. As Conor Cruise O'Brien put it, the United Nations is like the Delphic Oracle, and always gives the answer the strongest party to a dispute wants to hear. And there, for the time being, it rests.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But not for ever. Pakistan is only the most recent of the post-imperial federations to be torn apart. When he drew the lines across the Indian sub-continent, Mountbatten listened too sympathetically to those who took religion more seriously than Geography. It was, of course, a plain case of failure to learn from our own parochial experience—as the whole unhappy history of Ireland has made only too clear. Since the original foundation of Pakistan, the West Indian, Malaysian, Rhodesian and Arabian federations have all collapsed. Significantly, each of them, like Pakistan, was a 'state' created from above for reasons of political expediency. So, the lesson is a simple, if a hard, one: that such artificial structures cannot survive. How much human misery must be endured before that fact is accepted?".

(NEW STATESMAN, London—April 16, 1971)

DEATH IN EAST PAKISTAN

It is, by every reasonably reliable account, all over in East Pakistan. All over that is, except the agony, the scorched earth policy, the wanton killing, the selective slaughter of potential Bengali leaders and the indestructible dream of independence.

The bid for autonomy has been, for the present, effectively suppressed. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the secessionist leader and president of Free Bengal, is reported to be in prison in West Pakistan, awaiting trial for treason. The remnant of the rebel army, short of arms, ammunition, food transportation and shoes, stages progressively weaker guerrilla raids on the well-equipped West Pakistani army of 80,000. In reprisal, the government forces have killed tens of thousands of Bengali civilians—and some reports put the figure in the hundreds of thousands. A New York Times correspondent, who crossed from India into East Pakistan, reported that government troops, acting on orders from Karachi, have killed engineers, doctors, professors and students in an attempt to eradicate the future Bengali leadership. The army has tried to lay waste the future economy of East Pakistan by destroying the meager physical wealth of the area—food supplies, natural gas fields, jute mills.

Even making generous allowance for the exaggeration that usually accompanies a military defeat, the story from East Pakistan is one of atrocity and heartbreak. No one, however far removed from the devastation, can remain untouched by it.

For East Pakistan, the defeat brings another dimension of horror to a people who have, in recent months, borne the scourge of flood, disease and famine. For West Pakistan, the victory brings with it the assurance of eventual defeat, for the bloody repression of the secessionists assures the Punjabis and the Pathans of the lasting enmity of the Bengalis.

The government of the United States can, for the moment play no overt role other than that of anguished spectator. It can and should, however, use the channels of quiet diplomacy to persuade the West Pakistanis to stop the killing, which is approaching the proportions of genocide aud it should prepare now for the moment when the fighting ends, the time when supplies of food, clothing and medicine will be needed in quantity by the destitute survivors of the slaughter.

(*Editorial,* THE EVENING STAR—April 17, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PAKISTAN STORY

The extent of the Pakistan tragedy in March, when the two parts of the country were brutally torn apart, is bit by bit becoming known, with the most substantial information to date provided by a group of six foreign correspondents admitted to East Pakistan for an officially conducted look. As a whole these observers have written guardedly, through censorship, but one of them, Most Rosenblum of the Associated Press, has instead left the country and filed his despatches from Bangkok. The story he tells is one of hatred and horror, in 'a civil war of staggering butchery,' of a national economy on the brink of ruin and of political chaos.

The deaths, by Mr. Rosenblum's rough estimate, may number half a million. The devastation, he says, defies belief. Millions of people face starvation, from famine and from the halted distribution of relief for earlier, and natural disasters. The picture could not be more grim.

From Mr. Rosenblum and other sources it is clear that an unknown number of the killings were done by East Bengalis, in hatred and vengeance against West Pakistanis, and against other non-Bengalis in the population. But it is clear also that the savage tearing apart of the nation is to be laid first of all on the army of Pakistan and those who gave it its orders.

One tale is that the deaths from army action in Dacca, the East Bengal capital, came to about 150 which is obviously a gigantic lie, and that in any case the army struck to avert an armed rebellion scheduled for the early morning of the day after the army went into action. Of this no evidence has been brought forward.

The fact still seems to be, as it seemed to be at the first, that the Government of Pakistan was determined not to let the East Bengali Awami League assume the power it had won in a National Assembly election, and that from this determination stemmed the carefully planned onslaught of March.

While its full consequences are yet to be known, it is plain already that Pakistan as conceived by its creators has ceased to exist, that an already-shaky economic structure has been brought near to the point of no-repair, that a generation of hatred has been assured and that new opportunities have been opened to political elements whose purposes have little to do with the national good of Pakistan.

(*Editorial*, THE BALTIMORE SUN—May 14, 1971)

GENOCIDE IN EAST PAKISTAN

The most fundamental of all rights, the right of a man to come to the aid of a fellow human being is now being denied with a degree of official arrogance seldom displayed in recent history.

The people of East Pakistan who are still suffering from homelessness and hunger caused by the tidal waves of less than a year ago, are now caught up in a man-made disaster. Their land has become a locked-in arena of authorized slaughter. Communications with the outside world have been reduced almost

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to the vanishing point. Those who have offered emergency medical aid or other help have been told to stay out.

The present situation has its renote origins in the division of the Indian subcontinent into two nations in 1947. The movement for independence from Great Britain had been complicated and imperilled by the existence of Hindu and Moslem blocs. Great Britain had fostered the concept of a partitioned subcontinent in which India would be predominently Hindu and Pakistan would be predominently Moslem. For a long time Gandhi and Nehru had opposed partition believing it imperative for both religious orders to be accommodated within a single large national design. Gandhi and Nehru withdrew their opposition to partition, however, when it appeared certain that national independence might otherwise be indefinitely delayed.

The design for partition called for two nations. Actually, three nations emerged. For Pakistan was partitioned within itself, into East and West. The Western part was larger geographically and became the capital. The Eastern part was more populous and richer in resources. The units lay more than 1,000 miles apart.

In order to comprehend the geographical anomaly of this, one has only to imagine what would have happened if Maine and Georgia had decided to form a separate nation, Maorgia, with practically the whole of the United States lying in between. Let us further suppose that the capital of the new nation would have been Augusta, Northern Maorgia. While most of the people and resources would have been in Southern Maorgia. The result would have been an administrative, political and economic shambles. What has happened in Pakistan roughly fits that description. Further compounding the situation are the severe culture and historic differences between Punjabi (West) and Bengali (East) Societies.

For a time the people of East and West Pakistan were held together by the spiritual and political exhilaration of a new nationalism. But the underlying difficulties grew more pronounced as East Pakistan chafed under what they felt was West Pakistan's latterday version of British colonialism. They claimed they were not being represented in proportion to their numbers in either the high posts of policies of Government. They charged they were being exploited economically furnishing labour and resources without sharing fairly in the profits from production. They pointed to the sharp disparity in wages and living conditions between East and West.

It was inevitable that the disaffection should reach an eruptive stage. There is no point here in detailing the facts attending the emergence of a political movement seeking self-rule for East Pakistans. All that need be said is that the Central Government at Islamabad finally disagree to submit self-rule propositions to the East Pakistan elctorate. The result of the General Elections was all overwhelming vote in favour of self-rule. The Central Government at Islamabad not only failed to respect this popular, decision, but ordered in armed troops to forestall implementation. The official slaughter began on March 26th.

(1) Tanks and soldiers with submachine guns and grenades seized Dacca University early in the morning on March 26. All students residing in Iqbal Hall. The dormitory centre, were put to death. The building was gutted by shells from tanks.

(2) One hundred and three Hindu students residing in Jagannath Hall of Dacca University were shot to death. Six Hindu students were forced at gunpoint to dig graves for the others and then were shot themselves.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(3) Professor C.C. Dev, widely respected Head of the Department of Philosophy was marched out of his home to an adjacent feild and shot.

(4) The last names of other faculty members who were killed or seriously wounded: Minirussamar, Guhathakurta, Munim, Naqui, Hudu, Innasali, Ali.

(5) Central Government troops forces their way into flat D of building 34 at the University, seized professor Murniru Zaman, his son, his brother (employed by the East Pakistan High Court) and his nephew and marched the group to the first-floor foyer, where they were machine-gunned.

(6) A machine gun was installed on the roof of the terminal building at Sadarghat, the dock area of old Dacca. On March 28, all civilians within range were fired upon. After the massacre, the bodies were dragged into buses. Some were burned. Some were dumped into the Buriganga river, adjacent to the terminal.

(7) On the morning of March 28, machine guns were placed at opposite ends of Shandari Bazaar, a Hindu artisan centre in old Dacca. Central Government forces suddenly opened fire on civilians trapped in the bazaar. The corpses were streun on the street.

(8) On the evening of March 28, soldiers invaded Ramnan Kalibari, an ancient small Hindu settlement, Killing all the occupants (estimated at 200). On March 29, about one hundred corpses were put on display in the village.

(9) The flight of civilians from Dacca was blocked at gunpoint.

(10) On the morning of April 2, forty soldiers entered a village named Barda rounded up the male population (approximately 600) and marched them at gunpoint to Gulshan Park, where they were interrogated. Ten members of the group were then taken off, their fate is unknown.

The foregoing represents a small fraction of the authenticated of accounts that in the aggregate toll of wide-spread killing especially of youth and educated people. It is futile to attempt to estimate the member of dead or wounded. Each city and village has its own tales of horror. It is significant that the Government at Islamabad until only last week, enforced vigorus measures to keep out reporters.

The U.S. State Department is in possession of authenticated descriptions not just of the incidents mentioned above but of countless others. Such reports have been sent to Washington by the American Consul General in Dacca and by American physicians attached to APP. For some reason, the State department has issued no report covering the information at its disposal.

American guns ammunition and other weapons sent to Pakistan were used in the attack on Bengali people. So were weapons from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

The United Nations has been helpless in the present situation. The Central Government in Pakistan claims it is dealing with an internal situation, beyond the jurisdiction of the U.N.

This may help to explain why the UN has so far been unable under its Charter to take action against what appears to be a provable case of genocide but it doesn't explain why men of conscience have not stood up in the United Nations to split the sky with the indignation.

The Central Government at Islamabad has forestalled efforts to send food, medicine, and medical personnel into the devastated zones. It seems inconceiva-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ble that this decision can be allowed to stand. The Bengalis may not possess political sovereignty, but they do possess human sovereignty under the United Nations Declaration of human rights.

The State department has not hesitated to speak sharply and effectively when ever its national interests were involved. Americans have every right to expect the United States to speak sharply when the human interest is involved. If the United States can find it, within its means and its morality to send guns to Pakistan it can also find it within its means and its morality to send food and first aid.

The President has said that events in Vietnam represent a test of American manhood. The proposition is dubious. What is certain however is that events in Pakistan are a test of American compassion and conscience.

(THE SATURDAY REVIEW, U.S.A.—May 22, 1971)

EAST BENGAL TRAGEDY

The Guardian, London, May 27, 1971

Rev. John Hastings and Rev. John Clapham of Sudder Street, Methodist Church, Culcutta, in a letter to THE GUARDIAN, Londan, write:

"We are not reporters with little time to spare looking for the best stories. We have each lived in West Bengal for most of 20 years and we have talked at random with hundreds of refugees in the course of our relief work among them. The total picture of what has been happening in East Bengal is clear to us without any shadow of doubt.

"There are scores of survivors of firing-squad line-ups. Hundreds of witnesses to the machine-gunning of political leaders, prefessors, doctors, teachers and students.

"Villages have been surrounded, at any time of day or night, and the frightened villagers have fled where they could, or been slaughtered where they have been found. or enticed out to the fields and mown down in heaps. Women have been raped, girls carried off to barracks, unarmed peasants battered or bayoneted by the thousands.

"The pattern, after seven weeks, is still the same. Even the least credible stories, of babies thrown up to be caught on bayonets, of women stripped and bayoneted vertically, or of children sliced up like meat, are credible not only because they are told by so many people, but because they are told by people without sufficient sophistication to make up such stories for political motives.

"We saw the amputation of a mother's arm and a child's foot. These were too far from the border, and gangrene developed from their bullet-wounds. Many saw their daughters raped and the heads of their children smashed in. Some watched their husbands, sons, and grandsons tied up at the wrists and shot in more selective male elimination.

"No sedative will calm a girl now in Bongaon Hospital—she is in a permanent delirium crying, "They will kill us all, they will kill us all.." next to her is a girl still trembling from day-long raping and a vaginal bayonet wound

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"About 400 were killed at Chaudanga while on their way to India, surrounded and massacred. Why? Lest they take tales to India? Or because choosing a certain democratic system under Sheikh Mujib means forfeiting the right to live in any country?

"Most vicious of all perhaps was the attempted annihilation of the East Bengal regiment. Few of the 1st Battalion escaped through a curtain of bullets fired by those who the previous day were their mates in the mess. It was symbolic of the betrayal of the whole of the eastern province.

"The insensate fury follows the contempt of years: exploitation has been chronic—rice had become double the price it sold for in the western province. Mujib's men were ready to re-establish justice democratically and peacefully, and gained an overwhelming mandate from the people in the December elections—167 out of 169 seats. But Yahya Khan's military junta and Mr. Bhutto could not stomach the humiliation implied.

"Is this to be regarded as India's problem? It should be no more hers than any other country's. What is the West doing? The big event is over, the heavy print of Pakistan recedes, the tragedy is stale, who will fund the relief operations? Who will campaign for this?

"Are the political complexities so much a gag? Has no government or people the voice that can sound out with the authentic ring of passion in support of the victims? Is there no consensus out of which can be heard a creative answer?"

(THE GUARDIAN, London—May 27, 1971.)

TRAGEDY IN BENGAL

Commentary broadcast in the Afro-Asian Service of Radio Prague, Czechoslovakia on June 14, 1971

When the Head of a State admits that Pakistani forces during their reprisals in East Pakistan were behaving "roughly" this only confirms that the alarming reports from this part of the world are founded on truth. And even if it were not far this unexpected admission, the unceasing flow of refugees from East Pakistan itself indicates that in that country one of the most terrible tragedies of modern history is being enacted.

It is never easy for anyone—with the exception of political adventurers—to leave his own country. There always must be a serious reason for doing so. For the five and a half million refugees from East Pakistan there is a serious reason in the situation that has arisen after the unique election victory of the East Pakistani Awami People's League. The victory of that Party which won practically all votes in East Pakistan and more than 50 per cent majority in the envisaged all-Pakistan Parliament is due to the fact that the Party voiced the just claims and complaints of the population. Among its leading election slogans was the demand for an equitable distribution of the national income and a call for a higher degree of autonomy. On both these points, the leaders of the Party, held a realistic view, taking into account that East Pakistan makes up the majority of the whole country's population and that it contributes a larger share into the common treasury.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Although at the fringe of this Party stood some extermist forces calling for a fully independent East Pakistan yet the Awami League as a whole could not be described as separatist.

Events only took an unfortunate turn when the West Pakistani authorities began to see in the legitimate East Pakistani demands a threat to the country's integrity. On March 25th they responded to political arguments by military force. What followed only reflected the loss of goodwill for any dialogue guided by common sense. There was an unco-ordinated forceful resistance by the population, the desparate calls for an independent Republic — Bangla Desh, and finally the massive flight of the population caused by the "rough" treatment meted out by the army, which is mainly recruited from West Pakistani citizens. The fact that among the refugees there are about one million Muslims shows that the army does not seem to differentiate between the people of different religions.

The fate of the refugees, who, rather than risking their lives at home, chose an uncertain existence, hunger and the threat of cholera in refugee camps on Indian soil, is only one aspect of the tragedy. The other—still more serious with regard to the international situation—is the danger of the tension that has, arisen between India and Pakistan. It is an unbearable burden for India to look after five or six million refugees. The exchange of fire between indian and Pakistani frontier guards and reprisals on both sides are a serious warning that what was originally an internal political problem could easily grow into a dangerous international conflict.

The attempts made by the U. N. Secretary General, U Thant, to co-ordinate international relief have been most valuable and will help alleviate the plight of the refugees in the camps at least in the immediate future. However, all relief schemes are aimed at overcoming the consequences and not the causes of the suffering and tension.

RUDE PRAVO, the daily of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia writes today that the situtation on the Indian-Pakistani borders is indeed "extremely gloomy and intolerable from a human point of view, while at the same time being dangerous with regard to foreign political affairs..." It emphasises that the only solution whould be the immediate creation of conditions for a safe return home of the refugees.

The urgency of the matter was stressed last week in a communique issued during the unofficial visit of the Indian Foreign Minister Mr. Swaran Singh in Moscow and also by the Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Alexej Kosygin who said that the Soviet Government believes that the Pakistani authorities must take immediate steps to solve this problem.

We should remember in this connection that the Soviet leader once before five years ago-played an important part in settling the Indian-Pakistani conflict and that his name is connected with the success of the well-known Tashkent Agreement. All the more reason for his warning to be heeded by the Pakistani authorities once more today.

(*Commentary broadcast in the Afro-Asian Service of Radio Prague*, CZECHOSLOVAKIA on June 14, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

APPALLING SITUATION IN BENGAL

The Sunday Times, Wellington, June 20, 1971

In considering the appalling situtation in Bengal it is proper that immediate concern should be centred on succour for the survivors.

The refugees and their embarrassed hosts in west Bengal deserve all the help the world can raise both to feed and nurse the stricken millions and to prevent their destroying unwittingly the health and economic stability of the province to which they have fled.

But when the urgency of this problem is met, the Pakistani Government must not be allowed to escape wholesale condemnation for a totally insane application of political policy that has resulted in unrestrained brutality and a murderous onslaught that amounts to genocide.

The horrifying facts are only now becoming clear. Though it is still too early to know what they add up to it is certain that the abhorrence we are so ready to show to South Africa for its policy of apartheid must be multiplied many times before it can appropriately apply to Yahya Khans repression of the East Pakistan revolt.

(THE SUNDAY TIMES, Wellington—June 20, 1971)

ANOTHER GENGHIS

The Hongkong Standard, June 25, 1971

For hundreds of years, the name of Genghis Khan has echoed through history as a byword for Cruelty and butchery.

In the 20th century, it seems a Pakistani namesake of the great killer is determined to out-do his grisly predecessor.

Pakistani General Tikka Khan—with modern nicety known as the "pacifier" of rebellious East Pakistan—is commanding fierce Punjabi and Pathan troops who are running wild in a fearsome blood bath.

There is overwhelming evidence of murder, of senseless slaughter of children, of rape, or prostitution organised by and for senior army officers, of wholesale, maddened, crazed, blood-thirsty determined massacre.

Genghis Khan, for all hir bloody faults, at least built up an empire in the course of his career.

Tikka Khan and his gang of uniformed cut-throats will be remembered for trying to destroy the people of half a nation.

(THE HONGKONG STANDARD—June 25, 1971)

TO STOP VIOLENCE

The Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm, June 27, 1971

"*The reign of terror in East Bengal is now in its fourth month. The fleeding and hunted people are still streaming across the border into India. There is no limit to the brutality of the Pakistani military dictatorship*—very few of the terror victims belong to the Bengali group of leaders whom the aggressors are trying to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

eradicate. Also the common man falls victim to the 'final solution' which the Pakistani Army, obsessed by power, is trying to force through as the terrible climax to decades of systematic misgovernment. *Scenes which are a daily occurrence along the border between East Bengal and India expose the miserable lies about the 'return to normaly' with which the dictatorship is trying to camouflage its crime against its fellow men.*

The longer this war, this persecution and devastation goes on, the stronger will be our condemnation of the Government which have not yet managed to pull themselves together in a determind effort to stop the bloodiath. The suffering we see in the Bengali woman's eyes is a compromising picture of our era's statesmanship. Behind the official inability to bring pressure on Yahya Khan from outside—moral, political and above all economic pressure—lie cynicism and totally unfounded speculations that the Pakistani military dictatorship in future could stand for any kind of stability at all in this part of the world.

However, according to information from Washington, the big givers of aid to Pakistan—the so far favoured recipient—now seem to have adopted a policy of not granting any new aid apart from purely humanitarian measures. The decision is said to be motivated by the economic chaos that has arisen in Pakistan since the dictatorship decided to go all out to crush East Bengal—the last few drops of foreign currency reserve are being squeeezed put to get still more weapons to create still more violence.

This would be the first international step towards circumscription of the aggressive policy of the Pakistani regime. Further measures will be required to create at least a breathing space for a thorough survey of Pakistani existence which the dictatorship is trying to lay in ruins.

(THE DAGENS NYHETER, Stockholm June 27, 1971)

HELPING TO KILL MORE BENGALIS

Washington Daily News, June 30, 1971

The Administration's decision to send more economic and military aid to the brutal, repressive regime in Pakistan is as shortsighted as it is inhumane.

The testimony before Congress, the State Department admitted its fear that shutting off the flow of arms to Pakistan would be resented "as sanctions and intrusion."

What, we ask, is so bad about sanctions against mass murder and genocide? For that is exactly what the West Pakistani-dominated army committed against the helpless Bengalis of East Pakistan.

In its tracherous attack starting March 25, the Pakistani army slaughtered 200,000 Bengalis and sent six million refugees fleeing for their lives into India. It is morally unjustified to send more weapons to such a regime.

With its talent for justifying the unjustifiable, the State Department explains that halting economic aid would remove our "leverage" with Pakistan—although we have almost no leverage now.

Also, stopping our arms shipments would cause Pakistan to turn to other suppliers, like communist China. However, the department admits that China has never stopped furnishing weapons to Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass, has called all this "doubletalk, incompetence, or both"—and he's right.

Our partners in the International effort to prevent the Pakistani economy from collapsing are not as timid as the United States. The World Bank, Britain, Canada, Belgium and others favour withholding economic aid until the military regime reaches a political settlement with East Pakistan.

But not the United States.

Pakistan is, of course, desperately poor and can use all the help it can get. But the trouble with aid now is that it props up the government and helps it maintain the army of occupation in East Pakistan.

The Bengalis in the east voted overshelmingly for home rule in the only free election in Pakistan's history. Instead they got the genocidal assault by the western army, which is still shamefully going on.

History suggested, however, that West Pakistan from 1,000 miles away cannot forever subjugate the Bengali people. What we are doing by sending arms to Pakistan is to make sure the Bengalis will remember that American weapons murdered them during the birth pangs of their beloved Bangla Desh (Bengali nation).

(WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS—June 30, 1971)

GUILT AND DISASTER OVER PAKISTAN

Peter Hazelhurst in the Manila Chronicle, July 5, 1971

Within the space of a few short weeks both East and West Bengal have suddenly become international trouble spots. Millions of people have been uprooted by civil war, thousands have been killed, famine and disease are already beginning to stalk the countryside and a full scale war between India and Pakistan threatens to break out at any moment.

But even more disturbing is the fact that the situation can only deteriorate. World leaders are, of course, talking glibly about the hope that East Bengalis and the West Pakistanis will come to a "political settlement." But even the most naive student of Pakistani affairs knows that a political settlement is out of the question now.

In the coming months the legal aspects behind this man-made holocaust will be hotly debated in the capitals of the world and on international platforms. But many of the issues which precipitated this convulsion have been clouded by the cries of "secession" or "genocide" and other accusations and counter-accusations and if an accusing finger is to be pointed at any single Pakistani leader then one must, at this juncture, take a judicious look at the chronological sequence of events leading up to the rift.

It is worthwhile picking up the threads in January, 1970, when President Yahya Khan, who had promised to hand over power to a popular government, lifted the ban on political activity in both East and West Pakistan as the prelude to election of a constituent assembly. To hasten the constitution making process and to assuage the fears of West Pakistanis who believed that integrity of Pakistan might be jeopardized by imagined East Bengali separatists, the President had earlier issued a legal framework order (L.F.O.) which gave him the right to ratify or reject the constitution.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It was already obvious that the former Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto, would emerge as the most popular leader in West Pakistan and the fiery East Bengali leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had already demonstrated his strength on the streets of East Pakistan.

But as the two leaders launched their campaigns it soon became clear that they were fighting the elections on rigid and diametrically opposed grounds and that there would be hardly any common meeting ground in the assembly. Mr. Bhutto, whose whole political base is essentially founded in the militant Punjabis' obsession over the Kashmir dispute, began stomping up and down the western province talking of a thousand-year war with India. And to maintain this attitude he assured his voters that he stood for a strong central government, a strong army and a new offensive to liberate Kashmir.

As millions of Pakistanis went to the polls in the country's first free elections last year, General Yahya Khan and his aides waited for the results with bated breath. President Yahya certainly intended to hand over power but had hoped that the results would force East and West Pakistani leaders into an alliance which would preserve the integrity of the country. But the generals had not counted on two factors. At the last moment the Awami League's major political opponent, the left-wing National Awami Party, decided to boycott the elections leaving the field open to the Awami League.

Almost every Bengali endorsed the Sheikh's six point programme which turned the election into a referendum. The Awami League swept the polls and claimed 167 of the 169 Bengali seats and with the support of the anti-Punjabi regional parties in the western province, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was confident of obtaining the support of more than two-thirds of the 313 members of the Constituent Assembly. In West Pakistan Mr. Bhutto and his People's Party won 82 of the 138 seats allocated to the western wing. The Pubjab recoiled in horror for it became blatantly obvious that the Bengalis would be able to draw up their own constitution the moment the assembly met.

On the night after the elections the flamboyant lawyer revealed part of his plan to me: "What do you think I will do. The Sheikh will push his constitution through with his brute majority and the responsibility will lie on the President's shoulders. I doubt whether he will sign a document which is unacceptable to West Pakistan."

In other words Mr. Bhutto had a vested interest in keeping the L.F.O. in force but he had told me that he had heard disconcerting reports that the Sheikh was planning to declare that the Constituent Assembly was sovereign body the moment it met. In other words the L.F.O. and the Punjabs veto would disappear.

But Mr. Bhutto had other ideas. At first he tried to oppose the early sitting of the Assembly but on February 13, President Yahya announced that Assembly would meet on March 3.

The actual point of no return which precipitated the present crisis came two days later on February 15. Mr. Bhutto announced that his party would boycott the Constituent Assembly and at the same time he threatened any other West Pakistani politicians who were planning to travel to Dacca. In short, Mr. Bhutto began to pile up pressure on President Yahya.

At the same time, Mr. Bhutto had met several of President Yahya's generals who were considered hawks on the subject of East Bengal. They included the present governor of East Pakistan, General Tikka Khan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the meantime several West Pakistanis had defied Mr. Bhutto's threat and had travelled to Dacca in the last week of February to participate in the framing of the constitution. In terms of arithmetic the representatives of two thirds of the country had congregated in Dacca.

But on February 28, Mr. Bhutto flew to Rawalpindi to remind President Yahya of the consequences he would have to face if he ratified a constitution which was unacceptable to the Punjab and subsequently to a Punjabi army.

The President made his first mistake. He succumbed to Punjabi pressures and without consulting Sheikh Mujib, as the leader of the largest party, he postponed the Constituent Assembly on March 1.

The Bengalis who saw the move as a conspiracy went wild and the Army was called to quell disturbances in Dacca. The Bengalis had lost their faith in the President and the first cries of Bangla Desh were heard on the streets of Dacca.

Life in the entire province was disrupted and as the cries of Bangla Desh become louder the President flew to Dacca on March 16, with two alternative offers. (1) He said he was willing to restore power to the elected representatives of the people immediately if the Sheikh was willing to form a provisional national government at both centre and at provincial level or (2) He would restore power to provinces and an interim government led by the President himself would administer the day-to-day needs of the country until a constitution was framed.

When President Yahya asked the Sheikh whether he was prepared to take Bhutto, the leader of the largest West Pakistani party, into a central coalition government, the Sheikh cited democratic precedents and said that as the leader of the single largest party he must be allowed to select his own partners. Again his willingness to participate in the central affairs of Pakistan does not suggest that the Sheikh was planning secession. But the President succumbed to Mr. Bhutto's strident threats again and the proposal for a national government was dropped.

As time began to run out the Sheikh and Yahya Khan agreed to the second compromise formula : immediate restoration of power at provincial level. The Sheikh asked the President to issue an immediate proclamation withdrawing martial law, and restoring power to East Pakistan and the four provinces of West Pakistan. The Sheikh agreed to the suggestion that the President could continue to administer an interim central government until a constitution was framed.

As the soldiers slipped into battle dress in the barracks angry and frustrated Bengalis began to raise the flag of Bangla Desh in Dacca. It was Bhutto who finally brought the President to take the decision which set East Bengal on fire. When the President put the Sheikh's proposal to the West Pakistan leader Mr. Bhutto pointed out that if martial law was withdrawn Pakistan would be broken up into five sovereign States the moment the President restored power to the provinces. He expressed the fear that Mujibur Rahman was trying to liquidate the central government. Because the President withdrew martial law he had no sanction to carry on as the head of State.

Half convinced the President went back to Mujibur Rahman and expressed these fears. He promised Mujib that he would withdraw martial law the moment the National Assembly met and gave a central government some form of validity. Sheikh Mujib reiterated his demand for the immediate withdrawal of martial law and President Yahya, now fully convinced that he was dealing with a traitor, turned to his generals.

Taking events to their logical conclusion there is no doubt that the present holocaust was precipitated by President Yahya Khan when he postponed the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Assembly without consulting the Bengalis, but even more so by Mr. Bhutto's deliberate decision to boycott the Assembly on March 3.

(PETER HAZELHURST IN THE MANILA CHRONICLE—July 5, 1971)

EAST PAKISTANIS CRY FOR HELP

The Palaver Weekly, Aara, July 8, 1971

On March 25, 1971 under cover of darkness, one of the most gruesome crimes in the history of mankind was perpetrated by a blood-thirsty military junta against a whole population of seventy-five million, constituting the majority of the people of Pakistan.

Many newspapers, reputed for their objectivity, have come out with documentary evidence in the form of photographs and eye-witness reports of one of the greatest genocide exercises in the annals of man.

Eminent British M.P s and statesmen, including Presidents and Prime Ministers and the U.N. Secretary-General have directly or indirectly voiced the strongest expressions against the crime.

According to all available evidence and report the awful genocide which was deliberately planned and executed ruthlessly by the West Pakistan Army and has been marked, among other unspeakable atrocities, by the systematic decimation of East Pakistan's intellectuals and professionals, including eminent professors, lawyers, journalists, doctors, students, etc., is still continuing.

It is only too well known that the only fault of the defenceless victims of this infernal operation was their participation in the first democratic elections in their country's 23 years of existence. They elected, almost with one voice, their chosen leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Party the Awami League.

The only crime of Sheikh Mujib and his Party was that they sought through normal processes of democracy, to end the erstwhile colonial status of their part of the country and restore it to a position of respectability, within a united Pakistani federation.

In this respect it must be noted that the tragedy of East Pakistan is quite unlike that of Biafra. An apter parallel would be South Africa or Rhodesia where a small minority of the population has been deliberately denying and suppressing the fundamental rights of a vast majority of the population.

Yet, the parallel goes only a small part of the way. Even Vorster or Ian Smith have not indulged in anything like the barbarities and reign of terror let loose on the majority of the country's population by the West Pakistan military junta. Yet *it is claimed that this is an internal matter of Pakistan.* Is it so?

The answer to this is provided by over six million terror-stricken people of East Pakistan who have fled their country to neighbouring India, constituting a grim witness to the colossal dimension of the East Pakistan tragedy.

For humanitarian reasons India, which has always been regarded by Pakistan as its enemy number one, has, despite its own population explosion and sacrifices, done whatever it could do to house, shelter and feed the vast number of refugees from East Pakistan.

The number of refugees fleeing East Pakistan into India is still increasing at a rate of fifty thousand a day. If a Government can force millions of its people to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

seek protection in another country, one wonders what earthly or heavenly right that Government has to remain in power any longer.

As the situation is reported to be, there seems little hope of the East Pakistan refugees in India being able to return to their own homes.

New Constitutional proposals announced by the Pakistani President are clearly calculated to perpetuate rule by a brutal minority in that country. *The time has therefore come for the U.N. and all freedom-loving peoples of the world to bring the maximum possible pressure on the military junta of Pakistan to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people—in this case Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League.* It is only by that that they can create conditions in East Pakistan which will enable millions of East Pakistan refugees in India to return to their homeland without fear of persecution or worse.

"It is only thus that one can hope to avoid an already dangerous and explosive situation from worsening with unpredictable and disastrous consequences."

"*Once again Palaver joins all right-thinking people in the world to condemn, in uneqivocal terms, the atrocities being perpetrated by the military junta in Pakistan against the defenceless people of East Pakistan.*"

(THE PALAVER WEEKLY—Ghana, July 8, 1971)

NORMALCY—WITH BAYONETS

Vecernje Novosti, July 8, 1971.

The Yugoslav daily *Vecernje Novosti* (July 8) in a report date lined Dacca captioned "Normalcy—with bayonets?" said:—

Three months after the military attack against the Bengali movement for autonomy, the first foreign journalists were allowed to enter East Pakistan, and even travel without escorts. Though the traces of destruction were removed, what remained speaks for itself about previous atrocities.

The capital Dacca is still in the shadow of fear, violence and terror. The Government calls it a "normal situation" though in the streets, everybody only whispers, and on the rough roads cars hardly appear. There are not many soldiers in Dacca, but the special police squads, transferred from West Pakistan stop the cars and passers-by and check them carefully. Arrests are also numerous.

The "normalcy" includes very severe punishments if somebody secretly listens to radio-station Bengal, and a large numbers of shops are still closed. Number plates on cars in Bengali have been substituted by English, and in empty streets and shops people whisper that the Army still chases Bengalis, arrests them and sometimes kills them.

Though traces of tanks and rockets have been removed, the devastation and fear are visible in the old part of Dacca, the area inhabited by the poorest class—the most devoted followers of the Awami League. Life returns unbelievably slowly in devastated markets and dirty narrow streets, because the majority of proprietors were Hindus, who were murdered mercilessly unless they abandoned their homes in time.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Out of 6.5 million Pakistanis, who escaped to India before pointed guns, about 4 million are Hindus. The Government decided to destroy their temples, and their houses were given to "loyal" citizens.

(VECERNJE NOVOSTI, Yugoslavia—July 8, 1971)

PAKISTAN CONDEMNED

The report of a World Bank mission to East Pakistan last month is a devastating indictment of the West Pakistani military crackdown in Bengal. It strongly challenges the Administration's policy of continuing both military and economic support for the Yahya Khan regime in Islamabad.

Excerpts from the report, published in this paper yesterday, tell of death and destruction throughout the region. A mission member describes the Bengali town of Kushtia, for example, as looking "like a World War II German town having undergone strategic bombing attacks" as a result of twelve days of "punitive action" by the West Pakistani Army. The Army, he reports, "terrorizes the population, particularly aiming at the Hindus and suspected members of the Awami League."

This official confirmation of earlier widespread reports of barbaric action in East Pakistan renders inexcusable any further shipment of American military equipment to the Pakistani armed forces. Military supplies already en route to Pakistan can and should be promptly diverted, just as food shipments were diverted from Chittagong soon after the outbreak of fighting. There are clear grounds for suspending all further military and economic aid to the Pakistani Government, excepting relief supplies, until the reign of terror in East Pakistan is ended and steps are taken to restore power to elected representatives of the people who are currently in prison or in hiding.

The World Bank also offers strong practical grounds for a moratorium on development assistance. Contrary to Pakistani Government claims, the mission reports that "the situation is very far indeed from normal, nor are there any signs that normality is being approached or that matters are even moving in that direction." Citing disruption in East Pakistan caused by "the general sense of fear and lack of confidence on the part of most of the population" and "the complete dislocation of the communications system," the report concludes that new international development efforts "will have to remain in a state of suspension for at least the next year or so".

Ten members of the eleven-nation Aid to Pakistan consortium apparently concurred with that finding when the group met in Paris last month. The United States inexplicably did not. Continuation of American development assistance to Pakistan is incomprehensible in the face of that international consensus and of the damning evidence contained in the World Bank report.

(THE NEW YORK TIMES—July 14, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WEST PAKISTAN PURSUES SUBJUGATION OF BENGALIS

The following dispatch was written by the New Delhi correspondent of The New York Times, who was expelled from East Pakistan on June 30:-

Army trucks roll through the half-deserted streets of the capital of East Pakistan these days, carrying "antistate" prisoners to work-sites for hard labor. Their heads are shaved and they wear no shoes and no clothes except for shorts—all making escape difficult.

Every day at the airport at Dacca, the capital, planes from West Pakistan, over a thousand miles across India, disgorge troops dressed in baggy pajama like tribal garb to appear less conspicuous.

Street designations are being changed to remove all Hindu names as well as those of Bengali Moslem nationalists as part of campaign to stamp out Bengali culture. Shankari Bazar Road in Dacca is now Tikka Khan Road, after the lieutenant general who is the martial-law governor of East Pakistan and whom most Bengalis call "the Butcher."

Those are but a few of the countless evidences, seen by this correspondent during a recent visit to the eastern province, that Pakistan's military regime is determined to make its occupation stick and to subjugate the region of 75 million people. The West Pakistanis are doing so despite a crippled economy, the collapse of governmental administration, widening guerrilla activity by the Bengali separatists, mounting army causalities and an alienated, sullen population.

To insure troop strength in East Pakistan, the Government has leased two Boing 707's for a year from a private Irish-owned charter airline, World Airways, to carry reinforcements for an army put at 70,000 to 80,000 men and replacements for casualties.

In addition to the daily troops arrivals, the Government is bringing in wave upon wave of West Pakistanis to replace East Pakistanis in Government jobs. No Bengali is trusted with a responsible or sensitive post ; even the man who cuts the grass at the Dacca airport is a non-Bengali.

Few Bengali taxi drivers remain. Their jobs have been given to non-Bengali Moslem migrants from India such as the Biharis, who have indentified and sided with the West Pakistani-dominated Government and who are serving as the army's civilian arm, informing and enforcing.

The West Pakistanis are discouraging the use of the Bengali language and trying to replace it with their own, Urdu. Soldiers tell the Bengalis disdainfully, that theirs is not really a civilized tongue and that they should start teaching their children Urdu if they want to get along. Merchants, out of fear, have replaced their signs with signs in English because they don't know Urdu.

'Peace Committees' formed

Throughout East Pakistan the Army is training new para-military home guards or simply arming "loyal" civilians, some of whom are formed into peace committees. Besides Biharis and other non-Bengali, Urdu-speaking Moslems, the recruits include the small minority of Bengali Moslems who have long supported the army—adherents of the right-wing religious parties such as the Moslem League and Jamaat-e-Islami.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the election last December those parties failed to win a single seat for East Pakistan in the National Assembly.

In a sense the election spawned the crisis, for the Awami League, an East Pakistani party campaigning for more self-rule for the province, unexpectedly won a national majority. With the previously suppressed Bengalis about to assume a strong national role, the leading political group of West Pakistan, the Pakistan People's party, refused to attend the coming session of the National Assembly, which was to have written a new constitution to restore civilian rule. President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan responded by postponing the session, set for March 3.

Negotiations and attack

Protests and rioting eruped in East Pakistan, and the Bengalis answered the Awami League's call for a non co-operation movement in defiance of the military.

The President flew to Dacca to negotiate with the Awami League leader, Sheik Mujibur Rahman. During their negotiations, on the night of March 25, the army launched a surprise attack on the largely unarmed civilian population to try to crush the autonomy movement. The league was banned and Sheik Mujib jailed as a traitor.

The initial Bengali resistance—led by men in the police and national army who had switched allegiance—was quickly routed, but it is now emerging from its Indian-border sanctuaries, with new recruits and supplies, to wage Vietnam-style guerilla warfare—and cause increasing torment to the army.

Since the offensive began the troops have killed countless thousands of Bengalis —foreign diplomats estimate at least 200,000 to 250,000—many in massacres. Although the targets were Bangali Moslems and the 10 million Hindus at first, the army is now concentrating on Hindus in what foreign observers characterise as a holy war.

The West Pakistani leaders have long considered the Hindus as subverters of Islam. They now view them as agents of Hindu India, which has been accused of engineering the autonomy movement to force Pakistan's disintegration.

Of the more than six million Bengalis who are believed to have fled to India to escape the army's terror, at least four million are Hindus. The troops are still killing Hindus and burning and looting their villages.

West Pakistani officials insist, however, that normalcy is returning and have appealed to the Hindus to "return to their homes and hearths," assuring them that they have nothing to fear. Only a handful of refugees have returned and the reception centers the Government has erected to show foreign visitors remain largely deserted.

Seeking restoration of aid

Army commanders recently spread the word that low-caste Hindus were welcome to return to their homes. Observers view the gesture cynically, pointing out that without the low-caste Hindus—menial labourers, sweepers and washermen—the army has no one to do its dirty work.

Apart from the refugees in India, there are in East Pakistan millions of displaced Bengalis who fled their home when the army came and are still afraid to return.

Recently there have been signs that the troops have been ordered to carry out their operations more subtly and less in the public eye. The orders, according to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

foreign diplomats, are inspired by Pakistan's desire to persuade an 11-nation consortium to resume economic aid, temporarily suspended in censure of the army repression.

[A special mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which co-ordinates the aid programme, has reported that the ravages by the military in East Pakistan will require that development efforts be suspended for at least a year. The mission made a widespread survey of the province in May and June.]

Diplomats in Dacca attribute Pakistan's decision to allow foreigners to travel freely through East Pakistan and to readmit foreign newsmen—who had been barred since the offensive began except as participants in Government-guided tours—as part of the campaign to restore the aid.

Nonetheless the killing though it is more selective and less wholesale, has not stopped, and the outlook, most observers believe, is for a long and bloody struggle.

Bengalis pass the word

Foreign missionaries who are posted even in the remotest parts of East Pakistan report new massacres almost daily. One missionary said that the army recently killed over 1,000 Hindus in a day in a section of Barisal District, in the south. Another reported that in Sylhet District, in the northeast, a "peace committee", called a meeting of all the residents of one area, ostensibly to work out a reconciliation. When everyone had gathered troops arrived, picked out the 300 Hindus in the crowd, led them away and shot them.

Whenever a Bengali talks to a foreigner in public he is running a risk. At ferry crossings Bengalis sidled up to this correspondent's car to whisper a few scraps of information about army terror or, with a quick smile, about a raid by the guerillas of the liberation army.

As soon as six or seven people gathered a West Pakistani soldier or policeman would saunter over, glowering at the Bengalis, and they would melt away.

The presence of the army and its civilian informers notwithstanding, the Bengalis somehow find a way to tell their stories to the foreign visitor—by slipping notes into his car or arranging clandestine meetings.

At one such meeting in a town not far from Dacca, a merchant related that a soldier arrested him one day for no reason, confiscated his money and watch and took him to the police station, where he was jailed for a night before being—miraculously, he felt—released.

The merchant said he had spent the night praying and reading the messages that covered the walls of his cell—scrawled there by previous prisoners. The messages, he said, were nearly all alike giving the name and address of the prisoner and the date of his arrest and saying: "I may not live. Please tell my family what happened to me."

Not one of them has been heard from since, the merchant added.

Property damage heavy

The killings have been matched by the property damage the army has inflicted everywhere. In the countryside—for miles at a stretch sometimes—villages have been burned to the ground on both sides of the road. In the cities and towns large areas have been reduced to rubble by heavy gunfire.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Bengalis say the troops were simply bent on wanton destruction. The army says that it never fired unless fired upon, but field commanders boast that in most towns there was little or no resistance.

Why all the devastation ? they are asked. It was all done by " miscreants," is the stock answer.

Though some Bengalis are trickling back to population centres, most towns still have only half or less of their original numbers, and parts of some areas, like the northwest region, are virtually deserted.

Fields of untended rice are choked with weeds. On jute plots where dozens of farm labourers once toiled only a few bent backs can be seen. East Pakistan's jute, the tough fiber for gunny sacks, is the mainstay of the national economy, being the biggest single export and earner of foreign exchange. All signs indicate that the coming crop will be a poor one.

Even if the crop were good, the jute factories, with much of their skilled labour gone, could not handle it. They are operating far below capacity.

River traffic harassed

The insurgents continue to harass river traffic, trying to disrupt military movements and prevent harvested jute from reaching the factories. They have already sunk several jute barges in the Jessore-Khulna region, a rich jute area.

The East Pakistani tea industry has been even more badly crippled, and the Government has reportedly had to order two million pounds from foreign sources for West Pakistani consumers.

West Pakistan's economy is one of the roots of the bloodshed. Another is the wide ethnic gap between the lightskinned, Middle Eastern Punjabis who dominate in the western wing and the dark-skinned, Southeast Asian Bengalis of the east. Except for their common religion, Islam, the two peoples are as different as can be.

From Pakistan's formation 21 years ago, the more prosperous western wing with a minority (55 million) of the population, was looked down on and exploited the poorer Bengali majority. The Bengalis grew bitter as they watched the foreign exchange earned in the east go to pay for the West Pakistani-dominated army and built the industries and development projects of the west.

Even the few development projects in East Pakistan have been halted now because of the terror, insecurity and lack of civilian administration in the countryside.

Resistance seems to grow

Nevertheless, the military, by rounding up labourers, has finally gotten the key ports of Chittagong and Chalna functioning again at a reasonably effective level, but there are goods to load onto outgoing ships except what was in warehouses before the fighting.

Food shortages are becoming serious in some areas and experts predict that the situation could reach famine proportions unless the army can restore the disrupted transport system and distribute available food.

Such restoration does not seem likely because the Bengali resistance, though still disorganized, appears to be gathering momentum—with increasing assistance and sanctuary, and sometimes covering fire, from India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Thousands of young Bengalis are being trained in demolition and guerilla tactics—often on the Indian side of the border, with India providing many of the instructors. The first elements of the new guerillas are beginning to flow back into East Pakistan.

More and more road and railway bridges are being blown up and electrical power supplies knocked out. Some of the demolition work has been expert. Road mines are becoming common. Often the army, which is on combat alert, cannot get local contractors to repair the damage, so it uses forced labour, with meager results.

Outside Comilla not long ago the guerillas blew a rail bridge. A repair train was sent out with army guards. The guerillas attacked the repair train in broad daylight, killing the fireman and taking a hostage. The train sped back into town.

(SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG In New York Times—July 14, 1971)

A NATION DIVIDED

Peter R. Kann, in Wall Street Journal, New York, July 23, 1971

EAST PAKISTAN CONFLICT IS COMPLICATED BY RACE, RELIGION AND POVERTY

No Immediate Solution Seen; Residents Barely Subsist; Police State Grips Bengalis

'Problems? There Are None'

The doctor sits behind a desk in his street-front office in an East Pakistani town, occasionally glancing out at the road lined with the charred debris and looted shells of shops and homes.

A vehicle with UNICEF markings on its doors but with armed West Pakistani soldiers inside cruises by. Otherwise, the street is all but deserted.

The doctor sits in his office only because he has been ordered to. His family is hiding in a village somewhere outside of town. He speaks in a whisper because any passerby could be an informer. At night, when the army goes knocking on doors, he lives with the fear that his name may be on one of its lists.

He whispers of recent events in this town: the streets littered with bloated and decomposing bodies; the burning, looting and raping and the continuing terror. "We are afraid to speak the truth. Those who speak the truth are punished, and the only punishment is death," he says.

The doctor is an army veteran, which makes him a special target for his former colleagues. But his real crime is being a Bengali in a land of Bengalis that also happens to be part of the map of Pakistan, It is now a land of death and fear.

Causes washed away by blood

It is less than four months since the civil fighting in East Pakistan began, but already the causes of the conflict seem almost academic. Its geographical and historical roots, the legalities and moralities—all seems to have been washed away by blood. No one really knows how many poeole have been killed in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

East Pakistan since March 25, but Western diplomats say the minimum is 200,000. The maximum exceeds one million.

The events fall into three stages.

The first was a Bengali political movement aimed at ending two decades of economic and political exploitation by the West Pakistanis. It culminated, in March elections in national political victory for the Bengali Awami League and its platform of greater East Pakistan autonomy. But on March 25 the Pakistan army (an almost entirely West Pakistani institution), fearing that East Pakistan was moving toward independence, cracked down in Dacca, the East Pakistan capital. Bengali students were massacred, politicians were arrested and the Awami League was outlawed.

The second stage was a fairy-tale few weeks in which the Bengalis proclaimed and celebrated their independence. Some thoudsands of East Pakistan's non-Bengali minority were killed during this period, in which the army, perhaps overly cautious, remained in the capital and in a number of military camps. But the illusion of independence ended in mid-April when the army emerged to crush the revolution. Tens of thousands of Bengalis were salin as town after town was retaken, burned and looted. There was little military opposition. Some six million Bengalis, most of them from the Hindu minority group that became a special army target, began fleeing into India.

Now the third stage

The third and present stage is army occupation—a terrorized Bengali population being ruled by military force and crude police-state tactics. West Pakistan officials say everything is rapidly returning to normal. But the economy is woefully disrupted, factories are idle, schools are closed, roads are mostly empty and towns are largely deserted. Millions of Bengalis, particularly Hindus and middle-class Moslems, are still hinding in the countryside. About 50,000 refugees are still fleeing to India each day. And army rule is being challenged by Bengali guerrilla forces (the Mukti Bahani, or Liberation Army) that seem to have massive support among the Bengali population. The guerrillas are still lacking in training and organization, but supplies and border sanctuaries are being provided by India.

Ten days of travelling across East Pakistan and talks with scores of diverse people here indicate that the fourth stage eventually will be an independent East Pakistan : Bangla Desh, or Bengal Nation. But clearly much more killing will take place before Bangla Desh comes to pass.

No solution, including independence, holds any bright hopes for East Pakistans predominantly peasant society, which, in accordance with the Mohammed's Prophet instruction to "go forth and multiply," is propagating itself into starvation. Its 75 million people already are barely subsisting 1,600 to the square mile, and this population will double within 25 years. A half-million Bengalis were killed by a cyclone last fall. A half million more were born in 87 days. Perhaps only in East Pakistan could a disaster of the cyclone's magnitude be overshadowed by a greater one—this civil war —only six months later.

Primitive conceptions of guilt

Poverty, ignorance and frustration have turned this conflict into Congo as well as an Algeria. Men are killing each other not only in the name of politics but also over race and religion. The Moslem philosophy of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is made more terrible by primitive conceptions of collective guilts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The army kills Bengalis. The non-Bengali minority of about two million (commonly called Biharis) backs the army. So Bengalis kill Biharis. The army and the Biharis see this as ample reason to butcher more Bengalis. The Hindu minority of bout 10 million becomes a convenient army scapegoat, and even some Bengali Moslems can be persuaded to join in their salughter. Amid this choas, various villages, gangs and individuals have been attacking each other for economic gain or to settle private scores.

These are the tales of some of the people encountered on a trip through East Pakistan. As with the doctor, the names of Bengalis and the towns in which they live are omitted. Bengalis, in talking to a reporter, fear for their lives. Most don't talk at all ; in some towns not even beggars will approach a stranger. Normally among the world's most voluble people, the Bengalis now talk mostly with their eyes—eyes that look away in fear or that stare down in shame or that try to express meanings in furtive glances.

A lawyer and his sons have been fortunate. When one asks a Bengali how he is these days. he replies, "I am alive." The lawyer and his sons not only are alive but are living in their own home. They are also hiding in their own home, for they leave it only rarely. "It is too easy to be arrested on the street," the lawyer says, "A seven-year-old can point a finger at me and call me a miscreant, and I will be taken away."

Miscreant is the term the Pakistan army applies to all who oppose it. "All Bengalis are miscreants now," the lawyer's younger son says. He is a law student, but students are a special army target, and most are in hiding. The universities are closed. "What use would there be learning law anyway now that there is no law in our country ?" the son asks.

It is evening, and the discussion is taking place in the lawyer's home. Before talking, he closes the wooden shutters on the windows. Then he has second thoughts—"someone who passes by may report a conspiracy"—and so the shutters are partly reopened.

They talk of "the troubles," of how, when word of the army's March 25 attack in Dacca reached this town, the Awami League took control. There was orderly rule under the Bangla Desh flag until mid-April, when air-force planes strafed the town. People panicked. The Awami Leaguers and their military force, the Mukti Bahani, began to flee along with thousands of others. But it was several days before the army reached the town, and during that time angry Bengali mobs attacked and slaughetered hundreds of Biharis.

Relative to its actions elsewhere, the army, when it arrived, showed restraint. Most of the town remains undamaged, although much of it was looted by the army and its mobs. About half the population has returned and many shops have reopened, though not under former management. Hindu shopkeepers have disappeared, and Biharis and other army backers have taken over. And, as everywhere, the arrests continue.

Four Christian Bengalis are arrested by the army at a roadblock. Not many buses travel East Pakistan's roads these days, and those that do are frequently stopped, and their passengers are lined up and searched. Few of the soldiers at these checkpoints speak any Bengali (Urdu is the language of West Pakistan), and so a common way of finding "miscreants" is to lift men's sarongs. Moslems are circumcised ; Hindus aren't. Some West Pakistani soldiers came to East Pakistan thinking all Bengalis were Hindu. More sophisticated soldiers simply think that all Hindus are "miscreants," but then so are many Bengali Moslems. So it is all very confusing for the soldiers, and the four Christians are arrested.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

For Christians, No Beatings

They are taken to a military cantonment and beaten for several hours by interrogators who don't speak their language. A Westerner hears of their arrest and protests. So the matter comes to the attention of an army major, who summons the four Christians and offers apologies : " It is our policy not to beat Christians," he explains.

A shopkeeper, a thin Bengali with wirerimmed spectacles, glances out from his shop at two strangers walking down the deserted street. They enter the shop and inquire about " the troubles " in this town, The shopkeeper is visibly trembling " There is nothing I can say ", he replies. Then he glances again at the flattened buildings lining the main street and whispers, " Look around you." As the visitors leave, he adds, voice cracking, " I am ashamed I cannot. . . . . "

Further down the street a youth approaches. " The army destroyed our city. Many Bengalis are being arrested. They are being shot every night and thrown into the river. We no longer eat the fish from the river," he whispers.

The youth guides the strangers to the local hospital to talk to a surgeon. The surgeon is a Bengali but is employed by the government, which means he is particularly vulnerable. He is asked about killing in the city. " Killing ? What killing ? Killing by whom?" He is asked about general problems. " Problems? What problems ? There are no problems."

Belaboring the obvious

The visitors take their leave. Outside the hospital the youth whispers: " You have talked to the doctor, but I think he has concealed the truth. He is afraid." It is explaining the obvious.

A professor and his student are talking about the prospects of students returning to classes in early August, when the university is supposed to reopen. They are pessimistic. Some students are hiding in their homes, others have fled to outlying villages or to India. Some have joined the Mukti Bahani. The campus has been turned into a military camp, and troops are quartered in the dormitories, using books to fuel their cooking fires. " Would you come back?" the professor asks.

The student, a girl, has a room in a house that overlooks an army interrogation center. " All day the students, young boys, are brought in and beatern," she says. " Three soldiers walk on them with boots. All night we hear the sereams. I cannot sleep. We cannot stand to see and hear these things."

" Our army had a good reputation, " the professor says. " We had a great army. But look what it has done. How can an army be great when it fights in an immoral cause?"

Two army majors are standing at a ferry landing on the east bank of the Ganges River. One is a frogman, the other one served in the camel corps. Both seem to be civilized and charming men. They explain that they are fighting a patriotic war to defend the integrity of their country against Indian agents, miscreants and misguided individuals. " We saw atrocities that made our blood boil. Had you seen them, even you would have wanted to kill," he says of a town where some Biharis were butchered by Bengalis. (The town was later leveled by the army and a far greater number of Bengalis were killed).

The majors are asked why so many Bengalis have fled, particularly Hindus. The answer is imaginative. They say that in April, before the army restored order, Hinuds told Moslems that the " holy Koran is just an old book. So the Moslems

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

came out of their homes to defend the holy Koran and many Hindus fled." There has been much killing, the camel-corps major grants. "The crocodiles have gotten fat," says the frogman, glancing out at the Ganges.

But all is returning to normal, they say, and the Bengali people aren't afraid of the army. A ferry is landing, and a group of Bengali labourers, recruited by the army to reopen a jute mill, edges past the majors in single file. Each of them bows his head in a subservient salute as he passes the officers.

Not all army officers are as sympathetic as these majors. Western residents of one town tell of an army captain approaching a young Hindu girl and telling her to feel the barrel of his gun. "You feel it is still warm," he said. "From killing Hindus," he added, laughing—but not joking.

An old Bihari who served as a bearer in the British Indian army many years ago is now a waiter at a roadside hostel on the outskirts of a town more than half destroyed. He supports the army and thus isn't afraid to talk. He explains that for several April days, after the Awami League people fled but before the army arrived, things were bad for the Biharis. Mobs of Bengalis ran through the streets shouting (and he lapses into his old Indian-army English), "Kill the Bihar buggers, burn the Bihari buggers." Some Biharis were killed, he says, but most weren't. Then the army arrived. "The army kill many Bengali buggers," he says. "And the Hindu buggers, they run away to India. It is very bad days, Sahib."

A Hindu, one of the richest and most respected men in his community before the fighting, was a philanthropist who had built schools, hospitals, and irrigation systems for the predominantly Moslem peasants in his area. He considered himself fully Pakistani. Although a Bengali, he hadn't backed the Awami League but rather had supported the more conservative and even anti-Hindu Moslem League.

The hunter becomes the hunted

For nearly a month after the civil war began but before the army arrived in his area (and thus during the period Biharis were in danger from Bengalis), the Hindu sheltered two Biharis in his home. When mobs came looking for them, he protected them. But, with the arrival of the army, roles reversed, and Bengalis —particularly Hindu Bengalis—became the hunted.

Hindu villages were burned by the army, and mobs were encouraged to plunder Hindu homes. Under army orders the local Hindu temple was smashed to the ground by men wielding sledgehammers.

The Hindu and his family fled to the village hut of a friend, where they have been hiding for more than two months. His first daylight emergence from this hiding place was for a rendezvous with two reporters. He walked across the rice paddies in the late afternoon, dressed as a peasant and shielding his face with a black umbrella.

He hadn't fled to India like so many other Hindus because he hoped the army would move on and life might somehow return to what it had been before. But the army remains, Hindus are still being searched out and shot, and now it is too risky to try to reach the border from this area.

Only a few close friends know his hiding place. One of them is a Moslem League official, an influential man these days since many Moslem Leaguers are supporting the army. "He knows where I am hiding, but he dare not help me," the Hindu says. He believes that nearly all Moslem Bengalis sympathize with the Hindus. "But what can they do? They, too, are in danger and they are afraid."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

All the Hindu's property is on an army list of "alien properties." In other areas it is called "enemy properties," but in either case it is scheduled to be confiscated and put up for auction. The Hindu talks much about losing his property—but the greater danger is losing his life.

"My Moslem friends tell me that Hindu bodies taken from the river are so disfigured from tortures that the faces cannot be identified," the Hindu says before picking up his umbrella and heading back across the fields to his hiding place.

A Headmaster Recites His Lesson

The travelers visit a town near the Indian border. One of the last towns to be retaken by the army, it is heavily damaged and is still largely deserted. Here the local peace commitee—a unit composed of some Biharis and conservative Bengali Moslem Leaguers who serve as the local eyes and ears of the army—assigns two youths to guide and shadow the visitors. "Come to the school and talk to the headmaster," they say.

The headmaster, a middle-aged Bengali, sits behind his desk. The reporters sit facing him. And standing behind the reporters, also facing the headmaster, are the young peace-committee shadows. In a faltering voice the headmaster begins to recite statistics of school enrollment, dates when schoolhouse corner-stones were laid—anything uncontroversial. At the end of each sentence he glances up, past the reporters, to the shadows, like a schoolboy reciting his lessons to a teacher with a stick.

How was the school damaged? the reporters ask. "There was some strafing," he mumbles. Then, looking up at the teen-age shadows, he hurriedly adds, "and may be it was damaged by miscreants."

As the reporters and their shadows leave, the professor mumbles, "We are trying to hold together," and then he stares down at the ground.

Peter R. Kann in wall Street Journal,
New York—July 23, 1971.

THE AGONY AND THE DANGER

Editorial, The Christian Science Monitor, 31, 1971.

We have been clinging as long as possible to the hope that somehow the government and people of Pakistan would grope their way back to a tolerable relationship between the two separate parts of their bleeding and burning country, but with the greatest regret we must face the prospect that it is now too late for reconciliation.

The official government of Pakistan four months ago unleashed a military fury upon the people of what was then known as East Pakistan. The results make up one of the horrors of history.

Some seven million people from East Pakistan have taken refuge in India from the ruthlessness of the West Pakistan Army. At least a quarter of a million people have died. Estimates range up to a million. Cholera has been rampant. Famine is now taking its toll both among refugees in India and among those still clinging to the wreckage of their homes and lives. The refugee problem in India is beyond the capacity of India.

* * * *

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

One measure of the meaning of what has happened is that people talking about the place where all this happened again call it Bengal, which is what it has been called down through the ages except for the few years from 1947 until now.

There was a theory, back in 1947, that because a majority of the people in the Punjab and in Bengal were Muslim these two segments of the subcontinent could be linked into a single nation although separated by 1,100 miles of territory under the Government of India.

It might have worked had the people of the two parts of the proposed new state of Pakistan been of the same language, race, and culture as they were of religion. It might have worked in practice had the fewer Punjabis been willing to let the more numerous Bengalis share fairly in the combined government and in the enjoyment of the resources of the two provinces.

But in practice the Punjabis have dominated the government and have taken the lion's share of the wealth of Bengal to the Punjab. The attempted union of the two-in-one state called Pakistan turned out in practice to mean the domination and the exploitation of the 75 million people of Bengal by the 56 million people of the Punjab, or West Pakistan.

The treatment of Bengal was a logical progression from history. The West Pakistanis of today descend from the Persian, Afghan, and Pathan hill tribes whe came down from the mountains of the north–west some 800 years ago and imposed their rule and their Muslim religion on the physically smaller and less warlike peoples of the valley and delta of the Ganges.

But the two peoples never became one people in anything but religion. The Punjabis have always been the conquerors, the Bengalis the conquered.

* * * *

Last March that status of conqueror and conquered was put to the test. The Bengalis won at the polls the right to take over the government of Pakistan. They had the majority of the votes. But when it came to working out the constitutional consequences the Punjabis turned loose their Army in the middle of the night and began one of the great slaughters of history. It was an effort to reassert the conquest of 800 years ago.

Today, four months later, the Pakistan Army controls the main cities of Bengal, but not the countryside. Resistance is increasing. The guerrillas have been able twice to knock out the power stations serving Dacca, the capital. They frequently cut the rail lines from Dacca to the other cities. The occupying Punjabi (West Pakistan) Army faces precisely the same prospect in Bengal that the Thieu regime in South Vietnam faced back before massive American intervention—the prospect of a pacification program stretching endlessly into the future.

This tragic and dreadful condition leaves everyone concerned with two problems. There is the immediate problem of how to put an end to the horror and misery in Bengal. The Punjabis must give up a military repression policy which is atavistic, self-defeating, and is bringing into being the very thing it was designed to prevent; the existence of a separate Bengal.

But it very much seems that this can happen only if some progress might be made toward the solution of the larger problem; the problem of the relations of the great powers to Pakistan.

There is no effective pressure on the official government of Pakistan as Islamabad to abate the terror in Bengal because China and the United States have chosen not to risk intervention whereas Russia is becoming the main outside

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

friend of India. Washington refuses to do anything which might alienate Gen. Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan who was involved in the breakthrough in Sino-U.S relations. The Chinese, naturally, cling to their advantage in Pakistan. And everyone is aware of how dangerous an apple of discord an independent Bengal would be. It could trigger a war between Russia and China.

* * * *

The theoretical solution is easy. All it requires would be an agreement between Russia, China, the United States, and India that Bengal should be free and untroubled by either China or Russia.

That's "all" it would take, but getting it appears to be presently impossible. China must be greatly tempted at the possibility of acquiring control of the Ganges basin with an outlet on the Indian Ocean. Russia certainly would go to great lengths to prevent any such thing.

Meanwhile war could break out again between India and Pakistan at any moment. It is almost more than India can bear to have so many of its Hindu kinfolk being killed by Punjabi Muslims just over the border.

India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, deserves highest marks for her own restraint and the restraint she has imposed upon her generals.

But the fragile peace which still prevails among the surrounding powers is being bought at the price of the misery of the Bengal people.

The only faint hope we can see for a long-term settlement would be from a meeting of those countries with vital interests in the result. Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China has proposed to President Nixon a conference to consider the Vietnam problem. A conference which included China, Russia, India, and the United States could also do some quiet work on the side about Bengal and Pakistan.

The tragedy and the danger underline the need for a new "concert of the great powers". Nothing else has ever yet been invented which could manage a problem of such proportions and complexities.

(THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR—July 31, 1971)

PAKISTAN ARMY ON CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Clare Hollingworth, in Sunday Telegraph, London, August, 1971

President Yahya Khan is expected to visit East Pakistan today or next Tuesday. He will arrive in Dacca at the height of a psychological warfare campaign by Bangla Desh guerrillas.

This is designed not against the West Pakistanis or the army but rather to frighten the Bengali population from areas of future actions.

The guerrillas claim they will soon take "dramatic action". The Bengalis have been warned not to go near the airport.

There was a clash on Friday night, at Farmgate, an industrial suburb between the city and the airport, between the guerrillas and the army.

The exchange of automatic fire and loud explosions could be heard throughout the city and six guerrillas are reported killed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Far more serious was the destruction by the army of three Christian villages of Loodaria, Nalchata and Laripara near Dacca, situated on the branch railway line which runs from Tungi to Arikhold on a high embankment.

This is the first time the Defence Forces have been involved in the burning down and flattening of houses of purely Christian communities. The guerrillas had derailed a train some miles away along the line—I saw the results of this action.

At the moment these villages are completely surrounded by water and many of the men who live there work in offices and hotels in Dacca. They say that between 3,000 and 4,000 Christians have been rendered homeless and a few hundred were taken away by the army for questioning.

Although these events took place on Wednesday, I have been unable to obtain any comment from the military spokesman, who has not been available since then. The Catholic clegly in the area are deeply concerned by this first attack on members of their community.

Clare Hollingworth, in **SUNDAY TELEGRAPH**, London—August 1, 1971

OBLIGATIONS IN PAKISTAN

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, August 1, 1971

"It is the most incredible, calculated thing since the days of the Nazis in Poland," reports a high United States official on the situation in East Pakistan. The statistics are staggering: At least 200,000 and possibly as many as 700,000 dead; more than 6,500,000 refugees in India, with additional millions displaced within East Pakistan; more than 50,000 a day still crossing into India; thousands still dying, the victims of hunger, disease and the bayonets of the West Pakistan army.

This has been going on for four months, since the military forces of the dominant Western portion of the divided country moved with weapons, supplied over the years by the United States, to crush an uprising in the East. At first the rebels wanted little more than fair representation in the government. Now there is growing guerrilla resistance, with apparent help for the rebels by India, and there is increasing doubt whether Pakistan can ever be reunited. It may be that in the end the Bengalis of East Pakistan and India will together create a new state of "Bangla Desh".

The role of the United States in this Asian crisis leaves much to be desired, to say the least. As one observer put it, the U.S. seems to be doing enough to earn the enmity of the Bangalis but not enough to win West Pakistan's friendship. This is the result of a policy of equivocation by which we castigate the West Pakistanis for what they are doing in the East, withhold economic assistance even while the country is starving, and continue to send arms to the central government on the perverted assumption that it is in this country's "strategic interests" to do so.

If strategic interests are of primary concern, then the top priority is to bring the conflict to an end and to divert Washington's resources toward reconstruction of East Pakistan. Only destructive purposes will be served by continued dispatch of arms. Washington's excuse that the shipments (not actually on a decisive scale) are no more than fulfilling terms of agreements made between Pakistan and the United States before the hostilities simply won't stand up. As Senator Symington

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has said: "We have continued these shipments not because we were powerless to stop them, but because we decided not to stop them." The U.S. must decide otherwise.

The human misery being chronicled in the American press is a reminder that, contrary to Santayana's warning, man does not have to forget history in order to repeat it. Most of the world remembers the silence while millions of civilians perished at the hands of the Nazis. There was the excuse that no one knew what was going on in the concentration camps. The slaughter and torment of the East Pakistanis may not be comparable to the systematic extermination of the Jews, but it is bad enough. And no one can say, "I didn't know."

It seems to us the United States is obligated to give a great deal more assistance to the unfortunates in East Pakistan and across the border in India, and to insist that the West Pakistan army withdraw from the East. It is too late for constructive measures that could have been taken weeks ago; it may even be too late to prevent the conflict from developing into a wider struggle. But it surely cannot be too late to help the miserable.

(ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH—August 1, 1971)

BENGAL THE MURDER OF A PEOPLE

Newsweek, August 2, 1971

It seemed a routine enough request. Assembling the young men of the village of Haluaghat in East Pakistan, a Pakistani Army major informed them that his wounded soldiers urgently needed blood. Would they be donors? The young men lay down on makeshift cots, needles were inserted in their veins— and then slowly the blood was drained from their bodies until they died.

Govinda Chandramandl forgets who told him first, but when he heard that an amnesty had been pledged to all refugees, he immediately set off on the long walk home. With his two teen-age daughters by his side, Chandramandl trudged through monsoon-drenched swamplands and past burned-out villages. When he neared his scrap of land, soldiers stopped him. As he watched in helpless anguish, his daughters were raped—again and again and again.

He was about 3 years old, and his mother was still in her teens. They sat on ground made muddy by the steady drizzle of the summer rains. The baby's stomach was grotesquely distended, his feet swollen, his arm no thicker than a man's finger. His mother tried to coax him to eat some rice and dried fish. Finally, the baby mouthed the food feebly, wheezed—and died.

Few people seem more alien to Westerners than the Pakistanis. When thousands of them perish in various natural disasters that regularly plague their country, the newspaper accounts of their suffering have a curious unreality. And yet today, no one can escape the nightmare vision of Pakistan's civil war: a quarter of a million Bengalis dead, another 6 million or more driven into desperate exile as the result of a deliberate effort to terrorize an entire people. It is as if a city the size of Bonn, Germany had been obliterated and the population of London made suddenly homeless. Even in a world jaded by war and atrocity, suffering on that scale still comes as a sickening shock.

And there is more to it than that. Far more horrifying than the prospect that Pakistan may destroy itself are the signs that its brutal civil war could spark yet another, wider conflict between Moslem Pakistan and its archenemy, Hindu

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India. Last week, Pakistan's President Mohammed Yahya Khan angrily declared that if India expands its surreptitious support of Bangla Desh, as the secessionist Bengal nation is known, "I shall declare a general war—and let the world take note." The world would have to. For should that happen, Pakistan's ally, China, and India's ally, Russia, would be hard-pressed to avoid involvement. And the United States could be faced with the dangerous necessity to choose sides.

Already, the realities of geopolitics have confronted the U.S. with the thankless task of choosing between strategic and humanitarian considerations. Straining to preserve its influence with Yahya's government, yet anxious to help the suffering Bengalis, America has succeeded only in embroiling itself in a bitter controversy (box, page 12). Last week that controversy was intensified when Sen. Edward Kennedy disclosed the contents of confidential messages from U.S. diplomats in Pakistan. *specter of famine hangs over East Pakistan*, read one cable. *Prospects for averting widespread hunger, suffering and perhaps starvation not repeat not good.* Kennedy's clear implication was that the Nixon Administration was seeking to cover up the magnitude of the Bengali tragedy. And, not content with that, he went on to intimate that the U.S. had plans to send police teams to East Pakistan to help Yahya's Punjabi soldiers suppress Bengali resistance.

Two divergent cultures

Such a cold-blooded move, should it ever come to pass, would ensnarl the U.S. in one of the most intractable racial and cultural conflicts of modern times. Physically and politically, Pakistan is unique among the world's nations; between its rugged, relatively empty western region and its desperately overpopulated eastern region lie 1,000 miles of Indian territory. And more than space divides the two parts of Pakistan. It is a nation of two radically divergent cultures, of two totally different peoples who have despised each other through history. The lighter-skinned, aggressive Punjabis of West Pakistan scorn the Bengalis of the east as spiritless peasants or tricky tradesmen. And the Bengalis, whose rich rice land and lucrative jute crops have paid Pakistan's bills ever since the founding of the country in 1947, regard the Punjabis as barbarians—and, to make matters worse, oppressive barbarians who have monopolized Pakistan's government and army. Snapped one Bengali leader: "We have never been anything but a colony of the west."

Chafing after decades of subjugation, the Bengalis responded with frenzied enthusiasm when their fiery, leonine hero, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, led them to the pools last December in Pakistan's first free elections after twelve years of military rule. Spurred on by the flam-boyant oratory of Mujib (as his worshipful followers call him), the Bengalis voted in such numbers that Mujib and his Awami League won an absolute majority of seats in the country's new National Assembly. Suddenly it seemed that Bengal's time had come. But as it turned out, Mujib's platform of economic and diplomatic autonomy for the east was too great a threat to be endured by Punjabi leaders. Unwilling to play second fiddle to Mujib, West Pakistan's most popular politician, the left-leaning Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, refused to participate in the new Parliament. And in the end President Yahya abruptly postponed the opening of the assembly indefinitely.

Plans for slaughter

Within hours of Yahya's decree, Mujib proclaimed a general strike in East Pakistan. To this day, Pakistani officials maintain that Yahya personally appealed to Mujib for a compromise that would heal the nation's wounds. But most observers believe that Yahya had other plans all the while. Weeks before the Yahya—Mujib meeting actually took place, the President and his right-hand man, Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, were already mapping out plans for Mujib's arrest, the dissolution of the Awami League and the slaughter of Bengali nationalists.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Known as "the bomber of Baluchistan" for his indiscriminate use of air and artillery strikes in crushing a local tribal revolt in 1965, Tikka Khan apparently persuaded Yahya to buy time for the army to build up its strength in Bengal. Accordingly, Yahya made his bid for discussions with Mujib. And while the two leaders talked—and Bengalis as well as the world at large looked for a compromise that might save Pakistan—the army pulled off a logistics coup. Flying the long over-water route around southern India (map, page 13) with Boeing 707s commandeered from Pakistan International Airways, the army doubled its troop strength in Bengal to 60,000 men. When Tikka gave the word that all was ready, Yahya flew out of Dacca. And that very night, the bomber of Baluchistan unleashed his troops.

Under instructions to strike brutally on the theory that a savage surprise attack would snuff out resistance quickly, the army obeyed its orders with a vengeance. Tanks crashed through the streets of East Pakistani's capital of Dacca, blasting indiscriminately at men and buildings. With cold ferocity, Punjabi soldiers machine-gunned clusters of citizens, while others set fire to slum hutches throughout the city. Soon, the city was littered with bodies, and the campus of Dacca University—a hotbed of secessionism—was a bloody shambles.

Throughout that blood-drenched night and in the days and weeks that followed. the carnage continued. And the massacres were not limited to Dacca but were carried on throughout the countryside as well. After a desperate visit to his native village on the Indian border, a sobbing Bengali journalist told how the land had been devastated: "I passed through a dozen villages which had been burned and deserted, with bodies everywhere being eaten by crows. The smell! The horror! I kept praying it would not be like that at my village. But it was. The village was just a mass of charred rubble and corpses. My wife and child were missing. There was just one old lady alive and she could no longer talk. She just sat on the ground, shaking and moaning."

With the passing of time, the magnitude of the slaughter has diminished, but there has been no lessening in the brutality of the Pakistani Army. Last week, *Newsweek's* Loren Jenkins, who was in Dacca the night that Gen. Tikka Khan's troops launched their campaign of murder, cabled the following report on conditions in East Pakistan now:

Four months after the first flush of bloodletting, East Pakistan still lives in fear. But instead of being the cowering, groveling fear that the army sought to instill, it is a sullen fear tinged with quiet defiance and hate. It is a fear based on the appreciation of a very harsh reality, not a fear that marks people of broken spirit. Walking along a Dacca street recently, I met a journalist I had known before. Our eyes met and he nodded, but he appeared embarrassed. Glancing nervously all around, he muttered, "My God, my God. Civilized man cannot describe the horror that has been done." An hour later another friend explained: "We have been ordered not to talk to foreign journalists. We are sacred. We live in terror of the midnight knock on the door. So many people have been killed. So many more have disappeared. And more vanish every night."

One who vanished in the night was Mujib, who is now reportedly held in prison in the western garrison town of Mianwali. A hero before, Mujib has now become a martyr. For all his conspicuous faults, he has become the symbol of Bengali patriotism. Yet Yahya, almost boastfully, told a recent visitor, "My generals are pushing for a military trial for Mujib and for his execution. I have agreed and the trial will be held soon." No policy could be more short-sighted or more likely to harden Bengali resistance. As one Western diplomat told me, "Yahya is simply out of his mind. He still doesn't even understand what the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

army has done. He thinks they can kill off a couple of hundred thousand people, try Mujib for treason, force a return to order and all will be forgotten. This is utter non-sense. These people will not forget."

Guerrilla Resistance

Indeed, the minds of Bengalis are emblazoned with the memories of these months of terror. Despite the terror, signs of resistance to the army creep up everywhere. In Dacca, street urchins hawking the local papers slip mimeographed communiques from the government-in-exile into the newspapers. On ferry boats in the countryside, where all passengers are under the watchful eyes of the army, strangers sidle up and whisper of massacres or point out areas in the dense Madhupur jungle where the "Mukti Bahini," or Liberation Army, is hiding. All over the country, the resistance is rapidly taking on the earmarks of a classic guerrilla war. And East Pakistan is ideal guerrilla terrain reminiscent of South Vietnam's Mekong Delta—a labyrinth of sunken paddies, jute fields and banana groves.

That the Mukti Bahini are capitalizing on their few assets is brought home daily. They have cut the key railroad to Dacca from the port of Chittagong and have also severed the parallel road. More than 60 per cent of the interior's food supplies moves over those routes and there is virtually no prospect of restoring them until peace is also restored. The rebels' recent coup in blowing up three power stations in Dacca has underscored the point that no city or village is hostilities is the possibility that Communist China and Russia would become involved. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai has denounced "Indian expansionists" and has promised Yahya that Peking would support the Pakistanis "in their just struggle to safeguard their state sovereignty." And Chou could handily translate his pledge into action—by ordering Chinese troops stationed along the Indian border to provoke skirmishes, or by infiltrating "advisers" to reinforce the Pakistani Army. "Pakistan has some promises from Peking to take military action of its own should war begin," warns a U.S. diplomat, "and India is trying to extract some counterbalancing promise of military aid from Russia. That could lead to catastrophe."

An Agonizing Choice

Any such involvement by the two Communist superpowers would confront the United States with a cruel dilemma. Pakistan, despite the undeniable brutality of its policy toward the Bengalis, is a long-standing American ally and a country that the U.S. is desperately trying to keep out of Peking's sphere of influence. At the same time, India is Asia's biggest nation with a democratic tradition dating back to Gandhi and Nehru and, as such, occupies a special position in the U.S. portfolio of friendly nations. To choose between the two would be agonizing. One U.S. analyst of foreign affairs, drafting a scenario for U.S. actions should a subcontinent war break out, remarked: "Our first move obviously would be to try to play the peacemaker, much as Russia did at Tashkent in 1966 during the last Indo-Pakistani war. If that failed, the U.S. might be able to sit it out, so long as Russia and China were involved only as suppliers of the two combatants. But if they got directly engaged, it would then be almost impossible for Washington to remain aloof. We would have to gamble on one side or the other, give them at least the logistical aid they needed and hope we had chosen the winner."

Rhetoric and contingency plans aside, none of the world's three great powers wants to embroil itself militarily in the Indian subcontinent. But does not rule out the possibility that they could become involved against their will. In the meantime, the future of Pakistan and possibly, the lives of millions of othre Asians, depend on Yahya Khan. And at the moment the Pakistani President remains determined not to relent—ignoring the fact that he may be creating out of nationalist guerrillas the core of a potential Communist insurgency. "The tragedy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Pakistan really is that Yahya is oblivious to what he is doing, oblivious to the cost of his actions," a diplomat in Islamabad remarked somberly last week. "There is only one man alive who could save Pakistan now, and that is Mujib. Yahya vows that Mujib must die. But the day he hangs by the neck, Pakistan will hang with him."

(NEWSWEEK—August 2, 1971)

THE RAVAGED PEOPLE OF EAST PAKISTAN

Alvin Toffler in New York Times, August 5, 1971

A planetary catastrophe is taking place in Asia, a human disaster so massive that it could bathe the future in blood, not just for Asians, but for those of us in the West as well. Yet the response of the global community has been minimal at best. In the United States, the official response has been worse than minimal and morally numb.

I have just returned from Calcutta and the border of East Pakistan, where I conducted interviews with refugees avalanching into India as a result of the West Pakistani's genocidal attack on them. Since March 25, West Pakistani troops have bombed, burned, looted and murdered the citizens of East Pakistan in what can only be a calculated campaign to decimate them or to drive them out of their villages and over the border into India.

Part of the time I travelled with a Canadian parliamentary delegation. We saw babies skin stretched tight, bones protruding, weeping women who told us they would rather die today in India than return to East Pakistan after the tragedies they had witnessed, total wretchedness of refugee camps, and the unbelievable magnitude of this forced human migration—6.7 million refugees pouring into India within a matter of four months.

I saw Indian villages deluged by masses of destitute refugees, every available inch crammed with bodies seeking shelter from the blistering sun and the torrential rain. I saw refugees still streaming along the roads unable to find even a resting place. I saw miserable Indian villagers sharing their meager food with the latest frightened and hungry arrivals. I saw thousands of men, women and babies lined up, waiting patiently under the sun for hours to get their rations. These pitiful few ounces of rice, wheat and dhal provide a level of nutrition so low that it will inevitably create protein breakdown, liver illness, and a variety of other diseases in addition to the cholera, pneumonia, bronchitis that are already rampant. I saw Indian relief officials struggling heroically, and with immense personal sympathy, to cope with the human tidal wave—and to do so on a budget of one rupee a day—about 13 cents per human.

It is now clear that famine will further devastate East Pakistan this fall, and that millions more will seek refuge in an India already staggering under the burden.

Under these circumstances, one is forced to protest the callousness and stupidity of American policy. On the one hand we promise India $70 million in relief funds. On the other, we continue to supply arms to the same West Pakistani generals who launched the bloodbath, so that they can terrorize even more of their subjects into fleeing across the Indian border. The House vote this week to suspend aid, including military sales, to Pakistan is belated recognition of our sorry role.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In terms of *realpolitik*, the continuation of military aid to West Pakistan is supposed to buy us influence with the ruling junta, and help offset Red Chinese influence. (Ironically, the Red Chinese are also aiding the West Pakistani Generals.)

Yet the heaviest stream of refugees is pouring into West Bengal, which is not only India's poorest and most overcrowded State, but the most politically unstable. Between Calcutta and Bongoan on the border, some 50 miles distant, I saw scarcely a house that didn't have a hammer and sickle painted on it. Maoists, anarchists, and conventional Marxists attack each other and the less radical parties with violence as well as rhetoric. Strikes, demonstrations, and political assassinations are already a daily occurrence. West Bengal, even before the invasion of refugees, seemed about to explode.

By shipping arms to the West Pakistanis, we are partially responsible for pouring millions of hungry, sick and angry refugees directly into this tinder-box. This vastly increases the likelihood of a bloddy upheaval on the Indian side of the border as well, in which the power of Maoist movements could only grow. Thus, even if one unquestioningly assumes the necessity to halt the spread of Chinese Communist influence, our policy seems idiotic. We hang on to the shreds of influence in West Pakistan at the cost of losing it in India. Worse, we pave the way for a bigger, bloodier and even more bitter Vietnam in Asia.

But there is a simpler, less political reason why our aid policy must beo changed. On grounds of simple humanity, the failure of our Government to express official concern for the ravaged people of East Pakistan, its alliance with the undemocratic generals of Islamabad, and its cruel insistence on sending still more arms to the killers is morally repulsive.

The emergency in East Pakistan demands a more than minimal response. We need to pump immediate life-saving baby food, powdered milk, anti-biotics, anti-cholera vaccines and similar supplies into India. But beyond that, decency and political realism both demand an immediate end to the arms shipments.

(Alvin Toffler in NEW YORK TIMES—
August 5, 1971)

PAKISTAN USING U.S. JETLINERS TO HELP MOVE MEN TO BENGAL

Lewis M. Simons, in The Washington Post, August 19, 1971

Two jet airliners leased from an American company have been integrated into the Pakistani International Airlines fleet, which Pakistan's central government has been using to move troops and material in and out of its strifetorn province of Bengal, it was learned from official sources.

The planes, both Boeing 707s, are under lease from World Airways, which describes itself as the largest U.S. charter airlines. It does half its business with the U.S. armed forces.

The lease was arranged with the knowledge and explicit authorization of the State Department, the Commerce Department and the Civil Aeronautics Board.

According to American sources recently returned from East Pakistan—both U.S. officials and private individuals—PIA jetliners are used to carry wounded troops out to West Pakistan and to bring in replacements.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PIA, Pakistan's officials flag carrier, has seven of its own Boeing 707s, plus the two leased craft. The airline flies commercial routes between Pakistan's east and west wings, as well as extensive international routes.

The two leased planes, for which PIA is paying the Oakland, Calif., based World Airways $ 170,000 a month, have enabled the Pakistanis to continue commercial service as well as diverting other planes for military duty in the campaign to crush the Bengal Desh independence movement.

World Airways is under contract to the U.S. Military Airlift Command, and is a prime charter carrier of American troops to and from Vietnam.

World Airways had U.S. military contracts for nearly $26 million last year and over $51 million in 1969, a company official said.

The two planes which World provided to Pakistan in June were replacements for two similar 707s leased last summer. They are equipped to handle passengers as well as freight, according to CAB sources.

PIA used the planes last summer to augment their normal commercial services. Application for renewal of the arrangement was made at about the beginning of June. The Commerce Department issued a new license on June 18—nearly two months after the Pakistani army crackdown against the Bengalis. It was clear by then that the extra planes enabled the Pakistanis to use commercial liners for military transport.

A Commerce Department source said the licenses were subject to revocation and that the leases would be invalid without licenses.

As to whether the leased, American-owned planes were being used by the Pakistanis for military purposes, the company official said only that he is reasonably sure that they are not.

He said American crewmen of other World Airways planes periodically meet Pakistani crewmen of the leased aircraft in various Asian countries. "They tell our people they don't fly troops," the official said.

However, he added, "I can understand why they'd say that, no matter what."

The Pakistani airline's air traffic rights entitle it to fly between East and West Pakistan, as well as overseas. A World official said that by flying the leased planes into a "war zone," PIA would be breaking the terms of their contracts.

"Whether East Pakistan is in fact a war zone I really couldn't say," he added.

Two U.S. government sources who recently left Dacca, capital of East Pakistan, said they had seen armed Pakistani soldiers disembarking from PIA Boeing 707s and wounded troops being placed aboard.

Neither was able to say whether the planes they saw were the leased aircraft. A World officer noted that the company's markings were removed and replaced by PIA identification.

"But it's really a moot point," one of the sources stated. "The fact is that because they've got those two American-owned planes they're able to divert jets from commercial use to military use, and no matter how you slice it, we're helping them."

A State Department source said the U.S. government viewed the deal "as a commercial matter." He said there were no U.S. government restrictions on the use of the planes.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"We did not anticipate that these planes would be used for other than commercial purposes," the source said. "If we get other information, we will have to re-examine the matter. But I don't know what, in fact, we'd do."

Lewis M. Simons in **THE WASHINGTON POST**
—August 19, 1971

III EXTRACTS FROM WORLD PRESS

"CRUDE VIOLENCE"

These actions of the Army can be characterised as nothing else than crude arbitrariness and violence causing most serious anxiety to the Soviet people. The crisis which has arisen can and must be settled by political means.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Moscow
—April 2, 1971

CRUEL STEPS AGAINST POPULATION OF EAST PAKISTAN

"It is reported that West Pakistani army has carried out cruel bombing of cities and other population centres. Heavy fighting has broken out in many regions between army and population. Tanks and other heavy weapons are being used against local residents. News agency *Kiodo Tsusin* reports, for example, tha. on evening of 29th March—reported on 30th March—crew of Japanese ships standing in Chittagong port saw 'many corpses' floating in waters of that portt According to PTI news agency Free Bengal Radio Station had stated that during the two days from and after 25th March alone tens of thousands of persons were killed by West Pakistani army.

"Bloody clashes in East Pakistan about which news agencies are reporting cause anxiety to world progressive and democratic public opinion."

* * * *

"Soviet people express serious anxiety at cruel steps taken against population of East Pakistan. Soviet people express their warm desire to their neighbour Pakistan that it resolve the difficult problems faced by Republic by political means in interests of entire Pakistani people."

USSR PRESS, Trud—April 2, 1971

SAVAGE FORCE

The reports filtering out of East Pakistan suggest slaugter to an unprecedented degree as President Yahya Khan's Army seeks to mend with savage indiscriminate force the fracture that has sundered the nation.

THE DOMINION, New Zealand—April 6, 1971

PREMEDITATED BRUTALITY

"Pakistan has clearly entered into a period of civil war which is likely to be long. Far from looking for a compromise, even one which would be favourable to the Central Government, with the Bengali autonomists, Yahya Khan is stepping up the repression which has now reached such a degree of brutality that one wonders if it was not premeditated.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"But Yahya Khan's plans have been frustrated. True, the intervention of the Army has restored some sembalance of calm—for how long?—in Dacca..... Following the pattern which has occurred elsewhere, the resistance of the repressed population will become stronger. The rift between the antagonists will broaden, making reconciliation even more difficult. The situation looks even more serious because one man who sufficient prestige to be a valid partner in the negotaitions—Sheikh Mujibur Rahman—has disappeared."

(LE MONDE, Paris—April 9, 1971)

BURNING VILLAGE

"This correspondent saw Pakistani soldiers burning villages to deny the resistance forces cover or hiding places. As the smoke from the thatch and bamboo huts billowed upon the outskirts of the city of Comilla, circling vultures descended on the bodies of peasants, already being picked apart by dogs and crows.....

(DESPATCH BY SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG IN THE NEW YORK TIMES—April 14, 1971)

HEROIC STRUGGLE

"During this four weeks of civil war Pakistan's Central Government won the first round through ruthless massacre of the people by means of tanks and bomber aircraft. Nevertheless the struggle for emanicipation of the 75 million people of East Pakistan marches on steadfastly along the road to independence..... The entire population of East Bengal, united under the banner of the Awami League, are not afraid of death and boldly continue to resist—the more brutal the massacre, the greater is the sacrifice. Although we are denied reliable news, thanks to Pakistani censorship, we can well imagine the heoric struggle of a whole nation—the people of East Bengal.

(CHINESE LANGUAGE DAILY KWONG WAH YIT POH of Penang—April 14, 1971)

STOP THIS GENOCIDE

Politicians, thinkers, teachers, students, doctors, engineers and even unarmed civilians, including women and children, are wiped out in East Pakistan. Will the Muslim world in general, suffer this? Does Islam permit killing of unarmed Muslims by armed Muslims? Can Islamic principles justify the suppression by a minority of a majority demand for social and economic justice?

Muslim states should act quickly and see that good Muslims are not massacred by fellow Muslims. International Islamic organisations should also not be silent spectators in the present situation in East Pakistan. They should do whatever is possible within their limited means to stop the genocide and restore peace in the region. President Yahya Khan may consider the East Pakistan happenings as a national matter but if East Pakistan ultimately becomes a sovereign State—which the world knows is bound to be—will the present crisis in Pakistan not be the concern to other Muslim states of the world?

(THE DJAKARTA TIMES—April 15, 1971)

UNSUSTAINABLE CLAIMS

"Whatever Pakistan might say to justify the use of force against the people in East Pakistan, and however hard they may try to prove that the issue is purely domestic, such claims are not sustainable, as recourse to the use of force

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to suppress the people of East Pakistan is a gross violation of the United Nations universal Declaration on Human Rights.

"The situation in East Pakistan arises from strong discontent with political, economic and social conditions and none can ever hope to solve a problem like this which concern a population of seventy million people by the use of force.

(THAI DAILY, Bangkok—April 16, 1971)

ONLY THE DEAD REMAINED

"Order prevails, order of the dead, order of the cemeteries. A city was burned down, the fire lasted three days. Those who could, fled from the town. Only the dead remained.

"Cannons, mortars, grenades, heavy machine guns, did not select their victims. They dired against armed rebels as well as against defenceless citizens. In the dormitories of the University of Dacca, students taken by surprise by the fire of machine guns and cannons all died in their sleep. Their bodies continued burning during two days. And in the university park 200 youths lay in a common grave, levelled by tanks . . . ."

(O GLOBO OF Rio De Janeiro—April 17, 1971)

CAREFULLY ORGANISED OPERATION

"All of the most powerful Generals of Pakistan's ruling military clique, including President Yahya Khan himself, were deeply involved in planning, supervising or commanding the Dacca massacre which plunged this country into civil war two weeks ago.

It was a carefully organised military operation, not a case of the local commander, Lieut General Tikka Khan, engaging in excessive force on his own initiative.

(MONTREAL STAR, Ottawa—April 21, 1971)

ARMY TERROR

Refugees have streamed along these roads, before, particularly at independence 24 years ago, when Hindus fled from the newly created Moslem state of Pakistan.

But this time, in this much troubled sub-continent, there is fundamental difference. Most of the refugees today are Moslems, fleeing from a country they had been taught to regard as their own religious state.

In the camps themselves, I spoke to the dazed, simple people who had left everything because of the terror of the West Pakistan army—the hated Punjabis.

A group of young wives, clutching their babies and weeping, told me how their husbands had been take from their huts by the army, told to sit on the road, and then shot.

In one village, 21 men were killed like that, and in another, 25. They were ordinary farmers, not political agitators. Their crime was to vote for the Awami League, which secured a 98 per cent majority in democratic election.

(DESPATCH BY JOHN STONEHOUSE, M.P. IN THE SUN, London—April 26, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

POLICY OF REPRESSION

On his return to London, Labour MP John Stonehouse was interviewed on the Today programme of the BBC on April 27. Stonehouse said that "terrible" things had happened in East Bengal, things which have not been seen since the last war. Describing it further, Stonehouse said that what had happened in East Bengal "makes Vietnam look like a tea-party". He talked in particular of the incident at Dacca University on March 25, when staff and students were "rounded up and shot in cold blood". He expressed great regret that a "98 per cent" vote for a democratically held election had not only been refused its just deserts but had been subjected to a policy of repression by the military junta.

(THE DAILY MIRROR, London—April 28, 1971)

POWER BEING BRUTALLY EMPLOYED

The apalling situation in Pakistan may be complex in some of its background and detail. Nevertheless, the immediate issue can be distilled down to one basic fact. The power of the main Government and its army is being brutally employed in the oppression of the people of East Pakistan and of their elected leadership.

In one sense, what is transpiring is civil war of a particularly horrible kind. But it is no longer an internal, domestic issue.

(GALGARY HERALD, Ottawa—April 28, 1971)

AN OUTRAGE

Mr. Peter Shore, former Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, told a meeting in Lincoln that the Pakistan Government's action in East Bengal was "an outrage, an act of savage and deliberate repression that it would be shameful to ignore."

Repression would not succeed. A country divided geographically like Pakistan would be held together only by the consent of its people, and that consent had been shattered by the Pakistan army.

(*Report in* THE SPOTSMAN, London—May 3, 1971)

SAVAGE SLAUGHTER

It has been several years since Washington furnished Pakistan a quantity of heavy arms—tanks and jet fighters, chiefly—in order to protect its national security. Unfortunately, the agreement did not specify that Karachi respect the security of its own nationals.

Consequently, as the Department of State has finally admitted defensively. the planes and the armour were used freely in the campaign of savage slaughter in East Pakistan that began late in March. Washington also concedes having supplied Pakistan with ammunition and military equipment parts in recent years, Against that background, the private pleas for restraint it claims to have made to Karachi can scarcely have been very effective.

(*Editorial in* THE NEW YORK TIMES—May 6, 1971)

HARROWING ACCOUNTS

The world must be shocked by harrowing accounts of genocide perpetrated against the people of Bangla Desh by statocratic and aristocratic regime of East

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pakistan and must raise its voice in anguish to express its sense of outrage at the crimes committed by an increasingly unpopular military junta against the defenceless people of East Bengal.

But again and again we warn the unpopular military regime of East Pakistan that genocide is not the end of a people's legitimate aspiration for political freedom ; it is not even the beginning of the end but rather the end of the beginning of a more determined effort to fight against forces that oppress.

The military regime of West Pakistan may deceive itself in thinking that it has succeeded in suppressing the political aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh but we wish to point out to it that the time is coming, and now is, that the blood of millions of East Pakistanis they killed in cold blood would be on its ugly head.

(INDEPENDENT ACCRA WEEKLY **THE PALAVER**, Accra—May, 20, 1971)

VICIOUS KILLING

We saw the amputation of a mother's arm and a child's foot. These were too far from the border, and gangrene developed from their bullet-wounds. Many saw their daughters raped, and the heads of their children smashed in. Some watched their husbands, sons and grandsons tied up at the wrists and shot in more selective male elimination.

No sedative will calm a girl now in Bougavu hospital—she is in a permanent delirium crying, 'they will kill us all, they will kill us all. . . . . .' Next to her is girl still trembling from day-long raping and a vaginal bayonet wound.

About 400 were killed at Chaudanga while on their way to India, surrounded and massacred. Why ? Lest they take tales to India? Or because choosing a certain democratic system under Sheikh Mujib means forfeiting the right to live in any country?

Most vicious of all perhaps was the attempted annihilation of the East Bengal Regiment. Few of the Ist Battalion escaped through a curtain of bullets fired by those who the previous day were their mates in the mess. It was symbolic of the betrayal of the whole of the Eastern Province.

(LETTER FROM REV. JOHN HASTINGS AND REV. JOHN GLAPHER IN **THE GUARDIAN**, London—May 27, 1971)

BRUTALITY OF TROOPS

What was thought to be a limited police action against a group of rebels in East Pakistan has turned into a tragedy of such magnitude as to leave the Government of President Yahya Khan stained for several years to come.

The reported brutality of his troops against the East Pakistanis who in democratically conducted elections voted overwhelmingly for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League to express their wish for a wide measure of autonomy has tended to indict the Khan Government in the eyes of the whole world.

The indiscriminate killing and destruction in the East which bordered on genocide can hardly be the best answer to the problem that confronted the President.

At the moment however bullets seem to have triumphed in East Pakistan but how lasting and firm is the unity achieved by force of arms? Will the Bengalis

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in the East ever return into the fold where they feel insecure as shown by recent events?"

(*Editorial in* **THE SUNDAY MIRROR**, Accra—May 29, 1971)

ARMY PERSECUTION

At Hasanabad I discovered Hindu migrants who had fled from the Kushtia district alleging that the army swept through their villages burning the houses of Hindus.

Others said that they had escaped to India after local Muslim zealots, encouraged by non-Bengali Muslims, had persecuted them during the past few weeks. A few claimed that Pakistan army troops had given them a week to leave the country.

These people are simple peasants, too unsophisticated to concoct propaganda stories. One labourer from Kushtia told me that from a hiding place in the fields he and other villagers saw troops burning down all their houses.

Others, possessing nothing but the clothes on the backs, said the army had combed the district of Jessore and had asked local non-Bengalis to point out houses of Hindus and members of the Awami League. Entire villages had been razed to the ground, they claimed.

(*Peter Hazelhurst in* **THE TIMES**, London—June 5, 1971)

APPALLING CRIME

The evidence that the military Government of West Pakistan has committed an appalling crime against humanity in East Bengal is incontrovertible. Indeep the constant stream of refugees fleeing from the terror confirms that the crimes continue.

It is right that the world should help the Indian Government to cope with the immense problems caused by this influx. But the four million refugees are asymptom, not the cause of the disaster. How much longer will the world community salve its conscience by merely dabbing at the sores rather than acting firmly to stop the genocide. Talk of cutting off aid to Pakistan and diverting this towards the refugees is commendable but not sufficient.

(LETTER IN **THE LONDON TIMES**, BY JOHN STONE HOUSE, M. P.
—June 8, 1971)

BRUTAL INVASION

Governments of the world are asked to unite in giant mercy mission to relieve the mass misery of Bengal.

Rightly so. And on what Government and what nation should the call for help fall most forcefully?

Why, on President Yahya Khan and the people of West Pakistan, whose brutal invasion of East Pakistan was the direct cause of the present catastrophe.

For, unlike the appalling floods which engulfed East Pakistan last year, this is a man-made disaster.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The blame in the first place rests with West Pakistan. If there is to be a solution, it lies with the conscience of all the nations.

(*Editorial in* THE DAILY EXPRESS, London—June 8, 1971)

BLOODSHED AND DESTRUCTION

The world has waited too long. True, aid had been offered and in the beginning this was refused by the military authorities in East Pakistan. But the international community has lamentably failed to take a moral stand on what clearly was ruthless attempt to subdue a whole people. Evidence has not been wanting. The bloodshed and destruction have been on a scale which can best be described as a pogrom.

But the clearest evidence of all is the continuing flight of East Pakistanis into India. They could well number ten million before too long. They have gone to conditions no better than those they left—to emphasise their utter rejection of West Pakistani rule.

It is painful to think that all this evidence has not stirred the world community and the United Nations to some action to persuade Islamabad to stop the terror and create an acceptable civilian Administration.

(*Editorial in* THE STRAITS ECHO, Penang—June 10, 1971)

PREMEDIATED EXTERMINATION

But when all this has been said, there is no escaping the terrible charge of deliberate, premediated extermination levelled by the facts against the present Pakistani Government. Yahya Khan may conceivably mean what he says when he speaks of a return to civilian rule and normality. But how, after what has happened can the Pakistani Government persuade what is left of the Bengali leadership that they are brothers and equal members of the same nation ?

With the army still operating on a directive to enforce submission to the Central Government, there is the danger that if the Western Powers to whom Pakistan is now appealing for financial aid respond positively, that aid will contribute, directly or indirectly, to economic disintegration with all the extra human suffering involved.

In the present fog of war and atrocity, one thing stands out all too clearly. It is that Yahya Khan's terrible mistake, and its terrible consequences, have created a new area of instability in Asia and the world. An area comparable, in its racial and territorial elements, with the Middle East, and likely, in the future, to cause just as much misery to its inhabitants and concern to the outside world.

(*Editorial in* THE SUNDAY TIMES, London—June 13, 1971)

DEPLORABLE SITUATION

What is actually taking place in the Ganges delta, is not civil war in the narrow sense but a brutal and bloody attempt at vengeance, instigated by the ruling clique in West Pakistan.

Islamabad's repeated assertions that law and order have returned and that things are back to normal, are quite contrary to reports from reliable sources. The situation there is in fact deplorable. Towns and villages have been left in ruins and the economic life has come to a complete standstill.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is at this point that the tragedy of Bengal turns into a scandal. Not one of the Big Powers dared to lift a single finger to put a stop to the brutality with which the Bengalis have been treated.

(*Heinrich Kuhn in* THE NATIONAL ZEITUNG, Berne—June 13, 1971)

MOST HORRID GENOCIDE

The repressive passion of Pakistan militarism has achieved the destruction of practically 50 per cent of the villages of East Pakistan. The number of dead, according to the European Press, varies between 500,000 to 1,000,000—apart from massive tortures psychological repression and persecution, with no-holds-barred on the old, the young and the children. In this sense, most commentators agree that humanity is faced today with one of the most horrid genocides of all time.

In this drama, Indira Gandhi's India has played an extraordinarily important role. The persecuted have fled to the land of Mahatma Gandhi and their number touches five million. Daily, a hundred thousand persons cross the frontier to protect their lives. The Government of India, without interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan, has given and continues to give asylum to the persecuted, within the concept of high humanism. Despite Yahya Khan's accusations, Nehru's successor continues with her policy of giving protection to those who are trying to escape massacre.

(THE MOMENTO, Caracas—June 13, 1971)

WANTON DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN LIFE

We feel the whole world must awaken to the realities of the conflict in regard to the wanton destruction of human life by tanks and shells, famine and disease. The Government of President Yahya Khan is trying to force the East Pakistanis to accept its authority by force. Since the conflict started a few months ago, thousands of people have died from bullets, hunger and disease. The exact number is not known and may never be known. There have been accusations of genocide by the Pakistan Government troops.

Every Government has the right to defeat rebellious elements in the Government. But we feel that in the case of Pakistan, the loss of life has reached sickening proportions. It appears there has been a deliberate attempt to annihilate the people of East Pakistan.

(THE ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL, Lusaka—June 14, 1971)

COLD BLOODED MURDER

Eyewitness reports, one more ghastly than another, continue to filter out of East Pakistan, telling of the massacre of the Bengali people by the Pakistani army.

Naturally, the military regime of President Yahya Khan denies it is commiting selective genocide. But evidence mounts that it is cold-bloodedly murdering minority Hindus, Bengali separatists, intellectuals, doctors, professors, students—in short, those who could lead a self-governing East Pakistan.

The strongest evidence is that 5 million East Pakistan is have taken the terrible decision to a bandon their homes and have fled on foot across the border into India. This starving, cholera-ridden mass is being augmented by 100,000 terrified refugees each day.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If things are now "normal" in East Pakistan, as Yahya Khan's Gauleiters claim, why are new refugees still inundating India and earlier ones refusing to go home?

(THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS—June 15, 1971)

APPALLING CATASTROPHE

Hiroshima and Nagasaki are vividly remembered by the mind's eye primarily because of the novel means that brought holocaust to those cities. Statistically comparable disasters in Hamburg and Dresden are more easily forgotten; they were produced by what we already then conceived of as "conventional" methods.

Against this background one must view the appalling catastrophe of East Pakistan whose scale is so immense that it exceeds the dolorimeter capacity by which human sympathy is measured. No one can hope to count the dead, wounded, missing, homeless or stricken whose number grows each day.

(C. L. SULZBERGER FROM PARIS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES—June 16, 1971.)

SHOCKING RECORD

A solution at the other extreme would be equally disastrous. The record of the Pakistan army—may be in circumstances they had not foreseen—has been shocking enough in the past two months, even on the minimum of attested evidence. Has the shooting finally stopped even now? The question has to be asked because the intentions of Rawalpindi and the evidence of the refugees suggests that harassed Commanders have often taken their own course. At least now there can be a few responsible Generals on the Pakistan side who think that holding down the East by force is a feasible solution or that it could preserve in any worthwhile way the unity of the country.

(TIMES, London—June 23, 1971.)

IRREPARABLE SPLIT

The architect of atrocities, in the correspondent's opinion is Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, Military Governor of East Pakistan. President Yahya Khan told the Military Governor to put down a rebellion and Tikka Khan has done it—efficiently and ruthlessly. As a result East Pakistan is still nominally a part of Pakistan. But the brutality inflicted by the West on the East in the last three months has made it certain that it will only be a matter of time before Pakistan becomes two countries. And those two countries will be irreparably split—at least until the last of today's maimed and brutalised children grow old and die with their memories of what happened when Yahya Khan decided to preserve their country.

(TONY GLIFTON IN NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE, New York—June 28, 1971.)

MASSIVE EXTERMINATION

Surprise attacks, strict Press censorship, expulsion of journalists, terrorised refugees and India's assistance.

The Army launched a campaign of massive extermination whose cruelty has no precedent since Hitler. First targets were students and intellectuals, verily annihilated.

LA VERDAD, Caracas—June 29, 1971.

WIDESPREAD DEVASTATION

Mr. Jessel, the youngest member of the four-man party headed by former Labour Commonwealth Secretary Arthur Bottomley, said that he had seen wide-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

spread devastation. "You cannot impose a reign of terror on a country and then expect it to flourish economically within a few months."

(DAILY MIRROR, London—June 29, 1971)

ATROCITIES ON A MASSIVE SCALE

That this House believes that the widespread murder of civilians and the atrocities on a massive scale by the Pakistan Army in East Bengal, contrary to the United Nations Convention on Genocide signed by Pakistan itself, confirms that the Military Government of Pakistan has forfeited all rights to rule East Bengal, following its wanton refusal to accept the democratic will of the people expressed in the election of December 1970.

(TIMES, London—June 30, 1971)

TREACHEROUS ATTACK

In its treacherous attack starting March 25, the Pakistan Army slaughtered 200,000 Bengalis and sent six million refugees fleeing for their lives into India.

(WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS—June 30, 1971)

MOST TERRIBLE THING

"This is the most terrible thing I've ever seen, both in terms of human suffering and the scale of this thing," said Mr. Reg Prentice, one of four British M.Ps. who visited East Pakistan recently.

(GUARDIAN, London—June 30, 1971)

GENOCIDE

Foreign journalists, who are now allowed to visit East Pakistan again, confirm the story of the Pakistani journalist Anthony Mascarenhas in last week's *Zeit* under the heading "Genocide".

(DIE ZEIT, Bonn—July 2, 1971)

GENOCIDE

The genocide practised by the troops of General Yahya Khan is a tragedy which could lead to similar horrors.

(LA VERDAD, Caracas—July 3, 1971)

VILLAGES BURNT

"The trouble with these people," said one Army Major to Woolacott, "is that they have never seen a war before. They run like rabbits. May be when they have had their villages burnt down three times they'll get used to it."

(GUARDIAN, London—July 5, 1971)

BRUTALITY MUST CEASE

The brutality must cease at once. The international community must come to the aid of the helpless people of East Pakistan. Humanity backs this appeal.

(PALAVER, Accra—July 8, 1971)

MIND-BOGGLING

What Mascarenhas saw was too much for him. In the security of London, he decided to let the world know that all the stories so far told of atrocities in East Pakistan, though mind-boggling, are not false.

(*Editorial*, PALAVER, Accra—July 8, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BLOODY SLAUGHTER

When the bloody slaughter began in East Pakistan on March 25th, there were cynics who said that Yahya Khan wanted to decimate the population until the West, and not the East, made up the majority. Since six million Bengalis have fled to India in the meantime, and half-a-million have reportedly been killed, it is quite possible that this goal will be achieved ! All Pakistani villages within 8 km. of the Indian border have been raised to the ground.

(MARION GRAFIN DONHOFF IN **DIE ZEIT**, Bonn—July 9, 1971)

OVERWHELMING MASSACRE

The warning signals are that overwhelming massacre and destruction continue in East Pakistan, where nobody knows how many have died but the estimates now run over 200,000. Over 6 million people have deluged India.

(**WASHINGTON POST**—July 11, 1971)

BLOOD AND IRON

Christian Mueller, foreign editor, writing on the "Decline of the Pakistani idea" said that blood and iron have set a point of no return.

(*Editorial*, **NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG**, Berne—July 11, 1971)

INCREDIBLE THING

Hongkong based British journalist Ian Brodie said, "After an untold amount of killing, the incredible thing is that the terror is still going on".

(**HONGKONG STANDARD**—July 11, 1971)

SAVAGERY

A first hand account of the savagery by Anthony Mascarenhas, a West Pakistani journalist, appeared on June 13 in the *Sunday Times* of London. Within the last few days that picture of life under the Army in East Pakistan has had authoritative and independent confirmation from two weighty sources. Both made clear that the terror did not stop soon after the army takeover but has continued.

(**NEW YORK TIMES**—July 12, 1971)

MILITARY BRUTALITY

The Pakistan Government stands accused of administrative incompetence and militant brutality in one of the most scathing reports on a member country ever prepared by the World Bank.

(Report, **TIMES**, London—July 12, 1971)

BY FORCE AND BY FEAR

East Bengal is being held down by force and by fear. The view of the World Bank that there were no signs of improvement in the situation nor any prospect of normality seems as true as when it was made a month ago.

(*Editorial*, **TIMES**, London—July 14, 1971)

REIGN OF TERROR

Mr. Prentice, who was a member of the recent parliamentary mission to Pakistan said there was no doubt that there was a "continuing reign of terror" in East Pakistan.

(**FINANCIAL TIMES**, London—July 14, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHOT, MUTILATED, BURNED

Everywhere we were told similar stories. The army had come to their village, or a nearby village. People were shot or mutilated, houses and farms burned. Women were raped, the soldiers had looted, or encouraged the non-Bengalis to loot the Bengalis. This was still happening. (British parliamentary delegation which recently visited both Pakistan and India to study the present crisis.)

(NEW STATESMAN, London—July 16, 1971)

NO NORMALITY

There is a great deal of propaganda about the country returning to normality but the facts belie this. (British parliamentary delegation which recently visited both Pakistan and India to study the present crisis.)

(NEW STATESMAN, London—July 16, 1971)

TERROR, HOSTILITY, DISRUPTION

A report by a World Bank team, after an on-the-ground survey in the first two weeks in June, states that until the army is withdrawn—or its presence at least greatly diminished—terror, hostility and disruption will continue.

(BALTIMORE SUN, Washington—July 16, 1971)

GENOCIDE OF HINDUS

President Yahya Khan must face the realities of the situation. Only an end to the genocide of Hindus, only some form of political solution in East Pakistan can prevent the country from splintering apart permanently.

(*Editorial*, GLOBE AND MAIL, Ottawa—July 16, 1971)

FRIGHTENED LAND

"East Pakistan is a frightened land. The Central Government insists that normality has returned but a visit to Dacca and a dozen other towns and villages in East Pakistan last seen was a tour of ruined buildings, partially neglected fields, roads without traffic, looted shops and industries without workers."

(WASHINGTON POST—July 19, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER VII

REFUGEES FROM BANGLA DESH

I. FACTS OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

1. Total influx (as on 31–8–1971) — 82,81,220
   In camps — 57,37,264
   Outside camps — 25,43,956

2. Progressive Influx

Week ending		*Influx*	*Total*
	17–4–71	1,19,566	1,19,566
	24–4–71	5,36,308	6,55,874
	1–5–71	2,11,554	8,67,428
	8–5–71	7,04,792	15,72,220
	15–5–71	8,27,447	23,99,667
	22–5–71	9,72,264	33,71,931
	29–5–71	3,16,419	36,88,350
	5–6–71	12,94,442	49,82,792
	12–6–71	7,84,380	57,67,172
	19–6–71	1,36,267	59,23,439
	26–6–71	3,72,559	63,25,998
	3–7–71	2,15,448	65,41,446
	10–7–71	2,88,414	67,33,076
	17–7–71	37,336	70,21,490
	24–7–71	74,178	70,58,826
	31–7–71	2,31,975	71,33,004
	7–8–71	2,02,278	73,64,979
	14–8–71	4,51,486	75,67,257
	21–8–71	2,38,061	80,18,743
	28–8–71	—	82,56,804

3. Communal composition (as on 16–8–1971)

Hindus	69.71 lakhs
Muslims	5.41 lakhs
Others	0.44 lakhs

4. Total Estimated Expenditure for 8 million refugees for six months @ Rs. 3/- per day per person — Rs. 432 Crores (U.S. $ 576 million)

5. Total amount of assistance received / promised from abroad as on 30–8–71 — U.S. $ 146.85 million.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

II. SOME EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

STATEMENTS BY Mr. MICHAEL BARNES, BRITISH LABOUR M.P., AND Mr. DONALD CHESWORTH, CHAIRMAN OF THE WAR ON WANT

Calcutta, June 1 : Mr. Michael Barnes, British Labour MP. who is on a visit to see the victims of the liberation war in Bangla Desh said here yesterday "the world must help to find a solution to the tragedy."

He said it was "nonsense" to call what had happened in East Bengal was an internal affair of Pakistan. He promised to take it up with his Government to raise issue before the United Nations.

Mr. Barnes and Mr. Donald Chesworth, Chairman of the War on Want, a charitable organisation of Britain, who have visited a number of camps on the borders, said the world community must come forward immediately with all possible aid.

They suggested that the U.K. should forthwith raise its contribution to £10 million from £1 million. According to Mr. Chesworth, a substantial portion of the money raised for cyclone relief in East Bengal would be released for aid to the evacuees from the cyclone affected areas.

Mr. Chesworth said the British Overseas Minister should pay a personal visit here as the dimensions of the problem were so great that London, Washington and Moscow were probably finding it difficult to assess. He added: "What is taking place here is a potential threat to world peace".

They said people were fleeing Bangla Desh because of the army action. The evacuees had carried tales of woes and extreme sufferings.

Mr. Barnes said a number of people had told him that the army was pushing people out to "change the political complexion" of East Bengal as the Chinese had done in Tibet.

In the view of Mr. Barnes, every country in the world that had supplied arms as well as development aid to Pakistan was involved in the present tragedy in East Bengal because Pakistan had used the power built up with arms and aid supplied by them against its own people.

Mr. Barnes thought that the donor countries should now work out a set of conditions though the U.N. for countries receiving arms or development so that governments like the Government of Pakistan realise what would be the attitude of the donor countries, if they were engaged in military operations against their own people using that aid.

If a long term solution was to be found in East Bengal, Mr. Barnes said the world community must bring economic pressure on the Government of Pakistan to withdraw troops from East Bengal and come to a genuine democratic agreement with the people.

In this context both Mr. Chesworth and Mr. Barnes said there was no evidence to suggest that Britain was at the moment out of line with the other nations of the international community on the need for economic pressure.

Mr. Barnes said: "If Britain and America and the whole of the international community pursue this line and remain united on this question, there will in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

long run be a genuine and democratic solution in East Bengal". He said on his return, he would pressurise the British Government to stand committed to this line.

When his attention was drawn to Mr. Heath's "no" to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's call for suspension of aid to Pakistan, Mr. Barnes said Britain would not suspend the existing economic aid to Pakistan. But it would not enter into any new aid commitment unless Pakistan accepted a settlement in East Bengal.

Explaining further, Mr. Chesworth said no aid was going from Britain to Pakistan at the moment. This was the period in which aid programmes were wound up and only some technical assistance like aid to students were continuing.

Both Mr. Barnes and Mr. Chesworth took pain, to explain that what was important was the Consortium aid for the next year. When the Consortium countries met a few days back, they adjourned till July before approving plans for expenditure. That would be a vital meeting and Britain, they asserted, had "no conceivable reason" to back up a colonial regime in East Bengal.

Mr. Chesworth said the reaction in Britain to the East Bengal tragedy was one of "shock". For people in the U.K., it was hardly comprehensible that such brutalities could really occur.

He said his organisation, War on Want—had no hesitation to accept the Bangla Desh Government as the real representative of the people and have dealings with it in distribution of relief. At the same time, he added that it would be wrong to entrust supplies exclusively to the military regime in Pakistan for distribution.

At the end, Mr. Chesworth feared a "massive" famine in East Bengal because over greater parts of the country seeds had not been sown.

(INDIAN EXPRESS, New Delhi—June 2, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Dr. SLAVKO KOMAR, YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR IN NEW DELHI

The Yugoslav Ambassador here, Dr. Slavko Komar, has expressed admiration for the Government of India for the expeditious measures taken by them to relieve the sufferings of the Bangla Desh evacuees.

Talking to newsmen today on his return from refugees camps in West Bengal, Dr. Komar said that but for the speedy relief operations undertaken by the Government of India and other Indian organisations, half the number of refugees would have perished.

He wondered how it was possible to have taken care of such an unprecedented influx in such a short time. Most of the refugees were now safe in a difficult situation, he added.

Dr. Komar said during his visit to the camps, he had asked some of the refugees why they had to leave their homes. They told him that several thousand people were killed around them and, therefore, they were forced to flee for their lives.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said the most distressing sight was the sufferings of women, children and the aged. Some of the priority items were provision of roofed shelter for the refugees, food for the babies and medical supplies.

Dr. Komar said besides providing aid, his Government had reiterated many times that political conditions should be created in Bangla Desh for the refugees to go back.

He added that in addition to joining the world community in giving aid to the refugees, his Government was supporting humanitarian organisations, like the Red Cross, in his country to launch a nation-wide drive to secure as much relief as possible for the unfortunate victims.

The ambassador said it was a great experience for him to study the situation at first hand. He would report to his Government on his visit to the camps.

(NATIONAL HERALD, New Delhi—June 21, 1971)

STATEMENT BY PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN, U. N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, has refuted the Pakistani allegation that India is obstructing the return of refugees to East Bengal.

The allegation was made by the Military Governor of East Bengal, General Tikka Khan, in an interview with a British parliamentary delegation put out on television here a few days ago.

General Tikka Khan told the visiting MP.s that left to themselves 99 per cent. of the refugees would come back Asked why they had not done so in spite of the Pakistan President's appeal to them, he replied that India was obstructing them. When an M.P. remarked, "You are not being serious", the General said: "No, I am serious".

Prince Sadruddin told a Press conference here today morning there was absolutely no evidence that host Governments, in this case or any other, had any interest in obstructing the refugees if they wanted to go back. The interest of the Governments was in alleviating congestion by every available means.

Prince Sadruddin expressed himself in favour of a political settlement in East Bengal. This would provide the only true incentive for the refugees to return, he said. They would not go back if fear remained. What he meant by return to normalcy was return to civilian administration.

The Prince would not support suspension of development aid to Pakistan. For this would affect the people of Pakistan and might not exert any pressure on the Government.

Governments had contributed nearly Rs. 360 million in relief through the U.N. Taken together with bilateral aid and contributions by voluntary agencies, the total was Rs. 1,250 million. "But even this is nowhere near what is needed", he said.

Asked about Indian criticism of his role, he said he was an international civil servant. He was not pro-Pakistan nor pro-India but pro-refugee.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Indian Press had misquoted his remark about normalcy in East Bengal. He had visited only limited areas where the situation appeared to be normal. But he had carefully pointed out that he could not speak for the whole of East Bengal and he could not say what happened there before or after his visit.

(TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—July 1, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Dr. PRINZ ZU SAIN-WINGESTEIN, WEST GERMAN M. P.

Dr. Prinz zu Sain-Wihgenstein, West German MP, said here today that he believed that "President Yahya Khan's latest proposal is not the right way to solve the East Bengal problem."

"Public opinion in Germany had always been in favour of transferring power to elected representatives of a country. An election was held in East Bengal where the elected representatives were supposed to frame a constitution. The next alternative there could be holding another election. But I do not know how another election is possible there," he said.

Dr. Sain-Wihgenstein, MP (Christian Democratic Union) and Dr. Meinick MP (Social Democratic Party) were speaking at a news conference after a visit to the Bangla Desh refugee camps in the border areas.

Replying to a question whether they thought relief to refugees could be a solution for them, Dr. Sain-Wihgenstein said: "Aid can only be the first step. A political solution for the refugees has to be found as the second step. To change the political circumstances so that the refugees may go back home is something that can be done by all countries of the world."

Asked whether they saw evidence of genocide during their visit to refugee camps, he said: "We saw many people ridden with bullets wounds in hospitals. Those were enough to indicate something."

Dr. Sain-Wihgenstein told a questioner that they saw thousands of refugees crossing over to West Bengal in the border areas today.

Replying a question whether they could agree with a Pakistan Radio broadcast that refugees were not being allowed by Indian authorities to return homet he replied: "I do not think so".

Dr. Meinick said he had specifically asked some refugees whether they wanted to go back. No one of them showed their willingness to go back home unless they were satisfied with the situation there.

(TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—July 5, 1971)

STATEMENTS BY Mr. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY AND Mr. TOBY JESSEL, BRITISH M.Ps.

Representatives of Bangla Desh gave flowers to Mr. Toby Jessel, one of the three British Parliamentarians who returned home yesterday from their tour of India and Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Jessel (Conservative), who has been the most forthright member of the four-man delegation in calling a spade a spade, told reporters at London airport that he had asked Pakistani refugees in India two questions in camps. He had asked them: "Will you go back?" The answer was: "Not till it is safe".

Mr. Jessel's second question was: "When will you go back?" The answer: "If Sheikh Mujibur Rahman asks us to go back, we shall".

Mr. Reginald Prentice (Labour) was asked by a Pakistani correspondent whether it was a good policy to use aid as a lever. He said he had only recently seen reports of the proceedings of the U.S. Senate on this question, in 99 cases out of 100 he would be against using aid as a lever, but in the present case in Pakistan it was justified.

Three aspects

Mr. Arthur Bottomley earlier made an agreed statement on behalf of the four-member delegation. He emphasized three aspects of the situation: the element of fear existing in East Bengal, the continuing atrocities there and the need for further assistance to the refugees.

Mr. Bottomley said this had been the most harrowing mission he had undertaken in his entire public life. He found President Yahya Khan an honourable man who did not seem to know what was happening in East Bengal.

But General Tikka Khan, he felt, was the wrong man in Dacca who had no knowledge of or concern for the economic and social aspects of the situation. The army had not only perpetrated atrocities in East Bengal but was continuing to do so.

He said the mission went everywhere it wanted to in East Bengal except in one instance in which he was satisfied with the Pakistani explanation.

Mr. Bottomley paid tribute to Mrs. Gandhi who, he said, was not only a great Prime Minister but was behaving like a great statesman. In his view she was handling the enormous problems with compassion and wisdom and deserved every support.

He appealed to the British Government and people to give succour to the refugees and assured them that the money was well spent, with Indian administrators doing a magnificent job.

Asked whether India was obstructing the return of refugees home, Mr. Bottomley said "Why should it?" The refugees, he said, were creating inevitable problems for India.

(STATESMAN, New Delhi—July 5, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Mr. K. NISHIMURA, JAPANESE M.P.

Mr. K. Nishimura a Japanese socialist parliamentarian, said here today that it was wrong on the part of General Yahya Khan to have ordered the army crackdown instead of handing over power to the Awami League which was returned with a thumping majority in Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Nishimura, who visited several camps sheltering the evacuees from Bangla Desh at Bungaon in 24-Parganas district told PTI in an interview that violence could not solve any problem, and he was at one with the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi in this respect.

Mr. Nishimura said that the United Nations should intervene to start fresh negotiations between the West Pakistan authorities and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for a political settlement in the trouble-torn Bangla Desh.

Horrifying Picture

Giving a horrifying picture of the miserable situation, Mr. Nishimura said that during his tour of the camps in the border areas, he had found thousands and thousands of men, women and children treking long distances to cross over to India for safety. When such a condition was prevailing in Bangla Desh, people of the world should try to assess the real situation. He said when back home he would tell his countrymen about the situation obtaining here to enable the Japanese to have a real picture about the state of affairs of both Bangla Desh and her people.

The member of the Japanese Diet also proposed to visit East Bengal in near future for ascertaining the facts from Pakistan.

Mr. Nishimura said he had talked to many evacuees who were coming over to India and they all wailed about mass killings in Bangla Desh. The evacuees said their houses and properties were burnt and their relatives killed and they had to flee to India for safety.

He said that the evacuees with whom he had talked, had shown their eagerness to return to their homeland only when the situation would return to normal. He assured the evacuees that Japan would surely help the evacuees to return home in safety as early as possible.

(**THE TIMES OF INDIA**, New Delhi—July 26, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Mr. ANGIER B. DUKE, A FORMER U. S. AMBASSADOR

Mr. Angier B. Duke, a former U.S. Ambassador who has recently studied the refugee situation on the Indo-Pak border, yesterday told the State Department that 10 million refugees may arrive in India by the year-end.

Mr. Duke, who headed a team of International Rescue Committee, reported to the Nixon Administration on his return from the sub-continent that he would personally testify to the fact that the "Pakistan Army has tried to maintain a desperate air of tension along the border by mortar fire".

Mr. Duke, who called on Mr. Francis Kellog, a special officer dealing with the East Pakistani refugee question, asserted that there was no indication that the exodus had been halted.

He estimated that by the end of July, the number of Pakistani refugees seeking shelter in India "will have reached the seven million mark". After having

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

worked among the refugees for a while, he had come to the conclusion that the real solution was only to arrange for the refugees' return to East Pakistan.

* * * *

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—July 30, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Mr. REGINALD PRENTICE, A BRITISH M.P.

A former Minister for Overseas Development, *Mr. Reginald Prentice*, has urged Britain and other countries to make new pledges of aid to help India cope with seven million refugees from East Bengal.

This was necessary both on humanitarian grounds and to prevent a possible military solution, Mr. Prentice, a Labour Party Member, declared during a Parliamentary debate yesterday.

"The sheer size and scale of this tragedy is something difficult to envisage", Mr. Prentice stated. "Having seen something of it at first hand I can say that I have never known anything so terrible and I hope that I never have an experience like it again".

He said the Mukti Fauj guerillas in the area were having growing success, getting recruits from among the refugees. He thought the bulk of the population was on their side.

The Pakistan situation was a threat to peace that could have "the most appalling consequences for the whole of mankind", he added.

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—August 7, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Mr. DONALD CHESWORTH, CHAIRMAN OF THE WAR ON WANT

A sovereign, independent Bangla Desh is inevitable, according to Mr. *Donald Chesworth*, a middle rank British Labour Party Leader who spent a fortnight among the refugees in India's eastern States and a day with the Mukti Fauj within the liberated enclaves in Bangla Desh.

Pakistan military leaders, he told in an interview, showed no sign of any understanding of the problem they were up against.

Army atrocities, he said, had only one result: they helped the guerillas to develop an unshakable determination to fight. Mr. Chesworth found the morale of the Mukti Fauj fighters "very high".

Mr. Chesworth, who had studied Algerian guerilla war against the French, thought the level of the Mukti Fauj operations was higher and more effective than what he had seen in that country.

Pakistan army's capacity for repairing damages inflicted by the guerillas was much lower than that of the French Army in Algeria. The utter dislocation of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the railway system in Bangla Desh, according to him, provided a glaring example. There was railways sabotage in Algeria too, but no big dislocation as in Bangla Desh.

Mr. Chesworth arrived here two days ago en route to London where he is one of the trustees of the recently established Bangla Desh Fund, built mainly with contributions from East Bengalis in Britain.

The fund, already over £220,000 (Rs. 39.6 lakhs) is being used mostly for the upkeep of the Bangla Desh Government. Its two other trustees are: Mr. Abu Saiyed Chaudhuri, a former judge of the Dacca High Court, and Mr. John Stonehouse, a Labour M.P.

The prospects of a political compromise between the Islamabad military junta and the Bangla Desh leaders, Mr. Chesworth said, were long past. The brutalities which still continued had only hardened the determination of the people of Bangla Desh to free themselves from West Pakistani shackles.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman could perhaps have taken a moderate posture at an earlier stage. But Mr. Chesworth wondered if the Pakistan military leaders had any understanding of the pivotal position of the Awami League leader.

Recent statements by the Pakistan President about a "secret trial" of Sheikh Mujib and his refusal to provide the Sheikh with the benefit of legal advice from outside had led Mr. Chesworth and many outside observers to doubt if the Sheikh was alive at all. Preperations for a secret trial could well be a cover for announcing his death.

Mr. Chesworth did not quite see how Pakistan leaders hoped to get any particular advantage out of war with India. World opinion, he believed, would not accept any Pakistani attempt to justify an overt military action against India on the plea that India supported the Mukti Fauj. Anyone could see that Mukti Fauj operations were taking place well inside Bangla Desh, he explained.

In Mr. Chesworth's view, a warlike action by Pakistan would inevitably drive international opinion to an open hostility towards it. He, for one, would not be surprised if the United States Government shed its present hesitations on that single action and openly condemned Pakistan.

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—August 7, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Dr. HANS EDGAR JAHN, WEST GERMAN M. P.

Dr. Hans Edgar Jahn, a prominent member of the West German Parliament, said here today that after visiting the refugee camps in India "one can understand that what is happening in East Bengal is a violation of the Charter of Human Rights and a crime against humanity.

"This must be counteracted by all political means. I talked to the refugees and I got the impression that these people did not leave their homes voluntarily, but had to leave under massive military pressure."

Dr. Jahn, a leader of the Christian Democratic Party, arrived here yesterday. He visited the camps at Salt Lake and later left for Rangoon.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He said the refugee problem was a matter of concern for world public opinion. Its solution was an obligation for all nations committed to the Charter of Human Rights either of the United Nations or of the European treaty.

(TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—August 9, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Mr. CHARLES PERCY, U. S. SENATOR

The U.S. Republican Senator, *Mr. Charles Percy*, said here today that relations between India and the U.S.A. had of late reached "an all time low and we must fully take into account this factor".

After his visit to a hospital and two camps of Bangla Desh evacuees in Salt Lake on the northern outskirts of the city, Mr. Percy, who was accompanied by his wife and other family members told newsmen that through "misunderstanding" there was a possibility of the close ties existing between the two countries being "further jopardised".

Stating that the conditions of the evacuees were "impossible to describe" the Senator said that on his return to the U.S.A. on August 30, he would hold free and frank discussions with the Nixon administration and give out his "deep feelings" about the entire situation. He would also meet the Secretary of State and other officials of the administration in this regard.

The Senator and family had arrived here this morning from Bombay.

Saying that India's future was important to the whole world, Mr. Percy told a questioner that the relations that used to exist a few years ago between India and Pakistan were strained and every attempt should be made to prevent an open conflict between them. This was the time for reason to rule over all emotions, he said.

In reply to a question, Mr. Percy said it would seem perfectly logical to stop shipments of spare parts and non-lethal weapons to Pakistan. But she was given these to defend herself against outside aggression and not for using against her own people.

He said there had been a cessation of arms supply to Pakistan since 1965 and it had been limited to spare parts and replacement parts. These had been a one-time exception, he added.

Visibly moved by the account related by the evacuees, Mr. Percy said that a solution must be found for the return of the evacuees who had to flee to India because of "killing, lootings, mistrust and fear of lives". It was to be seen what sort of conditions could be brought about for their return. After all they could not be allowed to remain in India permanently and this imposition of seven million evacuees was a challenge to the already-burdened economy of India.

The miseries of the evacuees, who had told him their tales of woes in their homeland, were "impossible to discribe", he said. "A woman evacuee's husband was killed five days ago, her first child was killed three days ago and threat of losing the second child was, looming large on account of illness", Mr. Percy said.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

No Real hope

The Senator said every evacuee told him that it was better "to live in miseries than to live in an atmosphere of murder in his homeland".

He said evacuees did not want to go back until their country became independent and normal conditions prevailed. But the question was how long India could maintain them. "Let's hope they can return soon but at the moment, there is no real hope. "I think the U.S.A. has an important role to play in this regard", he said.

Mr. Percy was all praise for the efforts put in by India to meet the challenge of giving shelter to the evacuees.

Speaking high of the voluntary agencies in India and abroad, who were serving the evacuees Mr. Percy said even Indian medical students in the last year of their course had stopped their studies to serve the evacuees without any grudge.

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—August 9, 1970)

STATEMENT BY Mr. EDWARD KENNEDY, U. S. SENATOR

Senator Edward Kennedy today received a hero's welcome as he flew in here from eastern India where for four-and-a-half days he had trudged through slush in rain to study the miserable plight of Bangla Desh refugees.

"It is the greatest human tragedy of our time", the Senator said in a speech at the airport while referring to what he saw at various refugee camps—the sick old people, and children suffering from mainutrition and bullet wounds.

"The American people have read reports about the refugees with heartfelt feeling, but they cannot fully assess the magnitude of the problem unless one sees personally the plight of the refugees."

As he was making the speech, more than one thousand people shouted slogans and waved placards hailing Mr. Kennedy as "man of peace and a crusader against colour bar".

* * * *

Mr. Kennedy repeatedly thanked the Indian Government and people for the warm welcome and co-operation extended to him during his visit to various camps.

* * * *

Mr. Kennedy, who is visiting India as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee on Refugees, said he would discuss with the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister the ways in which the American Government and other organisations could help in alleviating the suffering of the refugees.

Mr. Kennedy said he would inform the Senate and the American people about what he had seen in this country, and they, he hoped, would be able to give some concrete and useful suggestions not only to alleviate the suffering of the refugees but also "some idea about how this great problem may be solved".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Senator recalled that several members of his family had earlier visited India, and he regretted that his own visit should be under the present circumstances. Mr. Kennedy said the warm welcome that he had received was not due to him but due to the respect with which Indian people held his brother—the late President Kennedy.

PTI adds from Siliguri: Senator Kennedy today made unscheduled visits to several evacuee camps in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts cancelling his stipulated programme at Islampur in West Dinajpur.

Mr. Kennedy, immediately on his arrival at Bagdogra airport from Agartala in the morning, told officials he would prefer to go to Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling to see the plight of the Bangla Desh evacuees residing in camps.

Mr. Kennedy also visited the Siliguri hospital, where among others, a woman evacuee injured in Pakistani army firing is being treated.

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—August 14, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Mr. EDWARD KENNEDY, U. S. SENATOR

Senator Edward Kennedy today dismissed any prospects of the flow of refugees from Bangla Desh into India abating in the near future.

Far from their returning home, he feared that at the present rate of influx of 40,000 per day, the refugee population in India might well reach the 12 million mark.

Briefly describing the tragic situation he had witnessed on the borders—horror-stricken men, women and children fleeing for life—the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on Refugees was forthright in expressing his disappointment over the poor response of the international community to the gigantic humanitarian problem.

Human disaster

Addressing newsmen after his 50-minute discussions with the Union Minister for Rehabilitation, Mr. R. K. Khadilkar, Mr. Kennedy did not rule out a "political solution" of the Bangla Desh issue. But he declined to divulge it here and preferred to submit his recommendations on the various aspects of the tragedy following the "civil war" when he returned to America. He would finalise his report after his talks with the Indian leaders including the Prime Minsiter whom he is scheduled to meet on Monday.

Mr. Kennedy was hopeful that his recommendations would help the U.S. Administration and Congress appreciate the dimensions of the problem and respond to the situation more appropriately. The estimates of the expenditure being $ 600 million for the refugees, the participation of the world community had been "extremely sparse", he commented.

Later, addressing the members of both Houses of Parliament, Mr. Kennedy said "thousands and millions of my people share my feelings over the human disaster that has forced seven and half million people seek shelter in India".

* * * *

He referred to the Indian leadership committed to remove poverty and found striking similarly between the U.S. and India in their approach on his question.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The problems of this region could not be solved by military assistance. It was necessary to tackle the disease, poverty and squalor. He hoped "we would be in a better position to address ourselves to alleviate human misery after resolving the perplexing problems in South-East Asia and Vietnam".

Mr. Kennedy paid a tribute to the people of India and officials for making his mission easy and the manner in which they had been handling the refugee problem, working 20-hours a day.

* * * *

During his talks with Mr. Khadilkar, Mr. Kennedy is understood to have expressed appreciation of the threat posed to India by the refugee problem and the posture of the Pakistan military regime.

Mr. Khadilkar told newsmen he was "quite satisfied" with his talks with Mr. Kennedy. He had also explained India's budgetary position for meeting the expenditure on refugees and requested for some financial assistance in cash. Mr. Kennedy had promised some special allotment of nutritious food vitamins for children suffering from malnutrition.

* * * *

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—August 15, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Mr. EDWARD KENNEDY, U. S. SENATOR

Senator Edward Kennedy, Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Refugees, today expressed confidence that a political solution of the Bangla Desh crisis was certainly possible and wanted the United States to play an effective role in bringing it about.

Addressing a crowded news conference on the conclusion of his round of meetings with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and other Indian leaders, Mr. Kennedy said he felt that the recent Indo-Soviet Treaty should help strengthen the "considerable restraint" exercised by India in this region.

* * * *

Genocide

He said that his immediate efforts would be to tell his people of the humanitarian needs of the situation in the refugee camps.

Asserting that Pakistan had committed "genocide" in East Bengal, Mr. Kennedy said the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other elected representatives must precede any negotiated settlement. He denounced the secret trial of the Sheikh by the Pakistan military regime. "I think the only crime Mujib had committed was winning an election." The trial was a travesty of the fundamentals of international law.

In reply to a question, he remarked that there was "overwhelming desire" among the evacuees, without any exception, that they should be free from Pakistan rule.

Mr. Kennedy denied that he had any specific political solution in mind. "But I do believe that this problem can be solved by political negotiations and I have every hope that it can be achieved."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

While he could not say how decisive the American role in this regard could be, he emphasised that the U.S. should fully "use its influence with the Pakistan authorities." On reaching home, he planned to plead for the stopping of all military aid, except possibly what had flowed into the pipeline. He was also opposed to any further economic aid being given to Pakistan, until this issue was resolved.

Mr. Kennedy regretted that the Nixon Administration's attitude on the crisis had adversely affected Indo-U.S. relations.

He described the policy of the present Administration as "curious". Any fair judgment of the situation would indicate that American interests did not lie in strengthening the Pakistani military regime. The justification given by the Administration for its continued support to Pakistan by way of arms supply and economic aid was "singularly unpersuasive and very difficult to understand".

Refugee problems

On the dimensions of the refugee problems and the financial burden placed on India, Mr. Kennedy felt it was "overwhelming, requiring betweeen $ 500 and 600 million in the next few months.

The international response had been very meagre. Though the U.S. help compared with the assistance from other industrialised countries had so far been good, the quantum of aid must have to be stepped up.

He would make every effort to put the problem on the front order of the Senate's agenda to focus to people's attention on the disaster.

He was impressed by Mrs. Gandhi's commitment to fight the problems of poverty, disease and backwardness in India, despite the enormous burden by the refugee influx. She had understanding not only of this great nation, but also of other countries.

(THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi—August 17, 1971)

STATEMENT BY Mr. ALI HAFEEZ, FORMER DEPUTY MINISTER OF UAR

Former Deputy Minsiter of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Ali Hafeez, today described the condition of the Bangla Desh refugees in India as "pathetic".

Mr. Hafeez, who visited some of the camps at Bongaon in 24-Parganas district this morning, said that he felt sorry that such a thing could ever happen to humanity.

He said he could not stand the sight of a patient in a camp hospital and left the hospital in five minutes. "It would make any heart bleed."

Mr. Hafeez, who is also a member of the World Bureau of Scouts, expressed grave concern at the "social and psychological" aspects of the problem and said apart from food and shelter "which, are of course primary needs," some plan ought to be taken up to relieve the pyschological strain that they were having in the abnormal atmosphere in the camps.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"If a man loses everything, it naturally affects his mental structure. He has to be given mental and psychological support." He said the Scouts and Guides could do a lot in providing them with this support.

The former U.A.R. Minister was all praise for the "marvellous" work being done by the Government of India, the Red Cross and other organisations in the camps.

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, New Delhi—August 23, 1971)

ESCAPE FROM TERROR

A report of the International Rescue Committee Emergency Mission to India for Pakistan Refugees, submitted on July 28, 1971, by its Chairman, Mr. Angier Biddle Duke, to Mr. F. L. Kellog, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Refugee Affairs, Government of U. S. A.

Introduction.

On March 25, 1971 began one of the largest mass movements in our time of people fleeing in terror to a neighbouring country. Six million Bengalis, Moslems, and Hindus, have streamed out of East Pakistan, their homeland, to West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya. Thousands on thousands of new refugees arrive every day, and the pressures on India generated by this West multitude of destitute refugees are mounting dangerously.

On July 5th, Chester Bowles, a former U.S. Ambassador to India, wrote in The New York Times :

> "Unless two rather unlikely developments occur, South Asia is in imminent danger of erupting into a tragic, needless war.
>
> "These developments are : First, that the ruling West Pakistan Government turns away from the path of terror against its own subjects in East Pakistan and agrees to a settlement that will stem the flow of frightened, homeless refugees into India and second, that the world community soon mounts a massive campaign to relieve India of the burden of supporting nearly six million refugees who have already crossed the border".

Political solutions for the return of the Bengali refugees must be found ; and it is imperative that India's shattering burden of caring for the refugees be shared by other nations and other peoples to create time for such a settlement. It is incumbent on American voluntary agencies to assume a reasonable share of this responsibility. Humanitarianism and enlightened self-interest are twin motivations for strong and immediate action toward alleviating one of the most tragic and potentially explosives refugee crises of our time.

The State of Pakistan consists of the East and West provinces, which are separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory. The population of the East is 75 million, outnumbering the West, the seat of the national government, by 25 million. Both areas are predominantly Moslem, though eight million Hindus live in the East.

In elections held in December 1970 the Awami League of East Pakistan won a majority in the National Assembly for all Pakistan. Negotiations to form a new government resulted in a stalemate. On March 25th the Pakistani Army and police forces poured into the East and undertook a campaign of unparalleled fury against the Bengali people. It appears that some 200,000 people were killed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As the extent and gravity of the refugee crisis emerged, the International Rescue Committee sent a mission of five volunteer leaders to India, headed by IRC's former President, Angier Biddle Duke. Its other members were I. Morton Hamburg, an IRC Vice President, IRC Board members, Mrs. Lawrence Copley Thaw and Thomas W. Phipps, and Dr. Daniel L. Weiner of the Einstein Medical School. The mandate of the mission was to obtain a first-hand picture of the refugee situation, and to initiate an emergency programme for East Bengali refugees, the professionals in particular. The IRC Board of Directors felt that it should focus on a segment of the overall problem not exceeding the capabilities of a voluntary agency. Moreover, the survival of Bengali teachers, doctors, writers, artists, scientists, academicians and cultural leaders is essential for the survival of their nation.

The following pages describe the Mission's findings, recommendations and the outline of a programme the International Rescue Committee has undertaken to implement.

I. The scope of the problem.

The near-apathy with which the world has reacted to a refugee emergency, the magnitude of which beggers anything we have witnessed since World War II and its aftermath, can perhaps be explained—though not excused—by the helplessness with which most of us react to what appears as an elemental disaster of unmanageable scope.

The mass terror unleashed by the West Pakistan Army and Police had a selective thrust. As the New York Times put it :

> "People have killed each other because of animosities of race, politics and religion ; no community is entirely free of guilt. But the principal agent of death and hatred has been the Pakistani Army. And its killings has been selective. According to reliable reports from inside East Pakistan, the Army's particular targets have been intellectuals and leaders of opinion—doctors, professors, students, writers".*

IRC's Mission to India was able to verify through interviews with refugees that this was actually what happened. People were taken out of their houses and machine-gunned in the streets. Men, women and children were bayonetted to death. Women were raped. About 200,000 people were reported to have been killed. Millions of people began their escape into India. At that stage, they consisted mostly of Moslems identified with the Awami League and the political opposition to the West Pakistan regime.

Later the terror of the Pakistani Army was turned against the Hindu minority who constituted about one-tenth of East Pakistan's population. The quote *The New York Times* report from Faridpur, East Pakistan :

> "Although thousands of 'antistate' Bengali Moslems have been killed by the army, the Hindus became particular scapegoats as the martial-law regime tried to blame Hindu India and her agents in East Pakistan for the autonomy movement.....The army also forced Moslems friendly to Hindus to loot and burn Hindu houses ; the Moslems were told that if they did not attack Hindus, they themselves would be killed."†

The Indian authorities have established a quite reliable registration procedure. By June 3, the refugee population had reached 4.8 million, of whom close to two-thirds were housed in camps of all descriptions in Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya, east and northeast of East Pakistan, but mainly in West Bengal :

---

* Anthony Lewis, "Measuring the Tragedy", The New Yark Times, June 7, 1971.

† The New Yark Times, July 4, 1971.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

State or District.*	*In Reception Centres.*	*With friends or Relatives.*
Assam	81,800	65,677
Tripura	381,373	363,464
Meghalaya	186,052	49,332
West Bengal.		
Nadia	214,788	170,951
24-Parganas	503,467	179,250
Maurshidabad	134,507	51,953
West Dinajpur	783,664	511,555
Jalpaiguri	140,402	165,000
Cooch-Behar	189,755	210,875
Malda	92,139	254,513
	2,707,947	2,022,570

By June 15, the number of refugees had gone up to 5.8 million, of whom 3.7 million were living in camps. With the outbreak of cholera in early June, news of which spread into East Pakistan, the border crossings did slow down. Yet once the cholera threat subsided, thousands again began to pour over every night, despite the desperate air of tension the Pakistani Army has tried to maintain along the border by mortar fire to which the Mission can bear personal witness. There is no indication that the exodus has been halted. If the present trend continues, the figure is likely to go to seven million before July is out. Seven million people is the total population of Cuba.

When will this situation explode? Who knows? The voluntary agencies are performing a humanitarian service. But they are just as importantly trying to help India endure the severe internal pressures and thus buy time in the search for the solution that must come. In that sense they are making a contribution to world peace.

* Figures prepared by the West Bengal Government.

II. The Refugees

The refugees, many of whom have walked distances of up to 150 miles, appear to have travelled from cities and villages relatively near the Indian border. There are unquestionably large numbers of Pakistanis who are unable to escape because of their more central location within East Pakistan. They have come to India initially by way of the usual border crossings and along roads normally travelled. With the closure of the borders by the Pakistani military, large numbers are continuing to infiltrate through the 1,300 mile border with India through forests and swamps. These groups, with numbers sometimes up to 50,000 in a 24 hour period, have for the most part settled along the major routes in India. They are found wherever there is a combination of available ground and minimal water-supply. Many of them have avoided camp communities and have "melted" into the countryside. The refugee camps may vary in size from small groups to upwards of 50,000. There has been an extraordinary effort on the part of the West Bengal and Indian Government to organise these camps and supply them with at least minimal amounts of food and water. The camps are frequently located adjacent to existing Indian villages. Attempts have been made to set up camps on higher terrain but this is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

frequently impossible. It is obvious that much of the refugee areas will be under water during the monsoon season.

The shelter, when it does exist, is of three main types—small thatched huts made of locally available material, small low tent made from wood frames covered with tarpaulins supplied by the relief authorities, and, where available, cement casement and drainage pipes are used for shelter. At present, all tarpaulin material within India has been exhausted, and attempts are being made to use plastic material. Water is uusally supplied by one or two pumps within the refugee area. These are hand-drilled wells which are equipped with standard single lever pump. Sanitry facilities are allmost non-existent. Initially small slit trench latrines were located within close proximity to the area of the refugee villages, but attempts are now being made by authorities to place larger, better designed facilities at least some distance from the camps. The inadequate drainage system, the shallow wells and inadequate sanitation make cross contamination an obvious sequence. There is a critical need in these camps for some type of adequate sanitary facilities—even more acutely a need for power-driven drills so as to facilitate the speed with which they can be constructed and improve the depth of the wells. Adequate facilities in both these areas with adequate separation are probably the single most important need for maintaining some type of minimal health conditions.

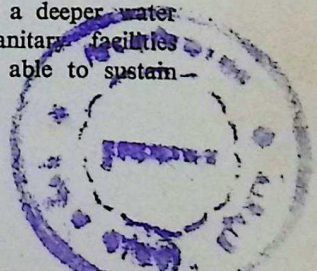
The refugee diet is dependent upon food supplied by the relief authorities and those small amounts which they can supplement by local purchase. This consists of rice boiled in open clay pots, some powdered milk which is occasionally available, and dall, which is a lentil type of bean used for a thin soup. In a few isolated cases some green vegetables had been distributed, but this is the exception rather than the rule. At this point the diet would be classified as barely adequate.

III. Health conditions

The physical appearance of most of the refugees shows the signs of hardship, low caloric intake and inadequate clothing. The children seem to be doing reasonably well under the circumstances, but in both adults and children there are seen large numbers of skin infections, gastrointestinal disturbances with vomiting and diarrhoea, and chronic cough with upper respiratory infections. In the camp hospitals there are the ever present cases of cholera and other gastrointestinal diseases. The cholera problem seems now to be under control. However, with the combination of increased rain from the monsoons, deficient health facilities plus the influx of new refugees, it is quite clear that there will be again an upswing in the incidence of cholera.

Health care among the refugee population is rudimentary. Mobile units for mass inoculation programs and the distribution of a few simple medications are active within some of the camps. Fixed facilities in the terms of field-type tent hospitals have been opened up in or near other camps, but here again these units carry only about 20 to 30 in-patient beds (stretchers). All that can be offered is some intravenous or oral fluid therapy for the gastrointestinal problems and cholera. Medical supplies are being received and distributed to these fixed facilities. However, due to the lack of co-ordination of the medical effort, many supplies are arriving which are not needed while others are in short supply.

At the present time in terms of the general refugee population, the acute need is for material for shelter, particularly with the advent of the monsoon season. There is a need for better water supply, particularly wells with a deeper water table and with less chance of contamination. Properly designed sanitary facilities are mandatory. The diet at present would appear to be just about able to sustain the adults and children, but food is going into short supply again.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A major problem is in the infant refugee population. There is no food or food supplement available to bottle-feed these children. Mother's milk is, of course, inadequate. A severe and critical shortage is therefore present in the powdered milk—glucose supplement powders used for infact formulas. Without this being placed in immediate supply, there will conceivably be many more-neo-natal deaths due to malnutrition.

The next few months will bring increased numbers of refugees and additional strain on the meager existing supplies and facilities. Malnutrition and disease will become more prevalent. Relations between the refugees and the local villagers must deteriorate. The financial burden for the West Bengal and Central Indian government will be impossible to bear. Morale will sink to even lower levels as the situation becomes desperate.

Food and medical supplies must come from outside sources. Distribution of these materials is possible but there must be more medical and paramedical personnel made available and mobilized.

IV. The Refugee Physicians

The refugee physicians who left East Pakistan maintained some liasion with other professionals and physicians within India. Very few of them are in the refugee camps, most being in and around Calcutta, living with families, friends and relatives. The East Pakistani medical establishment is the product of seven medical schools offering two different degrees. The M.B.B.S. physicians are from five-year schools and the RFP are from four-year schools. There are also some paramedicals. The general faculty of the medical schools were for the most part senior physicians, and many of these were killed or are unaccounted for. Approximately 1,500 East Pakistani physicians have left the country, the majority of these being younger men. Their medical degree does not accredit them to practise in West Bengal and so far only 150 of them have been employed by the West Bengal Government. Most of the refugee physicians have registered with the Bangla Desh Red Cross which is under the direction of Dr. A. Hoque. In this group are mostly what we would classify as general practitioners with relatively few specialists. They retain only their own clothes and a few personal belongings and virtually none of their medical equipment. They possess no medical supplies and are consequently unable to practise medicine. Nor have they any means of support or means of supporting their families. They exist by living with other families.

V. The Medical Program

The refugee physician population falls within that group of professionals and intellectuals who are the focal point of the International Rescue Committee's concern. The plan of the Committee is to support refugee physicians by the payment of a uniform stipend. This stipend would vary slightly on the basis of experience and seniority. In return for this stipend the professional physician would accept work as assigned in the refugee camps. This would primarily serve to help relieve the acute need for physicians among the refugees. Thus, the professional physician will be active and productive within his profession while helping to relieve a critical problem. The acute and continuing need for physicians in the refugee camps cannot be satisfied by the West Bengal medical community. Within the camps themselves the presence of physicians will be an important morale factor and will provide some leadership.

Conferences have been held with the Minister of Health of West Bengal who has accepted the plan, and who will help supervise and assign certain groups of the doctors, as needed, to the refugee camps under his jurisdiction. Some physicians have already been employed by the International Rescue Committee and assigned to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

refugee camps and newly formed base hospital units. In all cases the qualifications of the individual physicians are being evaluated by the medical authorities. A "salary" rate of two to three dollars a day has been established. This means that a large segment of the unemployed refugee doctors can be put to work for their fellow refugees.

Any medical program among the refugees must have (1) physicians, (2) equipment and supplies, (3) transportation. The physicians are to be hired and suplied by the IRC. Equipment and supplies will be provided by the West Bengal government and the Red Cross who will utilize the M.D. services. This need of supplies appears the easiest to meet because of the massive infusion of medical and relief material which is now coming into the country. The key to making the medical supplies available and to transform them into medical care is the physician. Physicians and paramedical personnel are available but no one has developed a system whereby monies are available to pay them for their services. Without this payment these men cannot work. The IRC's funds for payment of these services is the key which will make the whole system operational.

The question of transport is an acute one also. The solution to this has been arrived at through conferences with the Minister of Transportation, Mr. Ghosh, who is making a special exception and permitting the hiring of unutilized vehicles that came out of East Pakistan. These vehicles normally could not be operated within West Bengal. The minister will allow them to be hired and used by the IRC, thereby eliminating the cost and time for purchase of vehicles.

We have in our possession a list of 50 physicians who are now available, qualified and ready to go to work within the refugee camps under the IRC pro gram. Others are being mobilized from areas around Calcutta and should be active in the program within one week. We also have in our possession a list of 80 vehicles which belong to refugees and which can be made available to us for transportation for the program. The doctors will be paid at a uniform rate on the basis of the level set by the West Bengal Central Government. There will be a need for special items of equipment, i.e., stethoscopes, to keep the physician group operational. There may also be occasional need to fund a specialist or consultant from within India itself when that type of talent is not available within the refugee group.

The IRC program is unique in that it supports the physicians as a viable group active and ready to return with the refugees to East Pakistan when the moment arrives.

The IRC is actually initiating the beginnings of a health system for six million people, in reality a small nation. If the political situation remains stagnant, these physicians will obviously need to move into more permanent institutions such as hospitals. Ancillary plans should eventually include paramedical personnel. Train ing for paramedicals must be utilised for the delivery of health care as there will never be enough doctors. The physicians working within the camp will provide a nucleus for teaching Public Health, Sanitation, child care., etc., besides providing medical care and support.

Thus the IRC medical program must face an ever increasing need both in the number of physicians it will attempt to support and the medical services it makes available to the refugees through this program.

VI. The Educational Program

Idleness in the camps, especially among the young, is a dangerously corrosive element. So is idleness among people with professional talents. By putting teachers

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to work in the camps, their immediate economic problem can be solved and masses of refugee children and young people can be enabled to continue their interrupted education in whatever space is available and with whatever materials are at hand or can be obtained. Even if it were just learning songs, or the alphabet, or reading from newspapers, instructors would be going back to work and occupying the attention and minds of their pupils.

The Calcutta University group has undertaken to register all teachers who have come out of East Pakistan. While the IRC Mission was there, the University registered 3,800 teachers, including 94 university professors, 839 undergraduate college teachers (with approximately 1,000 registrations still pending), and about 1,900 primary and secondary school teachers. The total number of East Bengali refugee teachers who are now in India is presumed to be approximately 10,000. With the assistance of the Refugee Teachers' Association and the Calcutta University Assistance Committee, a programme was initiated for the International Rescue Committee to hire and pay teachers to go into the refugee camps and establish school centres there. The outline of the project as submitted by the Teachers' Association stresses the eagerness of the teachers to return to their educational activities. "Though at present they are jobless," the memorandum states, "they are in reality the educational trust of their nation. But unless immediate steps are taken to provide them with minimum subsistence allowances, it is feared they will face starvation and gradual extinction."

Suggesting a monthly "salary" level of $ 25·00 for primary and secondary school teachers and of $ 40·00 for readers, lecturers and college level teachers, the Teachers' Association, basing its estimates on a reservoir of 10,000 teachers, set up the following table :

Category of teachers.	*Proposed allowance per month.*	*Total strength of category.*	*Total monthly requirements.*
	$		$
Primary and Secondary	25·00	7,700	192,000
College Level Lecturers and Readers	40·00	2,250	90,000

To these figures must be added the salaries of non-teachers (there are about 1,500 administrative school personnel among the refugees), transportation for inspection and co-ordination and contingencies.

As an immediate project the Teachers' Association proposed starting camp schools in the evacuee camps in the districts of Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad, West Dinajpur, Cooch Behar and Agartala. These schools would not be full-fledged conventional schools, but rather improvised centres with minimal organizational structures—to collect youngsters by age groups and to give them instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic with some history and geography, and some practical training in public health, sanitation and co-operative social work. If required, the schools will be run in shifts. The average staff of each school centre would ideally consist of 13 teachers and 2 non-teaching employees.

Estimated Budget for each school

10 Teachers of the Primary and Secondary Section ..	$ 250·00	a month
3 Teachers of the Higher Level	$ 120·00	,,
2 Non-teaching staff at $ 20 each a month.	$ 40·00	,,
Teaching Materials	$ 50·00	,,
Contingency	$ 20·00	,,
	$ 480 00	,,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Preoccupied with the basic needs of refugees, i.e., food, shelter and first-aid, the governmental assistance program, though substantial, cannot cope with the multi-faceted organizational and financial needs described in the foregoing pages. Nor can it be expected to take care of relief payments to the substantial number of artists, writers, journalists, scientists and similar categories of refugees who have found asylum in India. They have depended thus far on the help of their Indian colleagues. Some of them face starvation.

The response of the people of the United States has fallen short by far of the traditional response our country has been capable of in similar emergencies—none of which in recent times has been of similar scope, in suffering and disruptive impact.

It is our firm conviction that this lack of response is largely due to a lack of information and specific indications as to how help can be channeled into a meaningful program. We believe that the projects contained in this report represent one such meaningful approach.

(This report was submitted on July 28, 1971, by Mr. Angier Biddle Duke, Chairman, International Rescue Committee, New York, to Mr. S. L. Kellogg, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Refugee Affairs, Government of U.S.A.)

* * * * *

III WORLD PRESS

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM MUST BE MET

Ignoring, if one can, the complexities of political and diplomatic ramifications of the grim events in East Pakistan the question of the enormous humanitarian problem which the situation has spawned, deserves immediate and dramatic attention.

More than five hundred thousand refugees from Pakistan have already fled to nearby India and for all that, the latter nation's determination to meet the problem head-on, it can be seen that international assistance will be required quickly.

To be sure India may well have her sympathies in order but the enormous costs and mobilizing the action required to handle the evergrowing refugee total, will soon go beyond any single power's ability to sustain.

When last year's massive tidal-wave killed an undetermined number of Pakistanis, the idea was bandied about of establishing a fast-reaction emergency-relief force, which could spring to assistance to disaster area survivors.

International organizations such as the Red Cross, various United Nations groups and others deserve monumentous commendation for their efforts in this field, but it can be seen that as good as they are, they simply cannot handle the work-load involved.

The refugee problem which India now faces, will undoubtedly be a case in point. Awesome responsibilities of housing, feeding and tending to the medical needs of hundreds and hundreds of thousands of totally helpless refugees, will put an enormous strain on any nation or group that accepts responsibility of involvement.

With vast resources being devoted to the destruction of life, it hardly seems inconceivable that some small pittance could be put aside for worthy efforts in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

other directions. With enormous amounts being spent on discovering the mysteries of space, it is only proper that some be delegated to soothing the miseries which remain behind.

It is impossible to divorce reason for a refugee's departure, and departure itself, but it is only fair that the immediate aspects of the problem be viewed in an humanitarian sense. This must be done, it must be done quickly, and it must be done effectively.

(*Editorial*, THE BANGKOK WORLD—April 24, 1971)

THE WORLD'S LATEST REFUGEES

The effects of President Yahya Khan's rough military action in East Pakistan are far from over. His army has caused the deaths of many of his countrymen, and its operation has made refugees of thousands more. The lives of further thousands are threatened by starvation and lack of shelter. According to Indian sources more than one million people have fled from East Pakistan, taking their economic and social problems with them. Many of these are without doubt the militants of Bangla Desh seeking political refuge from the army. But the majority are innocent people seeking shelter in the hope that they can go back and continue life as before. In India, in addition to the misery of being refugees, they have become involved in the political snarling between India and Pakistan. The world must move fast to counter economic chaos, and to provide food and shelter before the monsoon sets in.

The refugees in India are those most assessible to relief. It makes nonsense that India, with its own refugee and population problems and a frail economy, should have to cope alone with this additional burden. Even if many of those displaced are waiting only for some sort of calm before returning to their villages across the border there is a need for urgent international action to help the Indian Government bear the strain.

The bulk of the needy are still where they have always been—in East Pakistan. Those living in the delta, for example, have no border handy that they can cross. They have probably had difficulty in receiving the aid which the Pakistani Government promised them after last November's cyclone disaster to make good lost harvests. Their plight emphasises the problems of others scattered throughout an area whose economic resources—inadequate at the best of times—have been further dislocated by war. If it is hard to get food distributed now it will be that much harder when the rains start in a month. International action must offset the vicious damage, done and prevent it getting any worse. It must provide East Pakistan's luckless citizens with food and shelter.

(*Editorial*, THE GUARDIAN, London—May 7, 1971)

MILLION HOMELESS REFUGEES ADD TO INDIA'S WOES

The arrival of a United Nations Team in New Delhi to study the problem of refugees from East Pakistan highlights a pathetic situation that could become compelling in the near future.

India claims that 1,481,000 refugees from East Pakistan have so far crossed into India and that more are pouring in. It says it has spent about 13 million Dollars on their needs so far.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"If these figures are correct, it is unfair to expect India to carry the full burden of looking after persons who are not her own citizens. Especially since there are millions of Indian in desperate need themselves.

"Beyond the problem of providing them food, shelter, clothing and medicine now is the bigger one of their future. Given India's over-population, especially in West Bengal, the prolonged stay of these refugees in India is bound to create resentment, perhaps even violence, against them.

"They obviously must go back to their own country and they would do so only if they were freed of that fear which prompted them to flee in the first place. And they would still need help to start a new life.

"Perhaps some of the foreign assistance which Pakistan is seeking could be directed toward rehabilitation of these refugees. After all, the basic motivation behind all foreign assistance is to improve life for the common man in the recipient nation".

(*Editorial*, **THE OTTAWA CITIZEN**—May 10, 1971)

HELP INDIA SOLVE REFUGEE PROBLEM

"India is now being forced by humanitarian consideration to care for the refugees in East Pakistan although she was not responsible for the massacre of the innocent people of Bangla Desh.

"The world must be shocked by the harrowing accounts of genocide perpetrated against the people of Bangla Desh by the statocratic and kokistocratic regime of East Pakistan, and must raise its voice in anguish to express its sense of outrage at the crimes committed by the increasingly unpopular military junta against the defenceless people of East Bengal.

"In the name of humanity we appeal to all freedom loving peoples of the world to support India in cash and kind in the gigantic task of caring for the refugees who have now become a burden and liability on India.

"But again and again, we warn the unpopular military regime of East Pakistan that genocide is not the end of a people's legitimate aspiration for political freedom; it is not even the beginning of the end but rather the end of the beginning of more determined effort to fight against the forces that oppress.

"The military regime of East Pakistan may deceive itself in thinking that it has succeeded in suppressing the political aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh but we wish to point out that the time is coming and now is that the blood of the millions of East Pakistanis they killed in cold blood would be on its ugly head.

"It is our earnest hope that moved by the suffering of the people of Bangla Desh the peoples of the world would give their moral and physical support to India in restoring a life of rehabilitation to the millions of people who have been killed or maimed by the bullets and bombs of the bullies of East Pakistan who stand condemned before world as most bloody and brutal military regime in political annals of Asia".

(*Editorial*, **THE PALAVER**—Accra, May 20, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE WORLD HANGS BACK

"If we can comprehend a situation in which every citizen of Bangkok and Thonburi was without food, a home, a job, and in desperate need of medical attention, we will have some idea of conditions applying to 2.6 million East Pakistanis turned into refugees by bitter fighting in their homeland. That figure is the number of East Pakistanis generally agreed to have crossed into India in the last seven weeks to escape the fighting. How many other homeless people have chosen to stay in East Pakistan is something that can only be guessed at. And despite President Yahya Khan's statement last Friday that conditions in East Pakistan have returned to normal and all refugees in India could now return, it is obvious that there is an urgent need for massive worldwide aid.

"Mrs. Gandhi complained bitterly last week that 'no prosperous country' has come to the aid of these refugees and that the task of caring for them has dangerously strained India is already taut resources. Even after her words are denuded of their political content it is obvious that there is considerable justification for what she says. There has been no co-rdinated mobilisation of aid for these refugees; it seems almost that the world has become so irritated, confused and apathetic about political and social upheavels on the Indian subcontinent that it no longer cares to listen or to help.

"There has been no spontaneous provision of aid such as we saw last year when a terrible cyclone devastated so much of East Pakistan. Hardship then was mitigated by an almost embarrassing overflow of outside assistance. But no Royal Marines have landed in the Bay of Bengal this time; no U.S. helicopters hover over the ground, dispensing sacks of rice. The world has stood back almost as if to say "let them fix it themselves this time". But we cannot let this happen; in the name of humanity, we cannot allow cruelty of civil war to be compounded by international apathy, when there is so much good the world can do in East Pakistan now. Last week U.N. Secretary General U. Thant made a plea for funds to help the refugees. His words should not have been necessary; that they were, shows how dangerously close we have come to forsaking the principle of helping our fellowmen. Thailand is not a rich country nor is it altogether poor. Surely we can start the ball rolling and certainly we have enough rice to spare right now. If we truly want to help the cause of peace in our troubled part of the world, then feeding the hungry, tending the sick and housing the homeless of East Pakistan would be a fine way to start. If we can show our selves to be above messy politics that for so long have hindered regional co-operation, then we will have done a service both for the Pakistani civilians and ourselves. At least, it behoves us to try".

(*Editorial*, THE BANGKOK POST—May 24, 1971)

CHALLENGE TO THE U.N.

If proof of the full extent of the East Pakistani tragedy were needed, it has been provided by the immense and continuing flow of homeless refugees across the border into India. The Prime Minister (Mrs. Indira Gandhi) estimates there are now 3,500,000 of them in West Bengal, and that the flood is maintained at the rate of 60,000 a day. Many bring reports of continued killing between factions and a ruthless campaign of scorching the earth by the Pakistani army.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If order had been restored, as President Yahya Khan has been saying, the wholesale exodus would have ended weeks ago. It has not.

This mass flight to safety presents a new and menacing problems, far outweighing in terms of sheer human misery the hardships of the Palestinian refugees. India has suddenly found itself called on to stretch its supplies of grain, its transport and health services to keep alive an influx of people equal to the whole population of Victoria. If it could do so physically, its precarious finances would suffer an unexpected and crippling blow. President Yahya has reported an offer from the Secretary-General of the U.N. (U-Thant) to help distribute the food he claims to have in store. He has also offered a partial amnesty to refugees who return, but his words would carry more conviction if the killing and burning had stopped.

This is not likely to be of much help to India in the coming northern summer. Apart from the very real danger of warlike clashes in West Bengal, international help is needed—and needed urgently—to prevent famine and epidemics among the millions of refugees huddled on its soil. Mrs. Gandhi's appeal to the great powers to use their influence is phrased in political terms; she is anxious, that they should pressure the Pakistan Government into restoring the situation in its east wing, and put the movement of peoples into reverse. But in the meantime the U.N., through such agencies as UNHCR (which deals with refugees) and UNICEF (the children's fund) should be doing more to help India cope with its frightening new problem. If it claims to represent the conscience of the world, this is a challenge to prove it.

(*Editorial*, **THE AGE**, Canberra—May 26, 1971)

RELIEF

The massive influx of refugees from East Pakistan into India has lent weight to the view that whatever has happened or is happening in the Eastern Wing of Pakistan is not an internal affair of Pakistan, as claimed by Islamabad Government and its allies. This testifies to reports of widespread carnage let loose by the Pakistani Army in East Pakistan after March 25, 1971. That a reign of terror still prevails in East Pakistan is clear from the continuing influx of East Bengalis into various Eastern States of India. The member of such refugees is said to have already reached approximately 3.5 million. India is naturally deeply worried over pressing of so many refugees on its soil, which has put a heavy strain on its resources. It is natural therefore that India should try to awaken conscience of the world to the situation in East Pakistan and its impact on India. India cannot continue to feed millions of refugees indefinitely without gravely undermining its own effort for economic development. World public opinion is now gradually appreciating the Indian view point regarding refugees from East Pakistan. The U.N. and a number of world powers are coming forward to assist in the relief effort of the Government of India.

No nation can and should lag behind in contributing to the international effort for relief of the East Pakistan refugees in India. It is quiet heartening to see that conscious people of this country too are realising this point. We on our part have to contribute to the best of our capacity to this effort.

(*Editorial*, **THE NEW HERALD**, Kathmandu—May 26, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BENGAL'S SUFFERING MILLIONS

For six weeks now the flow of refugees from East Pakistan into India has gone on relentlessly, into Tripura in the east, into Assam in the north, and heaviest of all into West Bengal. Despite the heroic efforts assembled by the Indian Government and by voluntary agencies there is little hope that this gigantic mass of suffering people will find all their needs can be met. The first and most urgent need is food. As the monsoon rains begin any day now shelter will become more urgent. Worst of all—in view of the difficulty of coping with it in such surroundings—is disease. As described in our report today cholera has now taken a hold that could be extremely dangerous. Yet anotfier risk is that of communal tension in a city like Calcutta where the social fabric is brittle at best and where a stream of refugees is beginning to flow in.

The refugees now present a much greater problem than did those who suffered from the cyclone disaster of last autumn. That was a natural disaster and one often experienced on a smaller scale. The help that was needed went to people who were trying to rebuilt their own homes and restore their own land, tasks for which their own energy was readily available and fortified by hope. The refugees coming into India are the blindly fearful sufferers of a man-made disaster. Of that there can be no doubt from the many reports sent by our correspondent from several widely separated crossing points round the border.

The evidence of the refugees does not confirm the claim made by the army authorities in East Pakistan that order has been restored and that life is returning to normal. The refugees had too many stories to tell of wantonly punitive action in villages by the Pakistan Army. Exaggerated many of the stories may have been but in the main the fears of the refugees were plainly started by brutal and indiscriminate action.

Aside from the charges and counter-charges exchanged between India and Pakistan about refugees it does seen that the Pakistan Government has not yet acted with the necessary urgency. There have been no signs yet of effective steps towards reconciliation in East Pakistan. After a long period of silence President Yahya Khan made a statement a week ago but then only to promise a further statement two or three weeks later, on how he would fulfil his promise of handing power back to the people in East Pakistan. Meanwhile what is being done to disperse the hatred that in has accumulated? Has all repressive action now ceased? The Pakistan Government has at least now conceded the need for United Nations help in the task of distributing food and medical supplies. On both sides of the border that is now the absolute priority.

(*Editorial*, **THE TIMES**, London—June 1, 1971)

A HUMANITARIAN POINT

It does not involve any violation or negation or contradiction of neutrality and non-alignment to say that when people are in need, such as those who have fled to India from East Pakistan since the past few weeks are in today, one must come forward with whatever help one can extend.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As Press reports say, millions of people have trekked into India from East Pakistan. Leaving behind their belongings, they are refugees encamped at various points along the Indo-East Pakistan border. Naturally this is not a happy living for them. Recently, news reports have been appearing that at various such camps diseases like cholera, and gastro-enteritis have broken out, taking a heavy toll of human lives. Things like these are not abnormal when such a heavy influx of people takes place. India, it must be noted, has been doing her best to help these people but it is obvious that it is a burden which India alone cannot be expected to shoulder. Neither are these refugees only India's responsibility. The international community has therefore to come forward with whatever help it can provide these people in trouble.

Islamabad's feelings in regard to this problem, which is associated with the East Pakistan affair, can be understood. But whatever the state of relations between India and Pakistan may be today, it is incomprehensible on the part of Islamabad to contend that these refugees were encouraged by India to come in. It is just not understandable why any country, including India, should willingly invite such burdens, Likewise, it is only too obvious that when people started fleeing East Pakistan the only place they could go to was India. Geography has its own compulsions which cannot be obliterated by polemies and even politics. India therefore cannot be blamed for the refugees burden she has come to bear in this manner, although it is obvious that she has no soft feelings for Islamabad. Indeed, she has begun to express her concern and seek aid for these refugees. This aid has begun to trikle in. For the moment, extending help is the only task facing the international community. But if this problem is not to lead to further complications, it shall have to be seen, even in the interest of Pakistan, that these millions go back to the places from where they came. We need not point out how refugee problems have been hampering settlements and peace in various parts of the world.

(*Editorial*, **THE COMMONER**, Kathmandu—June 1, 1971)

BENGAL

Agony and Response

IN WEST BENGAL today we are witnessing a human catastrophe for which even the tormented history of the twentieth century can offer few parallels. In the awesome scale of the disaster, in the uniquely harrowing quality of its suffering, there has been little to compare with what is happening at this moment to the refugees of East Pakistan. The known statistics of death and dislocation are appalling enough: the prospects are even more terrifying. They have already produced in some of us a paralysis of the will, and anesthesia of the mind, blinding us to the urgency of the crisis. Let us imagine, if we can, the combined populations of Melbourne and Sydney driven in terror from their homes by a marauding army, cast adrift in a wilderness without food or shelter, to face the imminent prospect of extermination from starvation or rampant disease.

East Pakistan has had more than its share of disaster. It now ranks with Poland or Vietnam as the unluckiest country of modern times. It is barely six months since the cyclone devastated vast tracts of the countryside and left thousands of people dead or homeless. It is two months since the vengeful army of West Pakistan moved in to crush the local secessionist forces and begin their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ritual campaign of killing and destruction. History can offer no crueller irony than the spectacle of millions of impoverished, frightened and desperate people fleeing for succor to a land almost as poor, as overcrowded, as ridden by disease and as prone to crisis as the country from which they have fled.

It has taken the world too long to grasp the scale of this tragedy. The response in aid from foreign governments has been pitifully slow, and scarcely a word has been offered in warning or condemnation to President Yahya Khan's Government, which persists in the callous pretence that the refugee problem has been exaggerated by the foreign Press. The first-hand evidence of the Red Cross and international relief organisations can leave us in no doubt that the influx of refugees into West Bengal is placing an intolerable burden on the Indian authorities. They cannot be left to shoulder it alone. The Indians estimate that to keep the current numbers of refugees alive for six months will cost more than $ 200 million. Faced with this sort of expenditure—willingly undertaken by India in the name of humanity—the economy of West Bengal will soon collapse. Already Mrs. Gandhi has warned that India may be "forced to act" to ensure the repatriation of the refugees. Thus, to the prospect of social disintegration and pandemic cholera in West Bengal has been added a new threat to peace throughout the Indian sub-continent.

There has as yet been no sign of any effective steps to reconcile the two halves of Pakistan and ensure a return to political stability in the East. The refugees are unlikely to return to their homes while the threat of terror persists and some measure of political autonomy is denied them. The responsibility for ensuring this rests squarely with President Yahya. There can be no solution to the present appalling suffering until the refugees are removed from their squalid camps and repatriated to their homes—or whatever is left of them.

But the immediate need is to prevent the imminent deaths of five million or more human beings. Here, surely, is an inescapable challenge to the conscience and resourcefulness of the rest of the world. Australia has promised aid worth $ 500,000—enough to keep the refugees alive for one day, assuming they can be fed and inoculated in time. This is not enough. We believe the Government should give its full and urgent support to the appeal planned by Austcare, the agency that has already done most to bring the scale of the disaster to the attention of Australians. But relief, if it is to have any real effect, must be planned and co-ordinated on a world scale. It must not be directed through the Pakistan Government, who may be tempted to use it to bolster their own army and prolong their campaign of repression. At one time, the obvious agency to administer relief would have been the United Nations. So far it has shown little sign of urgency. In the absence of prompt U.N. action, there is much that Australia can do on its own: one pressing need is for vaccine, saline solution and mass-inoculation machines to check the spread of cholera. This is not a time to close our minds or take comfort in isolation. Here is a chance for Australians to prove the reality of our pity and compassion. We must give all we can, knowing that every dollar we withhold, and every day we delay our response, will be paid for in human lives.

(*Editorial*, THE SUNDAY AUSTRALIAN—June 6, 1971)

EAST BENGAL REFUGEES

Non-involvement in the "internal" affairs of sovereign states has rarely been carried as far as it has in the East Pakistani crisis. Four million refugees have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

crossed into India. There have been cholera outbreaks in many refugee camps, the death toll estimated now at 8,000. To prevent the spread of the disease to Calcutta, vulnerable to epidemics, the Indian Government has felt compelled to seal the East Pakistan frontier. This does not guarantee an end either to the refugee influx or to the spread of cholera.

New Delhi is clearly unable to cope with this situation and has made no secret of it. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has dispatched her Foreign Minister on a six-nation tour to impress on the major powers the fact that the East Pakistani crisis has become an almost intolerable problem, even threatening peace in the sub-continent. Thanks to the Western Press and political leaders in Europe and the United States there is some hope of assistance. Oxfam has flown anti-cholera vaccine and medicines and the Royal Air Force is standing by to fly mercy missions. Washington has earmarked substantial aid and is sending transport aircraft to India to move refugees from the border zones to areas where there are better facilities. But will sufficient aid reach India and Pakistan in time to prevent catastrophic tragedy? The answer will be known in the coming monsoon weeks.

Pakistan too has asked for massive aid but international response is qualified by caution. Pakistan's inability to use properly the aid sent after last year's cyclone, and its reluctance to admit international agencies freely have provoked an element of suspicion and distrust. The deep-seated hostility between the East Bengalis and the military administration is an important element which cannot be wished away.

At least Pakistan appears to be relenting. Two representatives of the United Nations Secretary-General are to visit Dacca to set up machinery to co-ordinate U.N. relief efforts. Here again time is of the essence. Many parts of East Pakistan will become almost inaccessible except by river-craft. Chittagong port is not yet back in working condition. And Islamabad must be persuaded towards a political settlement in the absence of which refugees will still struggle to reach India, and those who are already there will stay put.

The developments in East Pakistan are no longer solely an internal problem. Even Pakistan has given up the pretence of being able to come to grips with it without massive external assistance. The fact that it has also created a problem for India has added a dangerous element.

(*Editorial*, **THE STRAITS TIMES**, Malaysia—June 8, 1971)

A WORLD PROBLEM

"The world has waited too long. True, aid had been offered and in the beginning this was refused by the military authorities in East Pakistan. But the international community has lamentably failed to take a moral stand on what clearly was a ruthless attempt to subdue a whole people. Evidence has not been wanting. The bloodshed and destruction have been on a scale which can best be described as a pogrom.

"But the clearest evidence of all is the continuing flight of East Pakistanis into India. They could well number ten million before too long. They have gone to conditions no better than those they left—to emphasise their utter rejection of West Pakistani rule.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"*It is painful to think that all this evidence has not stirred the world community and the United Nations to some action to persuade Islamabad to stop the terror and create an acceptable civilian Administration.* However rightminded President Yahya Khan and other West Pakistani leaders may have felt when the crackdown began, it should have been clear to them as weeks went by what a terrible mistake they have made. The civil war is still not over. The nation is almost bankrupt. Stupendous problems of reconstruction lie ahead. What is to be the end of it all?

"Even if the cholera epidemic is contained, what is to become of the millions of refugees in India? That is not their home. It is not India's problem. It would be the height of cynicism to regard it as such, besides condoning the circumstances which drove these multitudes across the border.

"It is an international problem and the international community and the United Nations must accept the responsibility of rehabilitating the refugees in their own homeland. This means prevailing upon the Pakistan authorities to creat conditions which would enable the refugees to return and to assist in the mammoth task of moving them back.

"The use of force has reaped a bitter harvest for Pakistan and further pursuit of this course could lead to national disintegration. There is still an opportunity for national conciliation. The world should help Pakistan seize it," the paper concluding remarked.

(*Editorial*, THE STRAITS ECHO, Malaysia—June 10, 1971)

———

PAKISTAN'S FUTURE

In the Tragic sequel to President Yahya Khan's decision to abandon negotiation and resort to armed force in East Pakistan the world's attention has been focused, rightly, on the terrible plight of the refugees in West Bengal. There can be no slakening of this attention, even though hopes are rising that the outbreak of cholera is being contained. The number of refugees continues to rise—there are now probably about six million of them in India—and the toll among them from malnutrition and exposure to the monsoon rains and from other diseases may still be frightful. This is the short-term problem. Behind it, however, there looms the problem of repatriation. India, as Mr Ray made clear on Friday, has no intention of accepting the refugees indefinitely. Repatriation in its turn raises the many grave political and economic problems of Pakistan's future.

The resort to force in East Pakistan against the overwhelmingly popular Awami League and its Bengali nationalists has inflicted savage wounds from which the region is likely to bleed nearly to death. The Army, it seems clear, has virtually destoryed the indigenous administration. It has killed, imprisoned or driven underground civilian officials and leaders at all levels, from cities to villages, and it has disrupted the agricultural economy on which East Pakistan depends. The major victim seems likely to be the jute industry, already threatened by Indian competition and by the development of synthetic substitutes. Jute producers have been turning to rice, but the destruction of roads and bridges and the disruption of marketing facilities will put the harvest in jeopardy. Tea, East Pakistan's second export, is also endangered. Worst of all, there is the possibility of famine within three months. The prospects for recovery seem to be utterly bleak. That no

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

doubt, is why Moslems are now following Indians over the border to the refugee camps.

The future of West Pakistan is gloomy, too. Here the wounds are self-inflicted—the loss of much of East Pakistan's export earnings (about half of the whole country's trade revenue) and the disruption of a major outlet for Western Pakistani manufacturing. Islamabad now faces a foreign exchange crisis, perhaps as early as July. It also faces the continuing cost of an army of occupation in East Pakistan—an army which controls the cities and towns but by no means the countryside where the majority of the population live and where Bangla Desh nationalism has its roots.

In other words, President Yahya's militaristic solution of his political problems has involved him in a quite classic example of the nemesis of force. His search abroad for financial aid is running into the hostility of nations, like the United States, unwilling to give help which might be mainly used only to sustain the Army. Attempts by West Pakistan to picture a quick return to civilian rule in the East—rule by whom?—and an understanding with more moderate Awami members, to put the national constitutent assembly into business, have not been convincing. In these circumstances the repatriation of the six million refugees may become a very difficult operation. Their future, now a harrowing human problem, could become a no less harrowing international political problem.

(*Editorial*, THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD—June 14, 1971)

SLAUGHTER IN EAST PAKISTAN

Eyewitness reports, one more ghastly than another, continue to filter out of East Pakistan, telling of the massacre of the Bengali people by the Pakistani army.

Naturally, the military regime of President Yahya Khan denies it is committing selective genocide. But evidence mounts that it is cold bloodedly murdering minority Hindus, Bengali separatists, intellectuals, doctors, professors, students—in short those who could lead a self-governing East Pakistan.

The strongest evidence is that 5 million East Pakistanis have taken the terrible decision to abandon their homes and have fled on foot across the border into India. This starving, cholera-ridden mass is being augmented by 100,000 *terrified refugees each day.*

If things are now "normal" in East Pakistan, as Yahya Khan's Gauleiters claim, why are new refugees still inundating India and earlier ones refusing to go home?

Along with other countries, the United States is sending medicine and supplies to the refugees. This is only fair, since India has massive problems of its own and should not have to pay for Yahya Khan's cruelty to his own citizens.

Our Government is also trying to get a U.N. relief operation going inside East Pakistan itself. The army crackdown prevented rice planting, and millions of Bengalis face starvation if outside food is not distributed. The United Nations must do it, since nobody trusts West Pakistan to hand out supplies to the Bengalis, whom it treats as colonial subjects.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Most importantly the United States is urging the Yahya Khan regime to reach "a peaceful political accommodation" with the East Pakistanis. By this Washington means granting self-government to the Easterners—something a great majority of them have voted for.

Is it any of Washington's business? We think so. This country has poured billions of dollars in economic and military aid into Pakistan for two decades. (Most of the economic aid was appropriated by West Pakistan and the military aid used to crush the Bengalis.)

Now Pakistan needs at least $450 million a year to stave off bankruptcy, and the United States heads an international consortium being asked to furnish it.

Should Washington continue to help? We say no—not until Yahya Khan calls off his army killers and agrees to autonomy for East Pakistan. Otherwise, by strengthening his regime, we become moral accomplices to genocide and enslavement of the Bengali people.

Such a stand, we admit, may complicate our foreign policy but that is a small price to pay for not acquiescing to mass murder.

(*Editorial*, **THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS**—June 15, 1971)

INDIA NEEDS MORE HELP

In these times when fabulous sums are being spent to explore the universe, it is indeed tragic that the rich nations should be doing so little to help relieve the appalling suffering which millions of human beings are undergoing in East Pakistan and India.

Yesterday, India's Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, told her Parliament that India may have to pass through hell because of the influx of millions of East Pakistani refugees but eventually the entire international community would also suffer 'the consequences' of developments growing out of the three-month-old civil strife in East Pakistan.

Mrs. Gandhi made the prediction as she decried 'the pitiable' assistance which international communities have given India to help provide for more than six million refugees which have entered that country. Mrs. Gandhi said that so far only dollars eighty million (TT)—about a tenth of what is needed—has been received.

Only a few days ago the influential *Sunday Times* made this comment on the issue:

'In the shadow of a tragedy of these dimensions, the pace of international efforts at aid and relief seem, and are, maddenly slow. Nor does the conscence of the world appear to be unduly disturbed by this human disaster.

Dreadful diseases are sweeping rapidly through the Pakistani refugee camps in India and what is causing more fera in that country is that the monsoon season is quite near.

The rich nations of the world should realise that unless responses to appeals for help made by India and the United Nations are swift and generous, not only India but many countries in the East, will really "go through hell".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Trinidad and Tobago is struggling with its own economic problems but its people are generous and would willingly give the most they can if any official plea is made for donations to a relief fund for the refugees.

The people of this country will feel nothing but deep sympathy for those who are suffering so horribly in India and Pakistan. And in fact we have very special reasons to be concerned, for the ancestors of at least one-third of our citizens came from those countries.

But sympathy alone cannot help India with her present problems. She needs material things; we should do what we can to help. History must not record that Trinidad and Tobago was one of those countries who, while professing friendship for India, did nothing to help her in her time of need".

(*Editorial*, EVENING NEWS, Trinidad and Tobago—June 16, 1971)

GUYANESE CONCERN OVER REFUGEES

The impact of such a sudden influx of six million people was sound to cause severe disturbance to the social and economic life of the people of India, but humanity demanded that the sacrifice should be borne.

According to Mrs. Gandhi, no other country in the world had ever had to face an influx of that magnitude; no other country, in fact, had ever been called upon to face even one-tenth of the situation. But, said Mrs. Gandhi, India would, if necessary, "go through hell" to help the refugees.

But clearly, this is not a situation that should concern India alone. It calls for the assistance of the world at large. The most urgent need is food, shelter and medicine. And the people of Guyana can contribute to this need by raising funds. It must never be said that in a crisis like this facing their kindered people of India. Guyanese were found lacking in sympathy. Guyana is itself a poor country, but the situation facing India is one which calls for sacrifice and the people of Guyana know how to make sacrifices.

(*Editorial*, THE GUYANA EVENING POST—June 17, 1971)

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

From Dr. Tim Lusty

Sir, I have recently returned from West Bengal where I was working for Oxfam. Apart from the tragedy of four and a half million homeless people one of the main impressions I have is of the magnificent way in which the Indian Government is handling 95 per cent of relief.

Whether one blames Yahya Khan or the Awami League one thing is certain; the problem was not of India's making. Yet she, a poor country, is spending a half to a million pounds daily. Against this the 15 million promised by the UN looks ridiculous.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If we as a nation made a gift of 100 million pounds it would hardly affect our economy. But in the third world, on whose troubled waters there is many a fisherman but little bread, such an act whould not pass unnoticed.

Yours faithfully,
TIM LUSTY.
Upper Whitley Farm,
Cumnor, Oxford.

(THE TIMES, London—July 3, 1971)

REFUGEE WORKERS BITTER OVER U.N. 'PITTANCE' IN INDIA

The United Nations is coming under increasing attack from Western aid officials in Calcutta for its apparent failure to share a larger burden of the massive East Pakistan refugee problem.

The refugees now number over six million, one of the biggest migrations in history. But the world body's response to this influx was described yesterday by one leading independent aid expert as "a pittance".

He added: "What I really fear is that in six months' time there will be another emergency somewhere like Vietnam. All the agencies will pull their medical teams out, the United Nations will zip off there as well and these people will be forgotten".

Criticism of the United Nations efforts has been levelled on several points:

1. There is no special United Nations presence in Calcutta, nerve-centre of the relief operation in India's four eastern States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura.

Absence of workers

Although both the World Health organisation and the World Food Programme are flying materials to India, neither has staff in the field.

2. Field workers complain that staff of the United Nations High commission for Refugees, billed triumphantly in May as "the focal point for United Nations assistance," have not visited Calcutta or the Camps since then.

Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the High Commissioner, spent 10 hours in the Calcutta region more than a fortnight ago. But his reported promise to establish an office in Calcutta for the return of the refugees has not materialised.

3. The United Nations has so for channelled less than a third of the £70 million collected from Governments and its own agencies to the field. One embittered relief worker said: "I think they are being so slow because they know that when that lot has gone they're going to have nothing more to give".

4. According to those who have attended meetings held by Indian Government Relief Officials, the United Nations was given the role of co-ordinating the efforts of independent aid agencies.

But the world body has remained resolutely non-operational. British voluntary agencies like Oxfam, War on Want and the Save the Children Fund all successfully at work in the field, have received no guidance from it.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

5. The United Nations has refrained from stressing what many independent observers feel is the greatest priority—that the Indian Government should be reimbursed for what it has so far spent on the refugees. Current expenditure is running at almost £500,000 a day.

Unless there is immediate compensation, it is argued, development of the whole country will be impaired.

Officials of private relief agencies concede, however that the United Nations is not entirely at fault on these scores having been hampered by Indian reluctance to see the refugee problem as anything more than temporary.

(PETER GILL IN DAILY TELEGRAPH, London—July 5, 1971)

HEAVY BURDEN FOR INDIAN ECONOMY

It is already the 4th month after the tragic events which took place in East Pakistan that millions of refugees from this part of the world are leaving their homes and are seeking refuge in the neighbouring Indian States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Bihar.

The number of refugees is increasing day by day. If at the end of May this was 3.5 million then now according to the official data it is more than 6 million. Most often these people having crossed the border are living under the open sky in thatched huts or in shades put up in a hurry. Only a very small percentage could be accommodated in barracks and public buildings.

The huge accumulation of people at the special points for receiving the refugees is creating the danger of epidemics, In West Bengal where the majority of the refugees (arrive ?) from East Pakistan that is about five million people, have concentrated already many cases of cholera including fatal cases have been observed. Happily the fast outbreaks of this disease have been controlled.

The influx of refugees is a heavy burden for the Indian economy. The Indian Government considers that for easing the lot of the East Pakistan refugees they require three billion rupees in the next six months and this can create the danger of over-straining the national budget.

Refuting the calls of various instigators to join a war with Pakistan in order to achieve the return of the refugees to their homes, Indira Gandhi made a request for giving help to India in solving this problem.

The Soviet Government responded to this request and has already presented India 50,000 tons of rice for the East Pakistani refugees.

Now the public opinion of many countries who are following the dramatic development of events in South Asia with anxiety and sympathy are waiting for a very quick settlement of the problem and creation of necessary condition for the normal return of the refugees to their homes.

(ZA RUBEZHOM (A Russian Language Weekly—July 16,22, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ANOTHER 150,000 FLEE FROM PAKISTAN

More than 150,000 Bangla Desh refugees—nearly all of them Moslems—have fled into India's Tripura State in the past month after a reported wave of village burning and rape by Pakistani troops of the Yahya Khan regime.

Tripura's Chief Secretary Mr. I. P. Gupta said yesterday that 143,000 of the refugees are Moslems indicating a trend different from other areas on the Bangla Desh borders, where the exodus since mid-May had been mainly of Hindus.

One aged Moslem leader at Durgabari refugee camp, 20 miles south of Agartala the State capital, said he fled his home 15 days ago.

Abdul Jabbabar, 83, from the town of Qasbar, near Comilla, said, "I finally decided to leave after I saw the army take 50 young girls outside my house ...What they did was worse than rape."

Caught and Shot

He said the army had beaten his sister while she prayed and robbed his 63-year-old wife. Jabbar, a former District Court Official, said he had been Chairman of a Qasbar Awami League Committee.

The refugees said the troops did not permanently occupy villages and, when they moved on, some villagers returned to their homes to retrieve possessions. Two who did so had been caught and shot, they added.

A farmer with one leg shattered by a bullet said his village of Kayompur, about 440 yards inside Bangla Desh was shelled by Pakistani troops. Five villagers were killed.

Before the shelling, the military had been looting homes and molesting village women he added. Bangla Desh freedom fighters had been active in the area.

(MORNING STAR—July 21, 1971)

HUGE NEW EXODUS FROM BANGLA DESH

A huge exodus of refugees was moving from Bangla Desh to the Indian State of West Bengal yesterday. Some 400,000 to 500,000 are marching from Barisal, a South Central district and Faridpur, a Central district. Every 15 minutes 200 cross the border.

Last Friday more than 4,000 refugees, mainly from Barisal and Faridpur, crossed into India within about three hours in what seemed to have been the beginning of the new exodus.

Yesterday there was a large number of Moslems among the mainly Hindu refugees. Many of the Hindus said they had been guided by young Moslem members of the Awami League, who disappeared shortly before reaching the border.

Mohammed Murtuza Ali, a 22 year-old Moslem from Jenasur in Faridpur district said most male youths among the Bengali Moslems were either going to India or joining the Mukti Fauz (freedom fighters.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Six young men, passing into Bangla Desh from India against the flow of refugees, said they were going to join the Mukti Fauz at a base 90 miles away in Faridpur district.

In DELHI Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh told Indian M.Ps. that any Pakistani planes of Yahya Khan's Airforce that intruded into Indian Air-space would, in future, be shot down.

(MORNING STAR—July 24, 1971)

STILL NO END TO BENGAL FLIGHT

By PETER GILL who has spend the last two months reporting on the crisis in East Bengal.

After two months with the Bengalis, you become pretty good at sorting out the refugees from the rest, Without so much as winding down the car window to the warm monsoon rain, you can tell who's who and quite a bit besides.

Sheer numbers are a guide. of course, As a *Time* magazine correspondent and I drove the 12 miles from Bangaon near Calcutta, over the East Bengal border to Bogra last Wednesday, an endless sodden column tramped silently past the steamy windows. They will still be marching during the British Sunday breakfast, the British Sunday lunch and the Sunday evening snack in front of the television feature film.

Hindus and Moslems mingled, their only sin being that they were Bengali Hindus and Bengali Moslems.

Moslem men wear lungi, a strip of cloth that is wound round the waist and falls free to the calf. Hindus are more likely to wear the dhoti, the complicated Gandhian garment that also falls loose and free to the ground. There were both Hindu and Moslem men on the tramp for survival that day.

Widows in the column could also be distinguished. Instead of the coloured saris worn by pretty girls and married women, they dress in plain white ones manufactured of the cheapest fabric in the markets of East Bengal. Many are old and frail and lame, but they too have to be led through the mud and the rain from East Bengal to the camps in India.

Refugees carry everything and nothing, all tied up in dirty sacking and old saris. One old man in Bogra sat listless on his hunches dabbling his fingers in a stone jar of little fish brought from over the border. A nutritionist from abroad—and there are one or two doing the rounds—could have told him that those fish were the last protein he would be getting.

Our route through the refugees led to a corner of East Bengal that had once been Pakistan and is now independent Bangla Desh.

Two men from the Bangla Desh mission in Calcutta were with us, One had a little tape recorder with which he was going to record the sentiments of the liberated peasantry and the other quoted several appropriate lines of Sir. Walter Raleigh on patriotism.

The local guerrilla commander came to meet us. "You've already seen how high the morale is of the people here, he said.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To be honest, I hadn't. They were not on the march to the refugee camps of India, and that was something. But their enthusiasm for the Bangla Desh cause appeared about as limited as their enthusiasm for a united Pakistan. If the guerrillas would go away, and if the Pakistan Army would keep its distance, they could then carry on growing their crops and selling them in peace.

It was, in fact, market day in the village of Bangdah. The guerrilla commander's map of the area said: "Bangdah—markets on Wednesday and Saturday." The man with the tape recorder fixed up his microphone and then men from the local guerrilla force—soldiers proper and student volunteers—waited for the cheers to begin.

"Sheik Mujibur Rahman", yelled the man with the mike.

"Zindabad" (live for ever, came the response in unison.

For the refugees filing slowly past us and those they will join in India the grandiloquence of Governments has done little in two months. India has tried, but her accomplishments are small, Pakistan has enticed, but has offered nothing; the West has condemned and deplored, but has largely stood aloof.

Even the well-intentioned relief efforts of the West have become bogged down in the monsoon mud. The sterling from London, the dollars from Washington and the tonnages from Geneva look fine on paper. It is simply that there is not a Bengali refugee in India who is better fed, more adequately sheltered or healthier than he was two months ago.

(PETER GILL IN SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, London—July 25, 1971,)

A PROPOSAL ON PAKISTAN

In Pakistan the world is witnessing a holocaust unmatched since Hitler and "witnessing" is the operative word. While hundreds of thousands have died and millions have fled, the world has done little but look on in paralyzed horror, sighing for the victims and offering the survivors among them alms but taking no effective measures to ameliorate even the incontrovertibly international aspect of the tragedy: the forced flight of terrorized Pakistani refugees to India. After the catastrophe of the Nigerian civil war, one might have hoped the international community would have been prepared in mental outlook, any way to prevent a repetition of it. But no.

The great nations with an interest in the sub-continent have been unwilling to halt their separate routine quests for national advantage merely for the sake of reducing the toll of human misery. The Russians are, perhaps, the least to be blamed: they did not have an important position in Pakistan and they have used its agony merely to consolidate their position in India. The Chinese on the other hand, have adopted a policy of totally craveen expediency. They have rejected the Bengalis' cause of popular revolution against an unjust tyranny, and they have encouraged the oppression of the Bengalis by the Pakistani Government even to the point of offering to defend Pakistan against outside (meaning Indian) intervention.

The American policy is for Americans even more regrettable for "strategic" reasons, which come down to no more than an outmoded habit of military alliance with Pakistan's the United States has kept up a flow of arms and has asked

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Congress for new economic aid (so far denied) all this under the protext of gaining a friends leverage in order to steer the Pakistanis back on a moderate course. There has not been a whit of evidence, however, that the Pakistanis have paid any heed to whatever American urgings may have been privately conveyed. On the contrary the outpouring of refugees continues, at upwards of 20,000 a day and the United States is widely blamed for facilitating it.

What are the alternatives? One is an Indian-Pakistani war. This is for from unlikely, in view of the doemestic pressures upon both Governments. Pakistan's policy of expelling its citizens across the border and India's ploicy of aiding Bengali insurgency movement could provide the spark for broader hostilities at practically any moment. Such a war would add new dimensions of despair to the sub-continent and it would intensify the political play on the Moscow Peking-Washington triangle.

But, as well, a war would give U-Thant and the international community which he represents, an opening to deal with the basic problem of Pakistani cruelty. Everyone can see the death by starvation or cholera, in whatever numbers, and perhaps the greatest trans-border migration of peoples in modern history, and the imminent threat of war. Yet none of these has been adequate to mobilize Mr. Thant and the United Nations. But if a few people of one nationality were shot by a few soldiers of another, then the security council presumably would meet and the whole ponderous apparatus of international conciliation and problem-muffling might grind into gear.

The other alternative, as we see it, can only come either from an immediate joint appeal to Pakistan by the United States, the Soviet Union and the people's Republic of China or from separate but parallel appeals from these three. They would have to ask and help Pakistan to take the steps necessary to restore normal conditions, difficult indeed impossible as that task may seem now. The mechanics of American-Soviet-Chinese pressure are hard for an outsider to imagine (hard for an insider, too, no doubt). Yet it is plain that together the three countries, and only they, have the requisite influence to induce Pakistan to change the course, and the problem is to find a way to bring it to bear.

There are, of course, a dozen reasons diplomats and politicians can give you why such a proposal is unrealistic unworkable. Basically, it would require three extremely wary mutual rivals to collaborate, as they have never done, and to collaborate in an important arena of their rivalry. The argument for trying out the proposal though, is quite simple: it could spare 10 or 20 or 80 million people terrible additional suffering, not to say–for many of them-their lives. Forlorn or visionary as it may be, no possibility for limiting the effects of the Pakistani tragedy ought to be abandoned out of hand. And if the United States is not to make a real and positive contribution, then at the least it ought to end its current policy of aid, however limited, to Pakistan,

(*Editorial*, WASHINGTON POST—July 30, 1971)

TIME IS RUNNING OUT IN BENGAL

A first small step to getting Bengali refugees back home has been achieved in Pakistan's acceptance of United Nations obeservers in East Pakistan. India rejected this week the suggestion that there should be observers on its side of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the border too. But the main obstacle to the refugees' return remains the situation deep inside East Pakistan.

This is not helped by the fact that the Pakistani army has had nothing but praise from President Yahya, when it is obvious to anyone who travels around East Pakistan that it has used excessive force. The damage done throughout the province has been colossal, and there was a methodicalness about it that belies the official story that the soldiers only fired when fired upon. Worst hit are the bazaar areas, where they could wreak the maximum damage with the minimum of firepower.

The province's main roads are lined with burnt-out huts, and most areas around crossroads and bridges have been more or less cleared of human habitation. The army's claim that only eight soldiers, none of them officers, have been punished for excesses is hardly reassuring. There are reports that at least one brigadier has been relieved of his command. It might impress foreign aid donors and the refugees if the authorities made this sort of disciplinary action public. But West Pakistanis are terribly touchy about any criticism of the army, which has played a central part in their lives since the creation of Pakistan.

Most of the refugees are Hindus—nearly 6 million out of a total of nearly 7 million. The reassurances which the president has offered the Hindus have been offset by his insistence that the new constitution will be more Islamic than ever; and it is still unclear how for the army has stopped the Hindu-bashing in which it clearly indulged earlier. On June 21st two days after one of the president's speeches of reassurance, Dacca's most famous Hindu temple was pulled down. And since then the villages that have been sacked for "harbouring miscreants" have been mainly Hindu ones.

Hindu refugees are still pouring out of East Pakistan. Those interviewed on the border all say they are leaving because it is being made clear to them that they will have no place in the future Pakistan. Apart from the arm, the people they complain of are the Bengali members of the right-wing religious parties, Jamaat Islam and the Moslem League, which were crushed in las December's elections, and the Biharis who came as Moslem refugees from India in 1947.

It is from these two groups that the new "peace committees" have been formed. Until now these committees have been busy providing the army with information about Awami League members and Hindus. But now that so many people have fled then play an important part in the forming of allotment committees that appoint "caretakers" for abandoned property. Officially, half of the income from this property should go into a relief fund and the property should be handed back intact to any refugees who return. Since so few have returned it is impossible to establish whether this will happen in practice. Returning refugees will probably have difficulty in recovering their property from the hands of Biharis and Moslem fanatics who are now high in the favour of the military authorities.

Under the peace committees come the *razakars*, Home Guard-type volunteers who are paid a small wage and armed to help the police in preventing sabotage by the Mukti Fauj. Many of them are simply local thugs. There are cases of criminal charges being dropped if the accused men join the *razakars*, and one case of a man who, although legally disqualified for life from ever carrying a weapon, is low using a Lee Enfield.

It is the peace committees and *razakars*, a mixture of opportunist collaborators, bigots and toughs, whom the Mukti Fauj guerrillas have chosen as

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

their prime target. They have killed a fair number of them. The military authorities in Dacca are conscious of the need to attract more respectable civilian support. Indeed General Farman Ali, who is in charge of civil affairs in East Pakistan has publicly admitted that there are some bad characters on the peace committees.

But time is not on the military government's side. The Mukti Fauj has shown that it can operate even in Dacca and its actions are already a powerfu- deterrent to those Bengalis who might be willing to play along with the authorities. And so long as the Mukti Fauj continues to operate however sporal dically the government will find it difficult to treat any Bengali in any position of authority. Apart from the 60,000 troops and 5,000 West Pakistani police it has brought in, the government seems to have tried to keep its "colonial profily" as low as possible. But West Pakistani civil servants have been brought in to head homes department and information ministry and as district commissioners for Dacca and Chittagong: and there has been a purge of Pakistan International Airlines where some 850 flight and ground staff have been dismissed since March. Security is essential in PIA becuase it is the only link between the country's two wings.

Nor is time on the president's side if the Mukti Fauj continue to make the economy another of their price targets Quite apart from their sabotaging of Bridges and communications, which is largely aimed at hamstringing army movements they have started a concerted campaign against East Pakistan main crops; jute and tea. Very little jute—which is Pakistan's main foreign exchange earner is reaching the mills, because growers and dealers have received anonymous letters from the Mukti Fauj telling them not to move it. Many of the letters bear smudged postmarks indicating that postal workers are helping the guerrillas in their own way. And little of the jute that gets to the mills is being baled because of labour troubles between Bengalis and Biharis. Tea which is grown near Sylhet in the north-east, has been badly hit. Some estates have been shelled from across the Indian border and the Mukti Fauj has blown up eight processing factories.

But so far there seems to be little pressure on President Yahya from West Pakistan. News about East Pakistan is heavily censored, and the only West Pakistanis learn about army casualties is from Indian broadcast. And although the economic squeeze is already on, the business lobby is too timid to make representations to the Pesident. Only Mr. Bhutto makes occasional complaints about continued martial law, and that simply because he wants to use his electroral majority in West Pakistan.

(THE ECONOMIST, London—July 31, 1971)

PAKISTAN

The Ravaging of Golden Bengal

Over the rivers and down the highways and along countless jungle paths, the population of East Pakistan continues to haemorrhage into India: an endless unorganized flow of refugees with a few tin kettles, cardboard boxes and ragged clothes piled on their heads, carrying their sick children and their old. They pad along barefooted, with the mud sucking at their heels in the wet parts. They are silent except for a child whimpering now and then, but their faces tell the story. Many are sick and covered with sores. Others have cholera, and when

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

they die by the roadside there is no one to bury them. The Hindus, when they can, put a hot coal in the mouths of their dead or singe the body in lieu of cremation. The dogs, the vultures and the crows do the rest. As the refugees pass the rotting corpses, some put pieces of cloth over their noses.

The column pushing into India never ends day or night. It has been four months since civil war throughout between East and West Pakistan and the refugees still pour in. No one can count them precisely but Indian Officials, by projecting camp registrations, calculate that they come at the rate of 50,000 a day. Last week the estimated total passed the 7,500,000 mark. Should widespread famine hit East Pakistan as now seems likely India fears that the number may double before the exodus ends.

Hundreds of thousands of these are still wandering about the countryside without food and shelter. Near the border, some have taken over schools to sleep in; others stay with villagers or sleep out in the fields and under the trees. Most are shepherded into refugees camps where they are given ration cards for food and housed in makeshift sheds of bamboo covered with thatched or plastic roofing. Though no one is actually starving in the camps food is in short supply particularly powdered milk and baby food.

NO MORE TEARS

Life has been made even more miserable for the refugees by the monsoon rains, that have turned many camps into muddy lagoons. Reports Dr. Mathis Bromberger, a German physician working at a camp outside Calcutta: "There were thousands of people standing out in the open here all night in the rain. Women with babies in their arms. They could not lie down because the water came up to their knees in places. There was not enough shelter and in the morning there were always many sick and dying of pneumonia. We could not get our serious cholera cases to the hospital. And there was no one to take away the dead. They just lay around on the ground or in the water. "High pressure syringes have speeded vaccination and reduced the cholera threat, but camp health officials have already counted about 500 dead and an estimated 35,000 have been stricken by the convulsive vomiting and diarrhea that accompany the disease. Now officials fear that pneumonia, diphtheria and tuberculosis will also begin to exact a toll among the weakened refugees Says : one doctor "The people are not even crying any more."

Perhaps because what they flee from is even worse. Each has his own horror story of rape, murder or other atrocity committed by the Pakistani army in its effort to crush the Bengali independence movement. One couple tells how soldiers took their two grown sons outside the house, bayoneted them in the stomach and refused to allow anyone to go near the bleeding boys, who died hours later. Another woman says that when the soldiers came to her door, she hid her children in her bed, but seeing them beneath the blanket, the soldiers opened fire, killing two and wounding another. According to one report from the Press Trust of India (P.T.I.) 50 refugees recently fled into a jute field near the Indian border when they heard a Pakistani army patrol approaching. "Suddenly a six-month-old child in its mother's lap started crying," said the P.T.I. report. "Failing to make the child silent and apprehending that the refugees might be attacked, the woman throttled the infant to death."

CORDON OF FIRE

The evidence. of the bloodbath is all over East Pakistan Whole sections of cities lie in ruins from shelling and aerial attacks. In Khalishpur the northern suburb of Khulna naked children and haggard women scavenge the rubble where

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

thier homes and shops once stood. Streaches of Chittagong's Hizari Lane and Maulana Sowkat Ali Road have been wiped out. The central bazaar in Jessore is reduced to twisted masses of corrugated tin and shattered walls. Kushtia, a city of 40,000 now looks as a World Bank team reported, "like the morning after a nuclear attack." In Dacca, where soldiers set sections of the old city ablaze with flamethrowers and then machine gunned thousands as they tried to escape the cordon of fire, nearly 25 blocks have been bull dozed clear, leaving open areas set incongruously amid jam packed slums. For the benefit of foreign visitors the army has patched up many shell holes in the walls of Dacca University where hundreds of students were killed. But many signs remain. The tank blasted Rajabagh Police Barracks where nearly 1000 surrounded Bengali corps fought to the last, is still in ruins.

Million of acres have been abandoned. Much of the vital jute export corp, due for harvest now, lies rotting in the fields little of that already harvested is able to reach the mills. Only a small part of this year's tea crop is salvegeable. More than 300,000 tone of imported grain sits in the clogged ports of Chittagong and Chalna. Food markets are still operating in Dacca and other cities but rice have risen 20 per cent in four months.

Fear and deep sullen hatred are everywhere evident among Bengalis. Few will talk to reporters in public but letters telling of atrocities and destroyed villages are stuck in journalists' mail boxes at Dacca's Hotel Intercontinental. In the privacy of his home one night a senior Bengali bureaucrat declared: "This will be a bitter, protracted struggle, may be worse than Viet Nam. But we will win in the end.

Estimates of the death toll in the army crackdown range from 200,000 all the way up to a million. The lower figure is more widely accepted, but the number may never be known. For one thing another countless corpses have been dumped in rivers, wells and mass graves. For another statistics from East Pakistan are even more unreliable than statistics from most other places (*see* **TIME** Essay). That is inevitable in a place where, before the refugee exodus began, 78 million people 80 per cent of them illiterate, were packed into an area no larger than Florida.

Harsh Reprisals

The Hindus, who account for three-fourths of the refugees and a majority of the dead, have borne the brunt of the Moslem military's hatred. Even now, Moslem soldiers in East Pakistan will snatch away a man's *lungi* (sarong) to see if he is circumcised obligatory for Moslems if he is not it usually means death. Others are simply rounded up and shot. Commented one high U. S. official last week: "It is the most incredible calculated thing since the days of the Nazis in Poland."

In recent weeks, resistance has steadily mounted. The army response has been a pattern of harsh reprisals for guerrilla hit-and-run forays, sabotage and assassination of collaborators. But the Mukti Bahini, the Bengali liberation forces have blasted hundreds of bridges and culverts, paralyzing road and rail traffic. The main thrust of the guerrilla movement is coming from across the Indian border where the Bangla Desh (Bengal Nation) provisional government has under taken a massive recruitment and training program. Pakistani President Aghame Mohammed Yahya Khan last week charged that there were 24 such camps within India and Indians no longer even bother to deny the fact that locals and some border. units are giving assistance to the rebels.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Half of the Mukti Bhini's reported 50,000 fighters come from the East Bengal Regiment, the para-military East Bengal Rifles and the Bengali police, who defected in the early days of the fighting. Young recruits, many of them students, are being trained to blend in with the peasants who feed them, and serve as lookouts, scouts and hit and run saboteurs. Twice the guerrillas have knocked out power in Dacca and they have kept the Dacca Chittagong railway line severed for weeks Wherever possible they raise the green, red and gold Bangla Desh flag. They claim to have killed 25,000 Pakistani troops, though the figure may well be closer to 2,500 plus 10,000 wounded (according to a reliable Western estimate). Resistance fighters already control the countryside at night and much of it in the daytime.

Only time and the test of fire will show whether or not the Mukti Bahini's leaders can forge them into a disciplined gurrilla force. The present commander in chief is a retired colonel named A.G. Osmani, a member of the East Pakistani Awami League. But many feel that before the conflict is over, the present moderate leadership will give way to more redical men. So far the conflict is non-ideological. But that could change. "If the democracies do not put pressure on the Pakistanis to resolve this question in the near future," says a Bangla Desh Official, "I fear for the consequences. If the fight for liberation is prolonged too long the democratic elemends will be eliminated and the communists will prevail. Up til now the Communists do not have a strong position. But if we fail to deliver the goods to our people, they will sweep us away."

By no means have all the reprisals been the work of the army. Bengalis also massacred some 500 suspected collaborators, such as members of the rightwing religious Jammat-e-Islami and other minor parties. The Biharis, non-Bengali Moslems who fled from India to Pakistan after partition in 1947, were favorite—and sometimes innocent—targets. Suspected sympathizers have been hacked to death in their beds or even beheaded to by guerrillas as a warning to other villagers. More ominious is the growing confrontation along the porous 1,300 mile border where many of the Pakistani army's 70,000 troops are trying to seal off raids by rebels based in India. With Indian *jawans* facing them on the other side, a stray shot could start a new Indo-Pakistani war—and one on a much more devastating scale than their 17-day clash over Kashmir in 1965.

Embroiled in a developing if still disorganized guerrilla war, Pakistan faces ever bleaker prospects as the conflict spreads. By now, in fact, chances of ever recovering voluntary national unity seem nil. But to Yahya Khan and the other tough West Pakistani generals who rule the world's fifth largest nation, an East-West parting is out of the question. For the sake of Pakistan's unity, Yahya declared last month. "no sacrifice is too great". The unity he envisions, howeveri might well leave East Pakistan a cringing colony. In an effort to stamp out Bengal, culture, even street names are being changed. Shakari Bazar Road in Dacca is now called Tikka Khan Road after the hared as-nails commander who now rules East Pakistan under martial law.

Honeyed Smile

The proud Bengalis are unlikely to give in. A warm and friendly but volatile people whose twin passions are politicis and poetry, they have nurtured a gentle and distinctive culture of their own. Conversation—*adda* is the favorite past time and it is carried on endlessly under the banyan trees in the villages or in the coffee houses of Dacca.

Typically, Bangla Desh chose as its national anthem not a revolutionary song but a poem by the Nobel prize winning Bengali Poet Rabindranath Tagore, 'Golden Bengal".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

.....come Spring, O mother mine!
Your mango groves are heady
with fragrance,
The air intoxicates like wine.
Come autumn, O mother mine!
I see the honeyed smile of your
harvest-laden fields.

It is indeed a land of unexpectedly lush and verdant beauty, whose emerald rice and jute fields stretching over the Ganges Delta as far as the eye can see belie the savage misfortunes that have befallen its people. The soil is so rich it sprouts vegetation at the drop of a seed, yet that has not prevented Bengal from becoming a festering wound of poverty. Nature can be as brutal as it is bountiful, lashing the land with vicious cyclones and flooding it annually with the spillover from the Ganges and the Brahmaputra rivers.

Improbable Wedding

Even in less troubled times, Pakistanis were prone to observe that the only bonds between the diverse and distant wings of their Moslem nation were the Islamic faith and Pakistan International Airlines. Sharing neither borders nor cultures, separated by 1,100 miles of Indian territory (*see* map), Pakistan is an improbable wedding of the Middle East and Southeast Asia. The tall, light-skinned Punjabis, Pathans, Baluchis and Sindhis of West Pakistan are descendants of the Aryans who swept into the sub-continent in the second millennium B.C. East Pakistan's slight, dark Bengalis are more closely related to the Dravidian people they subjugated. The Westerners, who eat wheat and meat, speak Urdu, which is written in Arabic but is a synthesis of Persian and Hindi. The Easterners eat rice and fish, and speak Bengali, a singsong language of Indo-Aryan origin.

The East also has a much larger Hindu minority than the West : 10 million out of a population of 78 million, compared with 800,000 Hindus out of a population of 58 million in the West. In British India days, the western reaches of what is now West Pakistan formed the frontier of the empire, and the British trained the energetic Punjabis and Pathans as soldiers. They scorn the *lungi*, a Southeast Asian-style sarong worn by the Bengalis. "In the East," a West Pakistani saying has it, "the men wear the skirts and the women the pants. In the West, things are as they should be."

Twenty families

The West Pakistanis were also determined to "wear the pants" as far as running the country was concerned. Once, the Bengalis were proud to belong to Pakistan (an Urdu word meaning "land of the pure"). Like the Moslems from the West, they had been resentful of the dominance of the more numerous Hindus in India before partition. In 1940, Pakistan's founding father Mohammed Ali Jinnah, called for a separate Islamic State. India hoped to prevent the split, but in self-determination elections in 1947, five predominantly Moslem provinces, including East Bengal, voted to break away. The result was a geographical curiosity and as it sadly proved, a political absurdity.

Instead of bringing peace, independence and partition brought horrible massacres, with Hindus killing Moslems and Moslems killing Hindus. Shortly before his assasination in 1948, Mahathma Gandhi undertook what proved to be his last fast to halt the bloodshed. "All the quarrels of the Hindus and the Mohammedans," he said, "have arisen from each wanting to force the other to his view."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

From the beginning, the East got the short end of the bargain in Pakistan. Though it has only one-sixth of the country's total land area, the East contains well over half the population (about 136 million), and in early years contributed as much as 70 per cent of the foreign-exchange earnings. But West Pakistan regularly devours three-quarters of all foreign aid and 60 per cent of export earnings. With the Punjabi-Pathan power elite in control for two decades, East Pakistan has been left a deprived agricultural backwater. Before the civil war, Bengalis held only 15 per cent of government jobs and accounted for only 5 per cent of the 275,000 man army. Twenty multimillionaire families, nearly all from the West, still control a shockingly disproportionate amount of the country's wealth (by an official study, two-thirds of the nation's industry and four-fifths of its banking and insurance assets). Per capita income is miserably low throughout Pakistan, but in the West ($ 48) it is more than half again that in the East ($ 30).

To cap this long line of grievances came the devastating cyclone that roared in off the Bay of Bengal last November, claiming some 500,000 lives. The callousness of West toward East was never more shockingly apparent. Yahya waited 13 days before visiting the disaster scene, which some observes described as "a second Hiroshima". The Pakistani navy never bothered to search for victims. Aid distribution was lethargic where it existed at all ; tons of grain remained stockpiled in warehouses while Pakistani army helicopters sat on their pads in the West.

Supreme Sacrifice

Three weeks later, Pakistan held its first national elections since becoming a nation 23 years before; the object was to choose a constitutional assembly that would draft a new charter for the nation, and then would continue to sit as a national assembly. The East Pakistanis thronged the polls and gave an overwhelming endorsement to Sheik Mujibur ("Mujib") Rahman, 51, the fiery head of the party known as the Awami League and a longtime spokesman for Eastern autonomy (he spent nearly ten years in jail for urging that Bengalis be given greater control of their destiny). Mujib's Awami (People's) Leaue captured 167 out of the 169 seats allotted to the East in the 313-member national assembly, giving it a clear majority. The victory meant that Mujib, as the leader of the majority party, would be Prime Minister of all Pakistan.

It was something that Yahya had simply not anticipated. He and his fellow generals expected that Mujib would capture no more than 60 per cenr of the East Pakistani seats, and that smaller parties in the East would form a coalition with West Pakistani parties, leaving the real power in Islamabad. Mujib feared some sort of doublecross: "If the polls are frustrated", he declared in a statement that proved horribly prophetic, "the people of East Pakistan will owe it to the million who have died in the cyclone to make the supreme sacrifice of another million lives, if need be, so that we can live as a free prople".

With the constitutional assembly, scheduled to convene in March, Yahya began a covert troop buildup, flying soldiers dressed in civilian clothes to the East at night. Then he postponed the assembly, explaining that it could not meet until he could determine precisely how much power and autonomy Mujib wanted for the East. Mujib had not espused full independence, but a loosened semblance of national unity under which each wing would control its own taxation, trade and foreign aid. To Yahya and the generals, that was unacceptable. On March 25, Yahya broke off the meetings he had been holding and flew back to Islamabad. Five hours later, soldiers using howitzers, tanks and rockets launched troop attacks in half a dozen sections of Dacca. The war was on. Swiftly, Yahya outlawed the Awami League and ordered the armed forces "to do their duty". Scores of Awami politicians were seized, including Mujib, who now awaits trail in remote

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sahiwal, 125 miles south-west of Islamabad, on charges of treason; the trial, expected to begin in August, could lead to the death penalty.

Out of touch

In the months since open conflict erupted, nothing has softened Yahya's stand. In fact, in the face of talk about protracted guerrilla fighting, mounting, dangers of war with India, and an already enormous cost in human suffering, the general has only stiffened. Should India step up its aid to the guerrillas, he warned last week, "I shall declare a general war—and let the world take note of it". Should the countries that have been funneling $ 450 million a year in economic aid into Pakistan put on too much pressure, he also warned, he will do without it.

He has already lost some. After touring East Pakistan last month, a special World Bank mission recommended to its eleven-nation consortium that further aid be withheld pending a "political accommodation". World Bank President Robert McNamara classified the report on the grounds that it might worse an already difficult diplomatic situation. The report spoke bluntly of widespread fear of the Pakistani army and devastation on a scale reminiscent of World War II. It described Kushtia, which was 90% destroyed, as "the My Lai of the West Pakistani army." A middle-level World Bank official leaked the study, and last week McNamara sent Yahya an apology; in his letter he reportedly said that he found the report "biased and provocative". Yet one Bank official insisted that though it was later revised and modified somewhat, its thrust remained the same. "We just had to put it on a less passionate basis," he said. "But it did not reduce its impact."

U.S. policy has been murky, to say the least. The Nixon Administration continues to oppose a complete cutoff of U.S. aid to Pakistan. The white House has asked Congress for $118 million in economic assistance for Pakistan for fiscal 1971-72, which it says will be held in abeyance. Despite intense pressure from within his official family, as well as from Congress, Nixon argues that a total cut-off might drive Pakistan closer to China, which has been one of its principal suppliers of military aid since 1965, and also destroy whatever leverage the U.S. has in the situation. In the light of Henry Kissinger's trip to China, however, it now seems clear that there may have been another motive for the Administration's soft-pedaling. Pakistan, of course, was Kissinger's secret bridge to China.

Nonetheless, criticism has been mounting, particularly in the Senate, with its abundance of Democratic presidential aspirants. Senator Edward M. Kennedy charged that the World Bank report, together with a State Department survey predicting a famine of appalling, proportions, "made a mockery of the Administration's policy". Two weeks ago, the House Foreign Affairs Committee recommended cutting off both military and economic aid to Pakistan. The bill still must clear the House and the Senate, but its chances of passage are considered good.

Since 1952, when massive aid began, Pakistan has received $4.3 billion from the U.S. in economic assistance. In addition, the U.S. equipped and maintained the Pakistani armed forces up until 1965. Then, because of the Pakistani-Indian war, arms sales were dropped. Last October the Administration resumed military aid on a "one-time basis". After the East Pakistan conflct erupted, it was announced that arms shipments would be suspended; but when three ships were discovered to be carrying U.S.. military equipment to Pakistan any way, the State Department explained that it intended only to honor licenses already issued. Over the years, it is estimated that close to $1 billion has been provided for military assistance alone.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The U.S. may well have to do some rethinking of its Pakistan policy. In a recent interview with TIME, former French Culture Minister, Andre Malraux warned that before long, "you in the United States will have a big new problem in Asia: Bengal. It will be like Viet Nam, except that there are 78 millione Bengalese [in Pakistan.] The Bengalese are nationalists, not Maoists. But th present screne attitude of the U.S. will have to change".

Condoning Genocide

India is particularly incensed over the present U.S. policy, and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi strongly protested to Henry Kissenger about U.S. military shipments when he visited New Delhi this month. The supply of arms by any country to Pakistan, Foreign Minister Swaran Singh charged last week, "amounts to condonation of genocide". Mrs. Gandhi is faced both with mounting pressure for military action, and an awesome cost that could set her own economy back years. India is feeding the refugees for a mere 1.10 rupees (15%) per person per day, but even that amounts to more than $1,000,000 a day. The first six months alone, Indian officials say, will cost $400 million. Contributions pledged by other countries (the U.S. leads with $73 million) equal barely one-third of that—and much of that money has not yet actually been paid.

Still, it would hardly be cheaper to launch a war and get it over with, as some high-level Indians openly suggest. Hours after Indian troops marched into East Pakistan, Pakistani tanks and troops could be expected to roll over India's western borders. Moreover, fighting could spread over the entire sub-continent. For all of India's commitment "to Bangla Desh democracy and those who are fighting for their rights", in the words of Mrs. Gandhi, New Delhi, is not at all interested in taking on the burden of East Bengal's economic problems. The only answer, as New Delhi sees it, is a political solution that would enable refugees to return to their homes.

The impetus for that could conceivably come from West Pakistanis. It is still far from certain that they are really determined to go the distance in a prolonged war. Thus far, the war has been officially misrepresented to the people of the West as a mere "operation" against "miscreants". Tight censorship allows no foreign publications, containing stories about the conflict to enter the country. Even so, as more and more soldiers return home badly maimed, and as young officers are brought back in coffins (enlisted men are buried in the East), opposition could mount. The pinch is already being felt economically, and there have been massive layoffs in industries unable to obtain raw materials for lack of foreign exchange.

Immense suffering

Meanwhile, the food supply in East Pakistan dwindles, and there is no prospect that enough will be harvested or imported to avert mass starvation. August is normally a big harvest month, but untold acres went unplanted in April, when the fighting was at its height. Already, peasants along the rainswept roads show the jaunt faces, vacant stares, pencil limbs and distended stomachs of mal-nutrition. Millions of Bengalis have begun roaming the countryside in quest of food. In some hard-hit locales, people have been seen eating roots and dogs. The threat of starvation will drive many more into India. Unless a relief programme of heroic proportions is quickly launched, countless millions may die in the next few months. Yahya's regime is not about to sponsor such an effort. His latest federal budget, adopted last week, allocates $6 out of every $10 to the West, not the East; in fact, the level of funds for Bengal is the lowest in five years. The U.S., still fretful about driving Yahya deeper into Peking's embrace, seems unlikely to provide the impetus for such a program.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tagore once wrote:

Man's body is so small
His strength of suffering so immense.

But in golden Bengal how much strength can man summon before the small body is crushed?

(TIME, New York—August 2, 1971)

EXTRACTS FROM WORLD PRESS

CRUELTIES

Huge crowds of refugees are pouring into India across the borders. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has every reason to draw the world's attention to the cruelties now being enacted in the eastern wing of Pakistan.

(*Editorial*, THE ARBETE, Stockholm—April 13, 1971)

ENORMOUS HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM

Ignoring, if one can, the complexities of political and diplomatic ramifications of the grim events in East Pakistan, the question of the enormous humanitarian problem which the situations has spawned, deserves immediate and dramatic attentlon.

More than five hundred thousand refugees from Pakistan have already fled to nearby India and for all that, the latter nations' determination to meet the problem, head-on, it can be seen that international assistance will be required quickly.

To be sure, India may well have her sympathies in order, but the enormous costs and mobilizing the action required to handle the evergrowing refugee total, will soon go beyond any single power's ability to sustain.

(*Editorial*, BANGKOK WORLD, Bangkok—April 24, 1971)

A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE

Refugees have streamed along these roads before, particularly at independence 24 years ago, when Hindus fled from the newly created Moslem State of Pakistan.

But this time, in this much troubled subcontinent, there is a fundamental difference. Most of the refugees today are Moslems, fleeing from a country they had been taught to regard as their own religious state.

(JOHN STONEHOUSE, M.P., SUN, U.K.—April 26, 1971)

GRAVEST SITUATION

On-the-spot reports say the situation is the gravest since thousands of Hindu and Bengali refugees began pouring across the Indian border from East Pakistan to escape Pakistani President Yahya Khan's 'vengeance' troops.

(GEOFFREY WAKEFORD'S report, DAILY MAIL, U.K.—April 27, 1971.)

IT IS INDIA WHICH IS MOST AFFECTED

With refugees streaming across the border, it is India which is most affected by the dismemberment of Pakistan. Her resources are already strained, her

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

north-reastern territories already simmering in latent revolt, and the chaos in West Bengal already burgeoning from the tensions of a huge refugee population. India cannot afford to become embroiled.

(DAVID LOSHAK's report, **DAILY TELEGRAPH**, U.K.—April 27, 1971.)

AID TO REFUGEES IN INDIA

In my personal opinion this Government of Pakistan is very efficient when it comes to the question of destroying parliamentary majorities. However, this Government is very inefficient when it is concerned with distribution of international aid to help people. That is why I suggest that this help should be distributed to refugees in India.

(Extract from a speech of Mr. TALLERT Member of the ruling Social Democratic Party on development aid policy in the Bundestag on April 28, 1971.)

CONFUSED AND PITIABLE

Refugees by the thousands have been streaming across the Indian border to escape the devastating brutality of West Pakistani troops, who moved into the Eastern and most populous segment of Pakistan to put down the Bengali claim to a modes rate measure of autonomy.

These refugees, already impoverished, now are entirely helpless. Most of them have run for their lives with only a few rags on their backs. They are confused and pitiable, as an eyewitness newsman reported. Most of them saw relatives wantonly shot to death by the West Pakistani troops. Many have untended wounds themselves.

(**WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS**—April 29, 1971)

ROUGH MILITARY ACTIONS

The effects of President Yahya Khan's rough military action in East Pakistan are far from over. His army has caused the deaths of many of his countrymen, and its operation has made refugees of thousands more. The lives of further thousands are threatened by starvation and lack of shelter.

(*Editorial*, **THE GUARDIAN**, London—May 7, 1971, captioned "THE WORLD'S LATEST REFUGEES")

DESPERATE SITUATION

The refugees situation is desperate. Two millions have so far crossed into India. Millions more are expected. India has borne the brunt of the refugee problem so far; it is time the UN as a first step, took over the cost of feeding and sheltering them.

(Comments on developments in East Pakistan in the **IRISH TIMES**, Dublin—May 8, 1971)

MILITARY AGGRESSION

There are more than a million refugees who have fled the military aggression in East Bengal and taken refuge in Indian soil. These people need all help from the outside world. Refugee aid seems to be moving in slowly to refugee camps.

(*Editorial*, **DAILY EXPRESS**, Kuala Lumpur—May 10 1971, captioned "Poor POOR EAST PAKISTAN REFUGEES".)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SUFFERING BENGALIS

Pakistan continues to act badly towards the citizens of its Eastern wing, whose movement for political autonomy—carried on through legal and democratic channels —was cruelly crushed by the Pakistani army during the sprint. The Yahya Khan military government still does not let international relief flow to the suffering Bengalis of East Pakistan, they are being forced to flee into India.

(*Editorial,* WASHINGTON POST—May 12, 1971, " The requirements in Pakistan ".)

THE TIDE OF HOMELESS

For instance, the army has ordered all houses cleared near rail tracks starting in Dacca and continuing 90 miles north to Mymensingh. An estimated 30,000 families have been forced to tear down their houses brick by brick and have joined the tide of homeless.

The army, mainly West Pakistanis, is a force besieged in an alien and hostile country and faces sniping and sabotage. By clearing housing from the railway right-of-way it believes these problems will be reduced.

(Despatch in the NEW YORK TIMES—May 13, 1971 by MALCOLM W. BROWNE.)

THE RISING NUMBER

The new statistics show that instead of gradually tapering off, as had been expected, the number of people crossing the border from East Bengal into India has risen from 50,000 a day a week ago, to roughly 100,000 a day, this week.

(Despatch by its diplomatic correspondent in THE GUARDIAN, London—May 15, 1971 captioned "100,000 A Day Flee East Pakistan".)

GROWING SCALE OF INFLUX

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was perfectly right when she told evacuees from East Pakistan, billetted in refugee camp in West Bengal, that they will have to return to East Pakistan as soon as possible. The scale of their influx is more than India can accept.

(*Editorial,* STRAITS TIMES—May 18, 1971 captioned "The Miserable Millions".)

AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is certainly right in saying the nearly three million refugees from East Pakistan who have surged across India's borders since the March 25 Civil War are an international problem. So indeed are the additional millions who remain in East Pakistan and face starvation there.

(*Editorial,* CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR—May 20, 1971)

GIGANTIC TASK

In the name of humanity we appeal to all freedom-loving peoples of the world to support India in cash and kind in the gigantic task of caring for the refugeees who have now become a burden and liability on India.

(*Editorial,* PALAVER, Accra—May 20, 1971, captioned " Help India Solve Refugee Problem. ")

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A HEAVY BURDEN

More than three million evacuees arrived in India from East Bengal in the wake of the tragic events known to the whole world. India is doing its utmost to look after a heavy burden exeeding her capacities. It is inhuman therefore to leave India alone in the field of relief and responsibility.

(AL NAHAR, Beirut—May 23, 1971)

FAR TOO AFRAID

I asked many refugees if they would go back in answer to President Yahya Khan's appeal of Saturday, but they all said they were far too afraid of the Pakistan Army.

(Clare Hollingworth's despatch from Hili, West Dinajpur, in THE DAILY TELEGRAH—May 24, 1971, captioned "Pakistanis Detain Reporter".)

SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE

It is almost impossible for us to imagine the scale of this exodus or the extent of misery, unless we compare the movement to a forced migration of the entire population of our country to England....Nevertheless there seems to be sufficient evidence to confirm that the world has not seen anything like this migration for a long time. These countless thousands of men, women and children, have to be fed and maintained by the Indian Government which has poverty of its own to content with.

(*Editorial* in THE IRIS INDEPENDENT, Dubblin—June 1, 1971)

HORRIFYING PROSPECT

The thought of what the refugees and their involuntary hosts are going through is bad enough; the prospect of what the result might be is horrifying.

Just imagine: the equivalent of one-third of Australia's population wandering about with no home, no food, no anything, save the probability of dying one way or another. It is all but impossible to visualise the full horror of what is happening in a place that has already had more than its share of misery.

This is why it is so bitterly disgraceful that those who are best placed to provide the most help have been most reluctant to do so. The silence is shattering.

(*Editorial* in THE AUSTRALIAN, Canberra—June 3, 1971)

IMPOSSIBLE TASK

The need is urgent and the world has so far failed to respond to a simple challenge of humanity. India lacks the means—in finance, transport and organisation—to care for the swelling tide of refugees forced out of East Pakistan by the brutal oppression of its distant Government. Officially order has been restored in East Bengal but if there were a shread of truth in this complacent announcement the tide of homeless and starving migrants would not have swelled by a million in less than a fortnight and India would not be faced with an impossible task of caring for an estimated four million five hundred thousand refugees.

(*Editorial* in THE AGE, Canberra—June 5, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SLAUGHTER IN EAST PAKISTAN

An international relief operation on a huge scale is necessary to keep these people alive. It was bad enough that world opinion found no way of stopping the slaughter in East Pakistan. But the world cannot stand idly by and allow another tragedy to take place. Human suffering can only be alleviated if there is human concern. Translating sympathy into practical aid is not so difficult. The problem is getting people to care.

(*Editorial*, THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD—June 7, 1971.)

IMMEDIATE MEASURES

All who treasure the principles of humanism must demand the creation of conditions for the return of refugees to their homes, the granting of guarantees of their personal safety and a possibility to live calmly and work in East Pakistan. We hold that such measures should be immediately undertaken by the Pakistani authorities.

(Prime Minister Kosygin's speech delivered on the eve of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on June 9 (reproduced by TASS on June 10).

DESPERATE PEOPLE

In the light of all this terror and misery, however, the humanitarian conscience of the world has not been stirred. It seems almost dead. Almost nothing is being done for these desperate people. The world must be reminded that this is a problem which might have grave international consequences if not properly handled. In the face of hardships that the refugees problem creates for India, both economically and socially, she might be forced into confrontation with Pakistan. This is a situation which all peacelovers should dread.

(THE DAILY GRAPHIC, Accra—June 15, 1971 under the heading "Tragedy of the Refugees".)

BLOOD-BATH IN EAST PAKISTAN

Sickening accounts of the blood-bath in East Pakistan are still coming out, despite the efforts of President Yahya Khan to bottle them up. The horror has been such that between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 people fled to India, creating a massive refugee problem there.

(*Editorial*, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH—June 25, 1971.)

SHATTERING EXPERIENCE

"This is a shattering experience. I have tremendous admiration for the Indian authorities for the way in which they are coping with this and keeping people alive," said Mr. Prentice one of four British M.Ps who arrived in Calcutta from Dacca after a four day visit to East Pakistan.

(*Editorial*, GUARDIAN, London—June 30, 1971.)

THE STORM WARNING

The massive migration of six million people from East Pakistan, driven from their homes by terror and military oppression, is the symptom, the storm warning

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of what could possibly turn out to be the most serious threat to world peace since the Cuban missile crisis".

(Mr. Angier Biddle Duke, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State—July 1, 1971.)

THE POLITICAL SOLUTIONS

The situation in East Pakistan continues to drive thousands upon thousands across the frontier into the Indian State of West Bengal, every single day, political solutions essential to their returning home are nowhere in sight.

(Mr. Angier Biddle Duke, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State—July 1, 1971.)

THE HARD FACT

Only the return of the bulk of refugees to their homes in East Pakistan—or what remains of their homes—offers a hope of solving their problems. However the hard fact is that their numbers in India are still growing.

Mr. Angier Biddle Duke, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State—July 1, 1971.)

EXTRAORDINARY CRUELTY

Everything has a limit, except the extraordinary cruelty of the Government of Karachi. And already there are seven million refugees who have fled from Bangla Desh to save themselves from the homicidal fury.

(LA VERDAD, Caracas—July 3, 1971.)

ONLY TOO GLAD TO GET RID

Pakistan is only too glad to get rid of millions of Bengalis, mostly Hindus, at India's expense. Yahya Khan's speech of June 28 has certainly not encouraged them to return home.

(*Editorial*, NRC HANDELSBLAD, The Hague—July 6, 1971.)

PATH OF TERROR

Unless, says Mr. Bowles, the ruling West Pakistan Government turns away from the path of terror against its own subjects in East Pakistan and agrees to a settlement that will stem the flow of frightened, homeless refugees into India, and second, that the world community soon mounts a massive campaign to relieve India of the burden of supporting nearly six million refugees—the possible sequence of events that may soon confront us is appalling.

(GLOBE AND MAIL, Ottawa—July 7, 1971.)

THE PAKISTAN STORY

We should avoid becoming accustomed to the Pakistan refugee story, there is still a crisis.

(*Editorial*, IRISH INDEPENDENT, Dublin—July 8, 1971.)

THE GREATEST HUMAN TRAGEDY SINCE WORLD WAR II

The Pakistan refugee problem has been described by Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien as the greatest human tragedy since World War II.

(*Editorial*, IRISH INDEPENDENT, Dublin—July 8, 1971.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LITTLE HOPE

As the situation is reported to be, there seems little hope of the East Pakistan refugees in India being able to return to their own homes.

(*Editorial*, **PALAVER**, Accra—July 8, 1971.)

HEAVENLY RIGHT

The number of refugees fleeing East Pakistan into India is still increasing. If a Government can force millions of its people to seek protection in another country, one wonders what earthly or heavenly right that Government has to remain in power any longer.

(*Editorial*, **PALAVER**, Accra—July 8, 1971.)

FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS

For humanitarian reasons India, which has always been regarded by Pakistan as its enemy number one, has despite its own population explosion and sacrifices, done whatever it could do to house, shelter and feed the vast number of refugees from East Pakistan.

(*Editorial*, **PALAVER**, Accra—July 8, 1971.)

A GRIM WITNESS

It is claimed that this is an internal matter of Pakistan. The answer to this is provided by over six million terror-stricken people of East Pakistan who have fled their country to neighbouring India, constituting a grim witness to the colossal dimension of the East Pakistan tragedy.

(*Editorial*, **PALAVER**, Accra—July 8, 1971.)

NO OPTION BUT TO FLEE

The East Pakistani people are left with no option but to flee to India to escape massacre, thus adding to the current massive refugee population of six million.

(**SIAM RATH**, Bangkok—July 10, 1971.)

INDIA'S CLEAR STAND ON REFUGEES

.....World public attention has understandably been focused so far on the plight of the refugees and the emergency relief they need. The Indian authorities have done their best to care for the refugees, but have made it plain that it is socially and economically impossible for them to stay in India indefinitely: If they are not to cause a crisis there, they must return home.

(*Editorial*, **OBSERVER**, London—July 14, 1971.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE AND INVOLVEMENT

I. INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE: (OFFICIAL)

Statement by Mr. William Mcmohan, Prime Minister of Australia, in the House of Representatives, Canberra on April 22, 1971

In the House on April 22, Prime Minister replied as follows to question from Mr. Bryant as to why he had made no public protest at slaughter of people of East Pakistan by military government of West Pakistan :

Of course, we regret the loss of life, and I can make it known here in the House just how much we regret that there should be bloodshed, particularly because as we have pointed out, recently there had been an election in both East and West Pakistan and the Awami League had received strong approval from the people of East Pakistan. We also welcome the statement by the President of Pakistan that he will try to ensure that civil power is resumed as soon as possible. We hope that he can very quickly put his statement into practice and, above all, express the view that there should be no more loss of life and that the leaders of the Awami League should be given full authority, civilly to represent their people in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

Extracts From Statement by Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada, in the House of Commons, on June 16, 1971

Mr. Speaker, all of us are pressing for a political solution. It is the only possible way of dealing with the present situation. Unless there is a political settlement in Pakistan the refugees are going to remain in India and continue to be a thorn in the side of peace, if I may put in that way. Therefore we are all working with everything at our command and using every possible means of impressing on the Pakistan Government the need for a settlement, one that is democratic and made under civilian control.

* * * *

Yes, Mr. Speaker, we are studying this question now. There is a meeting of the Aid Consortium on Pakistan at the beginning of next week. I hope that by about next Wednesday I will be able to make a statement on matters including the one raised by the Hon. Member. Perhaps I might also add that today the Minister of National Defence has offered two Hercules Planes for the immediate transport of supplies including some of the ambulances which have been donated by the Ontario Government. These Hercules Planes will be leaving tomorrow morning directly for Pakistan.

* * * *

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Speaker, if you will permit a short answer, the preferred settlement, of course, would be one in which those individuals who have been elected pursuant to the recent election in Pakistan should be given the responsibility of governing Pakistan, particularly East Pakistan.

(Extracts from **HANSARD**—June 16, 1971)

Statement made by Acting Prime Minister and Forign Minister of Canada Mr. Mitchell Sharp, in the House of Commons on June 16, 1971 after his talks with the Foreign Minister

Mr. Speaker, all of us are pressing for a political solution. It is the only possible way of dealing with the present situation. Unless there is a political settlement in Pakistan, the refugees are going to remain in India and continue to be a thorn in the side of peace if I may put it in that way. Therefore, we are all working with everything at our command and using every possible means of impressing on the Pakistan Government the need for a settlement, one that is democratic and made under civilian control.

Mr. Speaker, if you will permit a short answer, the preferred settlement, of course, would be one in which those individuals who have been elected pursuant to the recent election in Pakistan should be given the responsibility of governing Pakistan particularly East Pakistan.

Letter to the Editor by Mr. Mitchell Sharp, dated July 10, 1971

Globe and Mail of July 10, 1971, published the following letter to the Editor from the Foreign Minister of Canada, Mr. Mitchell Sharp:

Your editorial on Pakistan, Honesty (July 7) calls for some comment. He who seeks honesty should, I think, present his case in a straightforward and accurate way. Tendentious blurring of the truth is not a good start.

Three Members of the house of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence now in Asia were not sent by Canada, as you suffest. These individuals went to India as guests of the Government to that country. I understand that they will soon be in Pakistan, as that Government's guests.

Based on press reports and other available information, the Government does not take issue with what Messrs Georges—C. Lachance, Heath Macquarrie and Andrew Brewin have been saying about the need for a free, elected Government in Pakistan. In the House of Commons, on June 16, I said that "The preferred settlement, of course, would be one in which those individuals who have been elected pursuant to the recent election in Pakistan should be given the responsibility of governing Pakistan, particularly East Pakistan".

Press reports of my statement were slanted to suggest that I was proposing the separation of East and West Pakistan. The following day, in the House of Commons, I made the Canadian position clear when I said that "I had on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

intention of supporting separation in saying, as I did yesterday, that I supported the restoration of democratic government under civilian rule in East Pakistan and preferably on the basis of those who had been elected in the last election."

If there is "an obsession with our own separatists" at work here, as your writer suggests, it is an obsession of The Globe and Mail, not the Government of Canada. In my view, the best solution would be a duly elected, democratic Government in Pakistan. This may seen a remote possibility at the time of writing, but I suggest to you that it would be irresponsible to recommend the division of Pakistan, a country already in dire economic straits into two separate and weaker states. It may be that this will turn out to be the only solution, whether it would be the best solution is another matter.

Your statement that "(Mr. Sharp) has evaded India's request to cut off aid to Pakistan" is not true. Canada, as a major contributor of development aid to Pakistan, is a member of a Consortium of the principal donor countries, organized by the World Bank. This Consortium is at present considering how best to deal with this question. The matter is in abeyance, but as I have explained in the House of Commons, Canada and other countries in the Consortium are not undertaking any new aid commitments at present.

We are ready to join with others in the provision of humanitarian relief as soon as this can be done under proper United Nations supervision. In our decisions about the aid program in general, we shall be guided by our understanding of the needs of the people of Pakistan, not by any desire to maintain the status quo in that country. I am sure that this holds true for the other members of the Consortium.

The Government has called, to use your terms, "for the duly elected to govern East Pakistan". Your suggestion that we "should punctuate the call by cutting off aid to Pakistan" is the kind of simplistic proposal that takes no account of the facts of life in a country whose economy is balanced on a knife-edge. There is little in the history of nations to suggest that throwing a country into chaos serves the interests of its common people.

Canada is in close touch with the Governments of India and Pakistan, with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and with the Governments of other countries, seeking ways to influence the Government of Pakistan in the direction of establishment of democratic Government and acceptance of humanitarian relief under U.N. supervision, studying how international community can meet its responsibilities in a situation not covered by the Charter of the United Nations, working out the best way to bring resources to bear effectively to help the Government of India cope with the refugee problem.

Canada is ready to play its full part in all these endeavours, and without delay. Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Ottawa.

Chilean President's letter to U. N. Secretary General released on June 26, 1971

The following is the text of a message from the President of Chile to the United Nations Secretary-General regarding East Bengal refugees, as released by the Permanent Mission of Chile to the United Nations on June 26, 1971:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Ambassador Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations Dr. Humberto Diaz Casanueva has transmitted a message by the President of Chile, Dr. Salvador Allende.

The President of Chile expressed to U Thant his preoccupation and sorrow over the terrible sufferings of the Pakistanis who fled to India, thus creating dramatic refugees problems for this country as well as for the hardship the people of East Pakistan are going through yesterday because of the natural phenomena and today on account of the disturbances widely deplored. In Chile, U Thant's various messages were received with deep satisfaction. The United Nations is fulfilling its humanitarian mission by doing every effort to intensify its presence in this region and channel the reliefs which are now being dispatched from all parts of the world. President Allende hopes that East Pakistan will again enjoy security, peace and stability so that the Pakistani refugees could return to their homeland and social harmony be re-established in this region. The President of Chile does not conceal his concern that this situation might become even worse and increase tensions to the extent of endangering peace in this region. He states that the Chilean people are very sensitive regarding human sufferings and express their solidarity with all peoples, especially those of the Third World affected by misery and helplessness. Distance is no excuse to feel unconcerned. Chile, said President Allende, is ready to co-operate within the United Nations with a view to finding a solution that would alleviate a situation that should be considered a universal catastrophe and a tragedy for all mankind.

Ambassador Diaz Casanueva stated that the Chilean Government has offered contribution according to its possibilities in money or in kind.

Statement made on June 12, 1971 by Spokesman of the French Foreign Ministry after Franco-Indian talks

The Minister of Foreign Affairs received the Indian Minister of External Affairs on June 12. In the course of his talks with Mr. Swaran Singh, Mr. Schuma took note of the information he was given on the massive influx of refugees from East Pakistan into the border regions of India. He confirmed to his interlocutor the decision of the French Government to respond favourably to the humanitarian appeal launched in favour of the refugees by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He expressed his concern at these developments and expressed the wish that no effort be neglected to provide a political solution to this crisis which steps the flood of refugees and enables their return to their homes.

Statement on East Pakistan by the Acting Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Marshall, on April 14, 1971

I am sure that all New Zealanders have been deeply distressed by the sufferiing and loss of life that have accompanied the civil strife in East Pakistan. It is the human aspect of the situation that commands our special concern. New Zealand and Pakistan have long enjoyed a friendly relationship as fellow members of the Commonwealth, SEATO and the Colombo Plan. Many New Zealanders have visited Pakistan and know the country well.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As recently as last November New Zealand made a contribution to the relief of suffering after the terrible hurricane in the coastal areas of East Pakistan. We have followed with interest and sympathy the efforts made in Pakistan to shape and sustain a unified nation on a democratic basis in (sic) and the peace and security of the South Asian area. But it is difficult to believe that continued hostilities, and the human misery they entail can in any lasting sense secure stability. President Yahya Khan had reaffirmed his government's intention to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people as soon as possible. It is our earnest hope that the present bloodshed in East Pakistan will soon cease and that with good will on all sides Pakistan's political and military leaders can renew their attempt to reach agreement by negotiation and compromise.

Statement by Prime Ministvr of New Zealand on the May 24, 1971

The following is a report on the statement made by the Rt. Hon. Sir Keith Halyorke, Prime Minister of New Zealand on May 24, 1971 :–

"New Zealand has been neither silent nor indifferent to the tragedy in East Pakistan", said the Prime Minister.

Sir Keith had been asked to comment or remarks made by the leader of the Opposition when he was in Singapore on his way back to New Zealand. Mr. Kirk was reported to have said that "by not taking any public stand, we can only blame ourselves if people think our silence is a wall of indifference."

When he made his remarks, Mr. Kirk was apparently not aware that on 14th April the Acting Prime Minister issued a public statement expressing the Government's concern at the suffering and loss of life that has accompanied the civil strife in East Pakistan. Stressing the human aspect of the situation, Mr. Marshall called for an early end of the bloodshed and for the renewal of attempts by Pakistan's political and military leaders to reach agreement by negotiation and compromise.

"Mr. Marshall's statement received widespread publicity", the Prime Minister went on. "It was also drawn to the attention of the Pakistan Government through its High Commission in Canberra."

Sir Keith added that New Zealand had supported the right of India to raise the question at the recent session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. On 17th May the New Zealand Permanent Representative reiterated to the Council's Social Committee the deep concern felt in New Zealand about events in East Pakistan. "It is the human aspect of the situation, the bloodshed and suffering, that has distressed New Zealanders most" said Mr. Scott, "but we are also increasingly worried about its implications for the peace of the sub-continent."

"The Government has not only made clear the concern felt in this country about the situation in East Pakistan" said the Prime Minister, "we have also recognized that international action is required. There are now three million refugees from East Pakistan in neighbouring parts of India and their needs cannot be met without large-scale assistance from abroad. I understand a public appeal is now being considered within New Zealand : the Government is prepared to lend its support to this humanitarian effort and to contribute whatever it can."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Statement by Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Philippines, on June 15, 1971

Following is the text of the letter from the Foreign Minister of the Philippines, Honourable Carlos P. Romulo, to the Indian Ambassador, Shri Deva Rao.

"I have the honour to inform you that in response to the letter of Her Excellency the Prime Minister of India, dated May 18, 1971, addressed to the President of the Philippines, on June 15, the President issued the following statement to the press.

"The Government and the people of the Philippines wish to express their deep concern for the plight of the Bengali people adversely affected by the conflict, in East Pakistan.

"Although initially a political problem of internal governance in Pakistan—in which the Philippines does not wish to be a party—it is now a humanitarian problem involving the suffering, mounting daily in its intensity, of millions of Bengalis. To date the movement of refugees out of East Bengal to the West Bengal region of India has reached tidal proportions, close to five million and a raging cholera epidemic is wrecking havoc among them.

"In the face of this situation the Philippines feels that swift and substantial succor must immediately be mobilized by all. The nations concerned including the Pakistan authorities, the Government of India which has jurisdiction over West Bengal, and all the members of the United Nations.

"In the name of humanity, the Philippines joins the Secretary-General U Thant and his Holiness Pope Paul VI in an appeal for a concerted action to alleviate the misery of the Bengali people and to help bring back the necessary conditions for peace in the area if disaster is to be averted.

"In token of its concern the Philippine Government, through the Philippine National Red Cross, is sending a shipload of commodities, principally one thousand tons of sugar, to be placed at the disposal of the Indian Government through the Indian Red Cross, for emergency relief work among the refugees in West Bengal".

Extracts from statement by Sri Alec Doughlas-Home Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Government of the United Kingdom, in the House of Commons on May 14, 1971

...I repeat that Her Majesty's Government stand ready to play a part in any international relief effort, and that it is our view that this can best be organised through the United Nations.....

I hope that they will be ready to allow a team of experts to make an objective appraisal of what is needed and that they will be prepared to accept assistance, if that is judged to be needed, on an international basis. Clearly, any relief efforts must be made with the agreement and co-operation of the Government of Pakistan. We are, of course ourselves in close touch with President Yahya Khan about the situation.

There is the separate problem of aid and assistance to the Pakistan economy in general. Pakistan faces serious economic difficulties, including shortage of foreign exchange. Consultations about these problems are proceeding within the framework of the Aid Consortium under the Chairmanship of the World Bank, and decisions about future action must await the result of these consultations.

There is, finally, the problem of the very considerable number of refugees who have crossed from East Pakistan into India. Already a consortium of British charities had decided to offer assistance. They asked for government assistance to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

transport supplies necessary for health the shelter. I decided that Her Majesty's Government should make an immediate contribution, and this has been done. Supplementary provision for approximately £18,000 will be sought in due course, and if necessary, an advance will be made in the meantime from the civil contingency fund..... I consider that this matter is best handled by international organisations.

* * * *

...The answer to the Right Hon. gentleman's question about a political settlement is that this must be for the people of Pakistan. Nobody from outside can dictate it. As I have said, we have been in constant touch with the President of Pakistan about the need for a political settlement.

Our consignment from Red Cross was refused entry by the Government of Pakistan. The difficulty so we understand of distributing the food which is at present there in sufficient quantities is one of communications and the distribution, according to our information, has to be done at present by the Pakistan Army, and this in itself presents difficulties.

Agreed statement after the meeting of the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, U.K., with Mr. Swaran Singh—June 21, 1971

Mr. Swaran Singh arrived in London on 19 June and leaves again for India this evening. On 21 June he was the guest at lunch of the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and later called on the Prime Minister and afterwards was received by Sir Alec Douglas-Home at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

In their discussions Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Swaran Singh agreed that it was important that the flow of refugees into India from East Pakistan should cease and that conditions should be created for enabling them to return to their homes. It was recognised that this would only be possible if they were assured of a secure future. Sir Alec Douglas-Home Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Swaran Singh agreed that a political solution must therefore be found which was acceptable to the people of East Pakistan.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home told Mr. Swaran Singh that Her Majesty's Government wished to help India shoulder the burden of the refugees and were working through the United Nations and the India Aid-Consortium. Britain had already made available over £2 million to them and was ready to make further contributions.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home paid tribute to India's restraint and generosity in dealing with the problem of the refugees. The Foreign Minister of India expressed appreciation of the sympathy and support for the refugees from East Pakistan given by the people and Government of Britain.

The discussions were friendly and constructive and the two governments agreed to keep in close touch.

Extracts from statement by Sri Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Government of the United Kingdom in the House of Commons on June 23, 1971

My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister and I both had discussions on Monday, 21st June with Mr. Swaran Singh, the Indian Minister of External Affairs, during which he made clear to us the concern which his Government feel about the situation in East Pakistan and the very great burden and the danger to stability created by the massive influx of refugees into India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Following the recent meeting of the India Aid Consortium, Her Majesty's Government are now making available a further £5 million in cash or in kind to relieve the economic burden on the Government of India of supporting the refugees. Like other members of the Consortium, we are giving this contribution over and above our normal development aid to India. In addition, a further £1 million will be made available by Her Majesty's Government to U Thant's appeal for the direct relief of refugees in India. The total amount of assistance made available by Her Majesty's Government for relief and rehabilitation in India will thus be increased to over £8 million. This is a humanitarian task having no relation to politics, in which I hope very many members of the United Nations will participate. About 23 have so far done so.

An informal meeting of members of the Pakistan Aid Consortium on 21st June considered reports from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund representatives who had been visiting East Pakistan and had held discussions with the Government in Islamabad. No commitments of new aid of any kind were called for, nor were any given, though all expressed their willingness to contribute to humanitarian relief in East Pakistan under the effective surveillance of the United Nations. Her Majesty's Government's policy remains that projects already in hand in Pakistan must continue, in so far as this is possible, but that there can be no question of new British aid to Pakistan until we have firm evidence that real progress is made towards a political solution.

Conditions in East Pakistan continue to be disturbed. It is with great regret that I have to inform the House that two British subjects, Mr. P. J. Chalmers and Mr. J. Y. Boyd, both of whom were working on tea-planting estates in the Sylhet district, have been reported missing. Despite attempts by British representatives both in East Pakistan and in India, and inquiries made through the Pakistan Martial Law Administration and the Indian Government, we have been unable to obtain any definite news of them. In the circumstances there must be grave fear for their safety and I would express the sympathy of Her Majesty's Government, and I am sure of the whole House, to their relatives in this country at this anxious time.

The President of Pakistan has reiterated his Government's hope that those who have fled across the border to India will return to their homes, and has undertaken that they will have no cause to fear should they do so. Her Majesty's Government have represented to him the importance of restoring peaceful conditions in which confidence can once again take root and normal political life can be resumed.

* * * * *

I thank the right hon. Gentleman for his general welcome for the statement I have made. On the political point, of what is to be the political future of Pakistan and the political sturcture, it would not be helpful for me to make suggestions at this moment in public. We have made many suggestions in private. The President is making a statement on 28th June. One would hope–and we have expressed this hope to him–that he will be able to bring together with West Pakistan the elected representatives from the East. We think that this is essential.

* * * * *

No, Sir, I would not give that undertaking to take it to the Security Council. The Indian Government has made no such proposal, and I think that, therefore, we had better consider for the future, after the President of Pakistan has made his statement, what the chances are of large numbers of refugees going back to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

East Pakistan. It would certainly be premature to involve the United Nations in that respect.

* * * * *

There must be a political settlement. There must be a civilian Government installed. It must be for that Government's administration to assess the situation. The hon. Member will recognise that only the army at the moment can deal with the distribution of food.

U.S. State Department Spokesman's Statements issued on June 17, 1971

The Indian Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh has been in Washington in order to discuss with U.S. officials the problems faced by India in connection with the heavy influx of refugees from East Pakistan.

The Foreign Minister has called upon the Secretary and the President. He was guest of honour at a lunch given on June 16 by the Secretary and attended by senior officials of the State Department.

The discussions with U.S. officials were friendly and constructive. U.S. officials welcomed the restraint which India has shown in dealing with the East Pakistani refugee problem and expressed hope that restraint would be continued on both sides.

It was recognised that prompt refugee relief was essential, and the Indiau Government was informed of the full support of the United States for the efforts of Sadruddin Khan, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and the U.S. intention to provide additional financial support to that already announced.

It was also recognised that relief in itself is not enough and is not a solution to the present problem.

An end to an early reversal of the flow of refugees is an important first step which in turn would be greatly facilitated by progress toward a restoration of peaceful conditions in East Pakistan and a political accommodation.

President Nikalai Podgorny's Letter to President Yaaha Khan dated dated April 2, 1971

Following is is the text of President Nikolai Podgorny's letter, dated April 2, 1971, to Presidont Yhhya Khan:-

Esteemed Mr. President,

The report that the talks in Dacca had been broken off and that the Military Administration had found it possible to resort to extreme measures and used armed force against the population of East Pakistan was met with great alarm in the Soviet Union.

Soviet people cannot but be concerned by the numerous casualties, by the sufferings and privations that such a development of events brings to the people of Pakistan. Concern is also caused in the Soviet Union by the arrest and persecution of M. Rehaman and other politicians who had received such convincing support by the overwhelming majority of the people of East Pakistan at the recent general elections. Soviet people have always sincerely wished the people of Pakistan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

all the best and prosperity and rejoiced at their successes in solving in a democratic manner the complex problems that face the country.

In these days of trial for the Pakistani people we cannot but say a few words coming from true friends. We have been and remain convinced that the complex problems that have arisen in Pakistan of late can and must be solved politically without use of force. Continuation of represssive measures and blood-shed in East Pakistan will undoubtedly only make the solution of the problems more difficult and may do great harm to the vital interest of the entire people of Pakistan.

We consider it our duty to address you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with an insistent appeal for the adoption of the most urgent measures to stop the blood-shed and repression against the population in East Pakistan and for turning to methods of a peaceful political settlement. We are convinced that this would meet the interest of the entire people of Pakistan and the interest of preserving peace in the area. A peaceful solution of the problems that have arisen would be received with satisfaction by the entire Soviet people.

In appealing to you we were guided by the generally recognised humanitarian principles recorded in the universal Declaration of Human Rights and by consent of the welfare of the friendly people of Pakistan.

We hope, Mr. President, that you will correctly interpret the motives by which we are guided in making this appeal. It is our sincere wish that tranquility and justice be established in East Pakistan in the shortest possible time.

(N. PODGORNY, Moscow, Kremlin—April 2, 1971)

Text of Indo-Soviet-statement of the conclusion of the Foreign Minister's visit to Moscow issued on June 8, 1971

1. From 6 to 8 June 1971, Mr. Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of India paid an unofficial visit to Moscow as a guest of the Soviet Government.

2. In the course of discussions and talks held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding a wide range of questions of Soviet-Indian relations, and topical international problems of interest to both states were touched upon.

3. The two sides expressed their conviction that Soviet–Indian friendship will further strengthen and develop in the interests of the peoples of both countries, and in the cause of strengthening peace in Asia and in the whole world.

4. The sides recognised the necessity to continue to develop friendly ties and contacts at various levels and exchange of opinion between the Governments of the USSR and India on major international issues.

5. The sides noted the coincidence of points of view of India and the Soviet Union on all major international problems. They stressed the necessity of efforts of all peace-loving countries to settle such important problems affecting the interests of universal peace as termination of the war in Indo-China, political settlement of the Middle-East crisis, ensuring European security and achieving general and complete disarmament.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

6. During the negotiations was also discussed the serious situation created by the continuing stream of millions of refugees from East Pakistani coming into the adjoining states of India. The Minister of External Affairs of India expressed his sincere thanks for the frank and clear understanding of the difficulty of this situation expressed in the message of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Mr. N. V. Podgorny to the President of Pakistan on 2nd April, 1971 in which the conviction was expressed that the resort to peaceful methods for achieving political settlement would correspond to the interests of the entire Pakistani people, the cause of preserving peace in this region.

7. The Indian Foreign Minister explained the social, economic and political problems as also the tensions created by the development of events in East Pakistan. He stated that the problem of ensuring that food and shelter was made available to these millions flooding into India from East Pakistan, has been further complicated due to the outbreak of epidemics.

8. The two sides after a detailed discussion on the various aspects of the problems created in this context, consider that it is imperative for immediate measures to be taken in East Pakistan which would ensure the stoppage of influx of refugees from East Pakistan. Simultaneously, it is desirable to take further steps to ensure that peace is restored and all conditions of security are created for the return of the refugees to their homes in East Pakistan. Taking into account the seriousness of the situation, the two sides agreed to remain in touch with each other in order to review the situation.

9. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of India thanked the Soviet Government for the warm and cordial reception accorded to him.

10. The sides are of the opinion that the visit of Minister of Foreign affairs Swaran Singh, his meetings and talks with Soviet statesmen will serve the cause of the further development of friendly relations and fruitful co-operation between the two countries.

Extracts from Prime Minister Kosygin's election speech delivered on the eve of elections to the Supreme Soviet of USSR

Kosygin noted the favourable development or relations of the Soviet Union with its great southern neighbour, India.

The State of Indian-Pakistani relations means a great deal for peace in South Asia. The increase of tension in the relations between these countries, due to the known events in East Pakistan, evokes the anxiety of the Soviet government. The situation in East Pakistan has forced millions of people to leave their land, homes and property and seek refuge in neighbouring India. The masses of refugees, despite the aid given them, are in an extremely grave position.

These events evoke profound alarm of the world public. All who treasure the principles of humanism must demand that conditions be created for the refugees returning to their homes, that their personal safety and opportunity to live and work calmly in East Pakistan be guaranteed. It is our opinion that such measures must be immediately taken by the Pakistani authorities.

As in the past we come out for the peaceful solution of all problems arising in the relations between India and Pakistan and are convinced that such a policy would be in accord with the national interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan and the cause of preserving peace on the Hindustan peninsula. A different development of events would play into the hands of those internal and external forces which operate to the detriment of the interests of both India and Pakistan and pursue their own selfish aims.

(PRAVDA—June 10, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Holy father's appeal for East Pakistan on June 2, 1971

During the general audience held on June 2, 1971, after having spoken on the economy of salvation, Paul VI had drawn the attention of the faithful to the sad conditions existing in East Pakistan, upset by the war. The following are the words of the Holy Father:

Permit us now to say a word on another topic.

Among the trials that afflict us now during this period there is that of the sad situation of the population of East Pakistan. The causes of this are known and it is not for us to judge its political values. We look at the condition of the region already terribly tried last year by the devastating floods of the Ganges for which even we tried to render some assistance and invoked the help of the Church all over the world. It was then that the charity of the Catholic Brethren and Catholic aid institutions came forward immediately with their generous proof of solidarity towards Pakistan hit by the serious calamity. We too, while on our way to the Philippines last November, decided to make a short night stop at Dacca in order to bring testimony to the Authorities and the population of our special interest. A few months later, another and still more serious disturbance has upset the eastern region of the country, stirring up a civil conflict of no small proportions. Two painful phenomenon call for the solicitudes of the good: the phenomenon of the fleeing of a large number of the inhabitants – they say some two or three million of the poor people—who are now in a very pitiful condition. The other phenomenon concerns those who have remained in its own territory, and of whose difficult and grave situation the public opinion, during recent weeks, has been sufficiently informed and pained (Lit. painfully hit). We know that from various parts attempts have already been made to send assistance, both to the multitude of refugees and to the population that has remained in its own territory. Human solidarity, once again, shows itself to be provident and generous; and we encourage it as well with our means notwithstanding the fact that it may not be adequate to meet the great needs, and still more, by our exhortation.

But what is more necessary is peace, and we shall pray that peace may be quickly re-established and defended from the dangers of wider conflicts in the best manner possible taking into account the particular conditions of the population and the common necessity of preventing Asia from being disturbed by new and dangerous conflicts, and (so) that Asia may rather be preserved in its free concord and in its original evolution towards its modern civisation.

(L. OSSERVATORE ROMANO — June 3, 1971)

Extracts from speech of Mr. Tallert, member of the Ruling Social Democratic Party in Bundestag on April 28, 1971

The second point I would like to mention, briefly, is situation in Pakistan. Here I would like to suggest to German Government whether they can support a programme, to aid Pakistani refugees in India. I suggest that such a programme, if it is to be successful, can unfortunately not be left to Government of Pakistan. In my personal opinion this Government of Pakistan is very efficient when it comes to question of destroying parliamentary majorities. However, this Government is very inefficient when it is concerned with distribution of international aid to help people. That is why I suggest that this help should be distributed to refugees in India.

Perhaps these feelings are thought to be somewhat out of place but I would like to say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that a few months ago I had opportunity to visit West and East Pakistan with my colleague, Herr Roser. We had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

very many good meetings there. Herr Roser, you yourself can imagine, as well as I, that most probably most of the people with whom we had conversation in East Pakistan are now dead. They have most probably been killed. I would like at this point to put forward a personal thought. This is an example of international impotence. We have a declaration in United Nations in which it says that every nation and every individual of every nation should have a chance to live. But what is the truth? We can see discrepancy between such resolutions of United Nations and reality. We can see that there may be a commission of rights of United Nations but there is no common will to enforce these ideas.

Text of statement by Federal Republic of Germany on the conclusion of foreign Minister's visit to Bonn, dated June 14, 1971

On the invitation of the Federal Government, Foreign Minister of India, Mr. Swaran Singh visited the Federal Republic of Germany on 9th and 10th June 1971 in the course of his world tour.

On 10th June, the Foreign Minister had talks with the Federal Chancellor, the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs and the State Secretary Doctor Frank.

On 9th June, the Minister was received by the Government of North Rhine Westphalia and in the afternoon had the occasion to meet the representatives of relief organisations and the representatives of press and television. In the evening he had an opportunity of talks with the Speaker of the Parliament (Herr Von Hassel), Minister of Economic Co-operation (Herr Eppler) the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament (Doctor Schroeder) and other distinguised personalities.

In talks with the Federal Foreign Minister, subjects of mutual interest were discussed. The Indian Foreign Minister expressed great concern of his Government about the huge influx of refugees into India, numbering about 5 million in a matter of few weeks, as a result of the developments in East Pakistan. The Minister pointed out that this had not only imposed heavy financial burdens on the Government of India but that it had also created socio-economic tensions and posed a threat to the peace and security of the region.

The Indian Foreign Minister thanked the Federal Government for all official and private assistance which was being offered in the context of refugee relief and for the understanding and concern displayed by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for the difficult situation created in India. The German side expressed interest of the Federal Government in peace and stability in the subcontinent and stated that it followed the developments with great concern and was aware of the dangers to the security of the region. There was agreement that India alone has not in a position to solve the enormous task of caring for the refugees. The German side pointed out that the Federal government in response to the appeal by the Secretary of the United Nations had already made available first contribution to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and that the Federal Cabinet was going to consider the question of more assistance for the refugees at its meeting on 10th June.

The two Foreign Ministers agreed that an early political solution of the problem was essential for the return of the refugees to their homes.

The Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs explained to his Indian guest the present state of the problem of Germany and Berlin and German relations with the countries of the East and West Europe.

The Indian Foreign Minister conveyed high appreciation of the Government of India for the initiative undertaken by the leadership of the Federal Republic in the interest of *detente* rapproachment and co-operation in Europe.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The discussions took place in a spirit of friendship and understanding which characterise the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and India."

Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt's statement at a Press Conference on July 23, 1971

During a Press conference in Bonn on July 23, 1971, Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt made the following statement in response to a newsman's question:

"We have approved an additional 10 Million Marks (Rs. 2 crores) and humanitarian relief organisations have by now contributed from 15 to 20 Million Marks (Rs. 3—4 crores). All of this amounts to little. I don't want to appear presumptuous enough to sketch out a plan here in Bonn for this especially difficult subject and then say, 'now we Germans know exactly how to cope with this difficult matter'. We have expressed our interest in the appropriate form. After my meeting with the Foreign Minister of India, last month, I discussed the subject with the American President and the U.N. Secretary-General and I notified Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of this and of my opinion. I have also had direct contacts with the President of Pakistan and recently wrote him again.

I should like to say this frankly: A satisfactory solution is possible only when the refugees have the possibility of returning to their country. Otherwise, this problem cannot be solved in areas that are already overpopulated."

Asked whether this implied a political solution, the Chancellor replied in the affirmative.

World Bank Report, prepared by an I.B.R.D. Mission after a visit to East Bengal between May 30 and June 11, 1971

(Following are excerpts from a report by a mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development that visited East Bengal between May 30 and June 11, 1971 and from report on a survey of the Western area of the province by Mr. Hendrick van der Heiden, an economist and a member of the Mission. The I.B.R.D. Mission was headed by a Briton, Mr. I.P.M. Cargill, Director of the World Banks' South Asia Department, and included nine other officers some of whom had been working in the Bank's Pakistan offices. These excerpts have been compiled from accounts published in world press.)

GENERAL ASSESSMENT

The situation is very far indeed from normal; nor are there any signs that normality is being approached or that matters are even moving in that direction. For this picture to be changed it appears that, as a minimum, two formidable constraints must be removed or over-come.

The general sense of fear and lack of confidence on the part of most of the population.

The immediate manifestations of this fear and absence of confidence are the persistent failure or refusal to report for duty, which is particularly prevalent among the lower grades of civil servants and workers but is far from absent at the higher levels, and the general hesitation of those who have returned to expose themselves either physically or in the realm of policies and ideas. Few are functioning properly. The effects are evident throughout the administration

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and the private sector, as well as in the (lack of) inter-action between the two; and the result is recorded in the nonresumption of normal activity thoughout the economy.

Furthermore, there are no signs that the situation will improve significantly or rapidly. Two dates—April 21 and June 15—were set by the Government for all workers to return to their jobs without prejudice. The second date has now passed, and still the calls and professions of "normalcy fast returning to complete normalcy" are going out. But people remain afraid and untrusting, and it is most unlikely that economic pressures can or will be generated which are sufficiently strong to overcome this reserve.

If the condition of fear in the countryside should come to exceed that in the cities or if there should be a general failure to solve the food problem, resulting in widespread starvation, workers and people generally might be forced back into the cities and towns in large numbers. But neither of these solutions is in any way desirable.

The complete dislocation of the communications system.

Its major manifestation is almost complete absence of movement of people (except within towns) and of the exchange of goods between regions and sectors anywhere within the province. So long as it continues, this situation will exert a strong negative effect upon all efforts to revive the economy and to meet the basic needs of the population—including, in particular, their food requirements.

Economic Effects of Genocide

The Mission noted four principal impacts of the conflict on the functioning of the East Pakistan economy. (1) General destructions of property in cities, towns and villages. The Mission found that while the extent of this destruction varied greatly, "few areas have escaped altogether". (2) The damage to the transport and communication networks inflicted by the 'insurgents'. Ten major road and thirteen major railway bridges were blown up in addition to 'scores' of smaller bridges and culverts, some locomotives and railway rolling stock, ferries and vesseles. The Mission found the telecommunications "put out of commission entirely". (3) Loss of vehicles and vessels to the economy due to destruction, abandonment and commandering by the Army. (4) The creation of a general atmosphere of fear and uncertainty. This factor, which caused the virtual cessation of economic activity, is termed by the Mission as the most important impact of the Army action and which is "incompatible with the resumption of normal activities in the Province as a whole".

The sector-wise position is as follows :

Agriculture

This sector has "suffered badly". Many farmers have fled, others have been killed; all farmers have lost some time in the fields; and in all farm operations there have been "delays, neglect and a lack of inputs."

Rice.—For the boro crop (which last year accounted for about 16 per cent of the production), the Mission calculated the acreage planted as some 15 per cent below normal and the average yield down by a minimum of 15 per cent. This works out to a minimum drop in production of 28 per cent. The aman crop would also be considerably affected. Aman planting was seriously behind schedule with further postponement likely. Much aman seed had been lost and this loss may prove irreplaceable. Further, it seemed unlikely that timely fertiliser and pesticide application would be made due to the disruption of the transport

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and distribution systems. As a result, the overall drop in the production of aman may well amount to 30 per cent.

Two conclusions follow: (i) Two million tons of foodgrain would have to be imported in the period July-December 1971; (ii) Another two million tons may be required in the second half of 1971–72.

Jute—Due to a variety of reasons, jute acreage is down by some 20 per cent, while the yield on that acreage will be down by a minimum of 10 per cent. The composite reduction is calculated at 28 per cent, i.e., a crop of 5 million bales.

Tea—Tea had lost much "qualified management." Production for April to July—about 40 per cent of the normal annual output—again will be substantially or completely lost. The most optimistic production figure is 20 million pounds, as against 69 million pounds last year.

Transport—According to the Mission this was the "most affected" sector. Facilities at the ports of Chittagong and Chalna had ceased to operate in April, at the time of the Mission's visit, they were operating at 45 per cent normal. The ports, however, did not themselves constitute a bottle-neck. The problem was the *offtake* of goods delivered at Chittagong; this would be extremely low due to the virtual stoppage of railway and road transport to the interior. The Mission calculates that there were no operations over about one-third of the Pakistan Eastern Railway trackage, while operations over the remainder were at no more than 15 per cent of its capacity. As regards road transport, the Mission observed that trucking operations throughout East Pakistan were at a level no higher than 5–10 per cent of normal. PIA escaped destruction entirely, though aircraft were operating on a considerably reduced schedule. Transport-wise East Bengal was no more than one-fourth normal.

Commerce—The financing and trading sectors also suffered severe physical and, particularly. psychological dislocation. Numerous traders had disappeared. Even for those that remained, trading links and concomitant extension of credit. facilities between importers, manufacturers, distributors and retailers had been disrupted. The Mission found creditors unable or reluctant to extend new facilities. This had repurcussions on inter-wing and external trade relations. Trade with the West Wing was affected by the uncertainties (especially of West Pakistan exporters) over credit risks; similarly some foreign exporters were requiring special payment guarantees for shipments to East Pakistan. Further the banking system was seriously disrupted. Though the Mission found banks functioning in the main urban areas, between 20 to more than 50 per cent of the branches in the country-side were not operating.

According to the report, another serious constraint to economic recovery was the lack of liquidity. Deposits had declined substantially Pakistani banks remained depressed while "demonetization" had aggravated the problem.

Industry—Manufacturing is described as being in a "very bad state". In March, many plants shut down, in April and May there was practically no production. Even those plants that had since resumed production were operating at a very reduced level. Many firms, especially those which are expatriate—owned and which are relatively capital intensive, may be closed down due to insufficient demand and storage space. The major problems confronting the Industry are those of labour, management, finances, transport and demand. Transport, particularly, would be a serious problem both for the jute and tea industries. Several large factories had very large stocks of finished goods

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

on hand with no possibility of lifting them soon, e.g., Chattak Cement Frenchuganj Fertilizer, EPIDC, sugar mills, etc.

PUBLIC REVENUE AND INVESMENT

The provincial resource position and the pace of public investment throughout this fiscal year, had been "severely affected". Provincial tax revenues were likely to amount to only 50 per cent of the budget estimates and may still fall below that. The most dramatic setback had been registered in land revenue, which for the whole year may yield only Rs. 40 to 50 million compared to Rs. 150 million budgeted. The Mission estimated that the provincial generation of taxes was this year less by at least 40 per cent than in 1969–70. As a consequence, the surplus originally budgeted for the Province had turned into a deficit of Rs. 200 million. Secondly, the public investment/development programme (including flood control) stood reduced by about one-fourth.

The report expresses pessimism about the prospects for the coming fiscrt year. The rupee resources likely to be available, might be as low as Rs. 1,550 million, in contrast to the Pakistan Government's estimate of Rs. 2,160 million.

Other Sectors—The contracting industry lost the major portion of the construction season; telecommunications and mail services were gradually being restored; power and gas, interrupted in many cases, had been restored fully.

ECONOMIST'S REPORT

Jessore

Approaching Jessore, it became soon clear that this was the area where the army punitive action had been very severe: From the air, totally destroyed villages were clearly visible, a building was still on fire, and to the eastern side of the runway a good many houses had been destroyed. The airport was heavily guarded by armed forces, who also controlled access to the airport.

The authorities estimate that the population of Jessore itself is down from 80,000 to 15,000—20,000. Some 20,000 people were killed in Jessore. The city's center has been detroyed; commerce has come to a standstill. More than 50 per cent of the shops have been destroyed.

Damage to housing in Jessore district is so severe that the authorities estimate that some 450,000 people have been affected out of a total district population of 2.5 million. Half a million people have fled to India.

The Jessore area is by no means secure. Government officers cannot any more easily enter the villages as they run the risk of being shot by the "miscreants." A number of these incidents took place in the week before I arrived, and the army is reacting to these incidents by burning down the villages from which these shots are being fired. Generally, the army terrorizes the population, particularly aiming at the Hindus and suspected members of the Awami League.

Khulna

Khulna City has been substantially damaged. Very heavy destruction was observed in the areas alonside the road and along the river leading up to the newsprint factory and the Platinum Factory and the Platinum Jubilee Jute Mill. As a result of the disturbances, the destruction of houses and the continuing uncertainty regarding life and property, the population of greater Khulna is down from 400,000 to 150,000.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The administration of Khulna district was back to 80 per cent of its original strength. There are serious police shortages, but the situation is improving. Some senior police officers have been recruited from West Pakistan. The road to Jessore and Kushtia is generally unsafe, particularly at night. Schools are open, but attendance is very poor. The polytechnic institute, as well as colleges, however, have not yet started.

The main problem affecting Khulna is communications. The telephone system works but mail service is very irregular. There is only marginal truck traffic on the roads: Less than 5 per cent of normal. The army has requested many vehicles and launches, including Government vehicles, and many have been taken to India. Rail service is off by 50 per cent. There are very few buses on the road. Spare parts are a problem. Shortages of kerosene, edible oil and diesel oil exist in the villages.

The area surrounding the Platinum Jubilee jute mill has undergone very substantial damage. In fact, the destruction of houses and buildings reminds of Arnhem in 1944. Also, many workers' houses destroyed. The area is deserted now. Less than 7 per cent of the mill's permanent labour force had returned to the job.

Minimum conditions for normalization

In the present political circumstance, it is impossible to predict what might constitute a sufficient set of conditions for a normalization process to begin. There are, however, a number of necessary conditions.

First, it is most unlikely that any significant movement in the direction of normality will occur until there is a drastic reduction in the visibility—and, preferably, even the presence—of the military and a re-establishment of normal civilian administration in East Pakistan. Secondly, the food problem must be solved. For the present, this means programming the massive imports which will be required over the nex 12-months, and re-establishing—by some combination of permanent and temporary measures an adequate transport and distribution system. Thirly, any remaining available resources must be directed first to rehabilitation and reconstruction and to breaking the most important and most persistent physical and organizational bottlenecks impeding efforts to get the economy going again.

One implication of this set of priorities is that the development effort will have to remain in a state of suspension for at least the next year or so. On the whole, this is certainly inevitable; however, there are some areas of extremely high priority where development programs should be resumed at their previous—or even higher—levels at the earliest opportunity. A list of such areas would include as a minimum: rice research, jute research (market) and promotion, seed production and improvement (rice and jute) food storage and distribution and rual infrastructure—including the rural works, irrigation and integrated rual development programs.

Yugoslav Official Spokesman's Statement on influx of refugees from East Pakistan on June 17, 1971

Following is Yugoslav Official Spokesman's statement at a weekly press conference held on June 17, 1971.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Yugoslav Government and public are following with great concern the hardships of millions of refugees from East Pakistan in India and therefore we have understanding for the problems and anxiety of the friendly India. In this connection we have noted the statement of Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. We feel that measures should be taken urgently to prevent further exodus and create conditions for the return of refugees to their homes."

"Finding of political solution in the interest of people of Pakistan would undoubtedly help to normalize the situation in East Pakistan and eliminate difficulties concerning refugees. Similarly we feel it is duty of the international community to offer urgent and adequate help for settling this difficult problem. Yugoslav Red Cross has already sent certain aid to the refugees and has issued appeal to public for fresh aid".

II INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE: NON-OFFICIAL (INDIVIDUALS)

Statement by Mr. Russel Johnston, Member, House of Commons, U. K., on March 31, 1971

We have watched with horror the development of the political crisis in East Pakistan. Reports are still not clear and at times contradicted but two things are now undeniable.

Firstly there is a clear majority demand for independence in East Pakistan.

Secondly the Pakistan Government's reaction to this has been to send in troops and engage on repressive measures which, according to eye-witness reports, have been savage and indiscriminate and have resulted in the widespread slaughter of civilians.

In addition it is not long since the floods in East Pakistan aroused the sympathy of the World and the plight of the victims may be intolerable if the flow of aid cannot be maintained in the present situation.

I do not believe that Britain can stand by on the argument that it is an internal matter. We are witnessing what at worst is an act of intolerable brutality and at best a grave political miscalculation which has got completely out of hand. As a senior member of the Commonwealth Britain has a responsibility to take every action open to her to bring peace and achieve settlement.

Statement by Senator Edward M. Kennedy in the U. S. Senate on April 1, 1971

Mr. President, reports from East Pakistan tell of a heavy toll being paid by the civilian population as a result of the current conflict. It is a story of indiscriminate killing, the execution of dissident political leaders and students, and thousands of civilians suffering and dying every hour of the day. It is a story of dislocation and loss of home. It is a story of little food and water. And coming in the aftermath of tragedy by natural disaster, the current violence and near total disruption of Government services in East Pakistan is compounding an already difficult situation. It threatens near famine for millions and the spread of epidemics and disease.

I do not speak today to blame or condemn or to offer any magic solution for meeting the political and humanitarian problems in East Pakistan. But as Chairman of the Judiciary Sub-committee on Refugees, I do wish to express a deep

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
2268

personal concern over the plight of the people in East Pakistan, which seems to be just another link in a chain of war ravaged populations stretching around the world in recent years.

Inevitably, the situation of civilians in East Pakistan is taking second place to the political issue at stake and to the interests of those who have much to lose, or to gain, by the outcome of the battle. But the people of Dacca, of Chittagong, and of the villages and towns throughout the area also have interests. For many, apparently, it is mere survival.

The situation in East Pakistan should be particularly distressing to Americans for it is our military hardware—our guns and tanks and aircraft—which is contributing much to the suffering. And this is being done, apparently, in violation of negotiated agreements on the use of American Military Aid to the Central Pakistan Government.

Mr. President, I fully appreciate the immense difficulties in the East Pakistan issue. It is a complex matter for Diplomats and Humanitarians alike. But should not our Government condemn the killing? Should we not be more concerned about the fate of millions of civilians who are caught in the crunch of this conflict? Should we not offer our good services to stop the violance or at least encourage and support others in such an effort?

It is to be hoped that our Government will give some evidence to reflect a growing concern among many Americans over recent developments in East Pakistan.

Statement by Senator Harris in U.S. Senate on April 1, 1971.

Mr. President, an apalling tragedy is taking place in East Pakistan about which the world remains ignorant because West Pakistani authorities have cynically expelled foreign journalists. It would appear that only in this way may their soldiers kill in peace.

The New York Times, March 31, cites 'unimpeachable independent sources' in New Delhi who claim that the Pakistani soldiers have been dragging political leaders in East Pakistan into the street where they are summarily shot. There are reports, unconfirmed, that execution squads led by informers are now systematically tracking down and killing East Pakistani intellectual leaders so that the people of that region will for ever remain without a voice.

These outrages reportedly are being committed in the name of God and 'United Pakistan'.

Some reports may be sensationalized accounts of isolated crimes, because of the Pakistani Government's policy of excluding the press, we do not know. But the unwillingness of the Pakistani authorities to admit foreign newsman must cause us to conclude that at least some of the reports are true.

The world must end its silence. At this point only the Indian Government has gone on record in condemnation of current events in Pakistan. But Indian protests can only be marginal in effectiveness and subject to misinterpretation in purpose because of the long hatred between the two countries. It is sad to report that because of the vast human destruction brought about by our involvement in Vietnam, the United States is also not in a position to take a moral lead.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We do not, however, have to remain inactive. We should pointedly announce that we are halting all military and economic aid to Pakistan for the time being. Meanwhile, we can urge others, particularly countries in Asia, to take the moral lead in such forums as the United Nations.

I urge others in the Senate to join me in asking the Administration to give the situation in Pakistan the highest priority. We cannot sit with our hands folded as a generation of leaders in East Pakistan may be on the way to final destruction.

Speech made by Lord Fenner Brockwaz, Member of House of Lords, U.K. at a public meeting on April 4, 1971

Lord Fenner Brockway, Member of the House of Lords and the guiding spirit behind the British Movement for colonial Freedom, said that he had spent his childhood in Bengal and that was why he had always indentified himself as a friend of Bengal. Going into the history of the creation of Pakistan, he said that it was perhaps never the intention of the British to have East Bengal ruled "autocratically" from West Pakistan. He demanded an immediate ending of terrible human disaster in East Bengal. The following demands were made by him:-

(*a*) Immediate despatch of effective relief to the sufferers in East Bengal.

(*b*) Release of all political prisoners.

(*c*) Pakistan Army should be ordered to stop firing and withdraw from East Bengal.

(*d*) National Assembly should be convened immediately to allow the representatives of the people to decide freely the future of the people.

(*e*) He called for urgent U.N. intervention justifying that the situation in East Bengal was a threat to international peace.

(*f*) He affirmed that Pakistan had repudiated the ideals of freedom enshrined in the Singapore Declaration adopted at the Commonwealth Conference held in January, 1971, and demanded of the senior Commonwealth Governments like Britain, India or Canada that they should urge the Commonwealth through its Secretariat to send a fact-finding mission to East Bengal.

Lord Brockway strongly urged that India's proposal for a Security Council Meeting on the situation in East Bengal should be supported.

Martin Adeney, correspondent of the Guardian, who was in Dacca on March 25, gave a grim account of what he saw.

Peter Shore M.P. (Labour) and a former Minister in Labour Government, strongly repudiated the argument that the brutal armed suppression of democracy in East Bengal was an internal matter of Pakistan and urged the British Government to sit up and take notice of the happenings there. He appealed to the British Government to bring pressure to bear on President Yahya Khan to stop bloodshed in East Bengal. He demanded that the furure of East Bengal should be decided by the people themselves and not by the army of West Pakistan. He disclosed that the British Labour Party shall put all pressure at its command on the Government to take a positive step on the East Bengal situation during the Commons debate on April 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

An appeal to the President of Pakistan' By 'American Friends of Pakistan', published on April 12, 1971

Your Excellency:

Reports that have reached this country leave no room to doubt that the Government of Pakistan has abandoned peaceful negotiations and democratic procedures in East Pakistan and is seeking to subjugate a majority of its own citizens by military force. To this end, it has loosed the terrors of modern warfare, including tanks, planes, and artillery, against unarmed people, killing literally thousands.

Outsiders can sympathise with the grave troubles and concerns of the Government of Pakistan, but they cannot remain silent when it is making war on its own people. We believe that no government has a right to impose its will by force of arms on a populace that has spoken so unanimously as the people of East Pakistan and whose aspirations are so reasonable.

All of us have been actively concerned for many years with the problems faced by Pakistan and with the struggle of its people, in both the West and the East, for a better life. We have been hartened by the progress that was being made toward a more ample life and toward democracy. But we fear that the present course of the Government of Pakistan can lead only to disaster. We urge you, in the name of humanity and out of love for your country, to arrange for a truce before all is lost, and to restore legitimate and responsive government in East Pakistan with all possible haste.

Dr. Frank, C. Child.
Dr. Edwin H. Clark II.
Dr. Paul G. Clark.
Dr. James Coleman.
Dr. Edward C. Dimock, Jr.
Dr. Robert Dorfman.
Dr. Walter P. Falcon.
Dr. John C. H. Fei.
Dr. Richard W. Gable.
Dr. Robert Gomer
Dr. Gary Hufbauer
Dr. John Isaacs
Dr. Kiromitsu Kaneda
Dr. Maurice D. Kilbridge
Dr. Stephen R. Lewis, Jr.
Dr. Edward S. Mason.
Mr. John W. Mellor.
Dr. Gustav F. Papanak.
Dr. Hanna Papanak.
Dr. Stefan H. Robock.
Dr. Peter Rogers.
Dr. James A. F. Stoner.
Dr. John W. Thomas.
Dr. D. Wynne Thorne.
Dr. Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson).
Dr. Stanislaw Wellisz
Dr. Winston W. Wetzel
Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner
Dr. Wayne Wilcox

For inquiries, endorsements, contributions write to **AMERICAN FRIENDS OF PAKISTAN**, 81, Kiburn Road, Belmont, Mass 02178

(THE WASHINGTON POST—April 12, 1971.)

"Pakistan's Made-in-USA Arms" by Mr. Chester Bowles, New York Times, April 18, 1971

ESSEX, Conn.—The appalling struggle now going on in East Pakistan is a further testimony to the folly of doling out arms to "friendly governments" with little regard for whom they are to be used against or for what reasons.

The billion-dollar military equipment program for the Government of Pakistan (meaning West Pakistan) between 1954 and 1965 enabled and encouraged the Pakistanis to attack India in 1965. Now (along with some Soviet and Chinese

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

equipment) it is being used by the West Pakistan Government to beat down their fellow countrymen in East Pakistan who recently voted overwhelmingly for greater independence.

It is a particularly shoddy spectacle because there is no indication that our Government feels the slightest responsibility for how our weapons are being used. Indeed it has done its best to sweep the whole situation under the rug.

Even when the International Red Cross was refused entry into East Pakistan, when all foreign correspondents had been hurriedly ushered out of the country, and when daily on-the-spot reports from our Consulate General in Dacca had described in detail the massive military action by the West Pakistan Army against East Pakistan civilians, our Government persisted in saying it did not know what was going on and therefore was in no position to comment.

It was only when some 500 American refugees from East Pakistan began to give accounts to the press that our Government offered even a mild protest to the West Pakistan Government.

Two actions, it seems to me, should be taken at once. First, we should lodge a strong protest with the West Pakistan Government over the misuse of U.S. military equipment and all aid except medical supplies and food should promptly be stopped. Second, we should call for a meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations to consider appropriate steps to deal with the threat to the peace of Asia which this conflict clearly has become. U.S. Government spokesmen have already ignored the first suggestion and rejected the second on the ground that the fighting in East Pakistan is an "internal question" in which we have no right to interfere. *But what about U.S. action in the Congo? What about South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Cyprus?*

When peace is threatened on such a massive scale the United Nations has an overriding obligation to do everything possible to settle the conflict before it gets out of control. This obligation is particularly clear when the "internal problem" is created by the efforts of a well armed minority to subdue the overwhelming majority constituting more than one-half of a divided country, separated by more than 1,000 miles of alien territory, speaking different languages and with deep built-in-cultural conflicts and differing economic interests.

If we assume leadership in mustering world opinion to stop the fighting, the Soviet Union, which has limited its reaction to a mild plea for restraint, will almost certainly support our position. This is particularly so since China has seized upon the situation to stir up trouble between India and Pakistan even though this puts them in bed with the rightist military dictatorship of West Pakistan.

The upheaval in East Pakistan came at a moment when there was new hope for political stability and economic progress in South Asia. In December, the overwhelming victory of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League in the first free election ever held in Pakistan had opened the door not only for the first genuinely democratic government but for greatly expanded trade with India and the easing of the conflict between the two nations.

Two months later, Mrs. Gandhi's landslide election in India provided her with a mandate not only for an all out effort to ease the poverty of the Indian masses but also to improve India's relations with its neighbors.

Tragically, the action of the West Pakistan Government has destroyed for some time to come the hope for a politically stable, united Pakistan living at peace with its neighbors. In all likelihood, the West Pakistani forces in East

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pakistan ultimately will be driven out. Although their military superiority is substantial, the movement of food and military supplies in the coming monsoon through the aroused countryside will be extremely difficult. An independent East Pakistan appears to be in the cards.

But if the United States and the U.N. combine to look the other way and the present struggle is allowed to continue to its inevitable bloody climax, East Pakistan will become a political vacuum with 70-million embitterd people convinced that the only hope for support is from the most extreme elements in India. This is particularly likely if, as many observers believe, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who has been deeply committed to the democratic process, is already dead.

As this danger grows, Mrs. Gandhi's Government will be increasingly diverted from its programs of economic development to raise the living standards of the Indian people, instead turning to the political and military problems of securing its northern and eastern borders.

(NEW YORK TIMES—April 18, 1971.)

A REPORT TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF RELIGION FOR PEACE

Preface

The officers of the World Conference of Religion for Peace, meeting in New Delhi on April 22-23, 1971, discussed the situation in East Pakistan and adopted a policy statement. (*See* Appendix) One of the suggestions for implementation was that the Secretary-General "visit parts of the sub-continent to obtain first-hand information on the situation, to share our concern and implement this policy statement, and to take any other initiatives within this policy which appear feasible". This report is of a four-day trip to Calcutta and the East Bengal/Bangla Desh border on April 26–30, 1971. A trip to West Pakistan is also planned.

Much information was gathered by participating in an all-day meeting in Calcutta on April 27th, of representatives from four Gandhian organizations: Gandhi Peace Foundation, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Sarva Seva Sangh, and Shanti Sena Mandal. Jayaprakash Narayan was present. The meeting discussed and approved a multiple program of Indian and international initiatives, including a possible Mission by Jayaprakash to world capitals and the U.N. and a possible international peace march to the Bangla Desh border.

Meetings were held in Calcutta with leaders of three religious groups: Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and the Mahabodhi Society.

Interviews were also held in Calcutta with (1) Mr. Hosain Ali, formerly High Commissioner of Pakistan, who defected and is now "High Commissioner" for Bangla Desh to India; (2) Mr. Khandakar Mustaq Ahmed, Foreign Minister of Bangla Desh; (3) Mr. A. H. Kararu Zaman, Home and Refugee Minister of Bangla Desh; (4) A Liaison Officer of the Bangla Desh Government; and (5) Several refugees, including a Buddhist layman.

A trip was also taken to the border, where members of the National Assembly were interviewed, and refugee camps inspected. We were accompanied by Sri Kshitish Roy Chowdhury, Chairman of the Gandhi Peace Foundation for West Bengal.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I was accompanied to Calcutta by Sri Radhakrishna, Secretary of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, for one day, and Mr. and Mrs. John Linton, resident directors of the Quaker Centre of New Delhi, for the entire period.

(HOMER A. JACK Calcutta, New Delhi—May 1, 1971.)

To the border

We rented an auto with driver (14 hours, 200 miles and $20) to go to the Bangla Desh border. One of the closest points of access from Calcutta is near Bungoan, about 60 miles on paved road from Calcutta. It is an easy two-hour drive along rice paddies, with huge, 100-year old trees lining the crowded highway. There is little evidence of war or tragedy or even of refugees until almost reaching Bungoan.

There we were taken by Sri Chowdhury to the Gandhi Ashram where its director joined our party. In the town, we visited the headquarters of the Awami League—the victorious party in the national elections in East Pakistan and now the ruling party of Bangla Desh. We had talks with several members of the National Assembly who managed to escape. They told us their personal stories and the mass murder they personally witnessed. They always ended with the question, "Why doesn't the world community stop the killings?" They added: "Why won't the U.S. or the U.K. grant us recognition—or at least give us arms?" Never, they indicated, would their country unite again with West Pakistan. The two-state nation is dead. Leaving the headquarters, we noticed the Bangla Desh flag—green, with a large red circle, and the outline of the state superimposed in gold. In a field we saw a group of jeeps and trucks. They were from the Mukti Fouj—the Bangla Desh Liberation Army.

On the five mile road to the Jessore border, we also saw a large camp of Indian soldiers. Soon our auto was stopped near the border. We could not walk to the actual border because there was military activity—on April 29th—just beyond. An Indian soldier, with sten gun, pointed to some billowing smoke in the blue Bengali sky, across rice paddies and purple water hyacinths. He said that a village was burning. We could hear guns. He indicated that they were both from the Pakistan Army and the Liberation Army.

We returned to our auto, retraced our route for two miles, and stopped at a refugee camp—the first set up in the area. Eight others are now operating in the vicinity. Thus about 90,000 refugees are being cared for in this small portion of the estimated 2,200 mile Indian East Bengal border (with West Bengal, Assam, and Tripura).

The camp manager, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service from Delhi, told us that the Indian Government provides the rice. The cost per person a day is about two rupees (or 30 American cents)—for rice, bread, vegetables, and milk for the children. All persons must be inoculated before entering the camp. (Apparently the refugees are getting better rations than the average peasants receive on either side of the border! Also their health may become better.) The refugees live huddled on straw mats (under hot tents) like animals. Many families have at least one member missing. They have almost no clothes or other belongings. They are not, however, all peasants; some are clerks and a few members of the middle class. Fifty per cent of the people in this camp were Moslems, the remaining Hindus or Christians.

Sewage in the camps is a problem, especially if the camps become permanent. Also when the monsoon comes, much of the land will be water-logged. How "temporary" the camps may be nobody knows. The camp itself is run by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

monks of the Bharat Sevasram Sangha, a Hindu order which specializes in social service.

After leaving this camp—and being followed to the waiting auto by a hundred almost-naked children—we drove 20 miles north, parallel to the border. Here we passed four more camps, as well as groups of refugees in the villages. Also we passed single refugee families, walking along the road, with all they possess on their heads.

Our destination was the road's end—Boyra. This was another East Bengal border—in the middle of the very small river. We were told that several hours earlier Pakistan forces had shelled an Indian village, visible about a mile away over the rice paddies, and almost surrounded by East Bengal territory. Through this border refugees are constantly coming.

We retraced our way South, stopping at a second camp. Here the ratio was 70 per cent Hindus, 15 per cent Christians, and 15 per cent Moslems. The Hindu monk in charge told us that they try to hold an inter-religious prayer service every evening, reading from the Koran, the Gita, and the Bible.

Finally at Bungaon, we visited the hospital. We talked to several East Bengali men and women with wounds from Pakistani guns.

By 8-30 p.m. we returned to our headquarters in the Oberoi Grand Hotel in Calcutta. Hardly anywhere in the world could there be a greater contrast than between the refugee camps we left at six o'clock and the hotel's Prince's Restaurant where we leisurely ate our meal at nine o'clock that evening, watching a cabaret show...

Refugees

The Indian Government in Delhi is keeping a fairly accurate count of refugees from East Bengal. One hears the figure of one to two millions, but a conservative figure at the moment is about 650,000—in all three Indian states bordering East Bengal and in nearby Bihar. In some areas only one-fourth or one-fifth of the refugees are being housed in camps, the others living in villages and with friends or with any family who will befriend them.

So far the state governments, with the help of non-governmental societies and the Central Government, is able to handle the situation. But if it continues indefinitely, many problems will arise and India may not be able to shoulder the growing burden alone. International relief organizations and other governments have not yet entered the picture. International organizations would probably be welcomed by India, in contrast to West Pakistan which refused to allow the International Red Cross to enter East Bengal.

Another problem of relief is inside East Bengal. Supplies of medicines and food must be smuggled in. There is a normal rice deficit in East Bengal. With shipping and internal transportation cut, and with the war making the rice harvest difficult, and the planting of the next crop questionable, a major rice shortage is expected next year if the war does not stop soon. World organizations must prepare for this possible emergency.

Communal tensions

Communal tensions, meaning Hindu-Moslem violence, is always just under the surface of the sub-continent. At the moment it is Moslems from West Pakistan killing Moslems in East Pakistan and for political and not religious reasons. However, the possibility of communal riots within Indian is again real. India ontains the fourth largest concentration of Moslems in the world—after Indonesia,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bangla Desh, and West Pakistan. The Moslems have never felt completely at one with an independent India. This has especially been true in light of the very existence of Pakistan. The Moslems, with notable exceptions, have felt some security by the very existence of a strong Pakistan. To the extent that Pakistan is now breaking up and weakening, the Moslems in India feel less secure. A spark from either the Moslem or Hindu side in India could set off full-scale rioting again.

Genocide

I sought to answer in Calcutta and at the border some of the following questions. "Are the charges of massacre exaggerated?" "Are they just a further case of anti-Pakistan propaganda by Indians?" "Was it really genocide?"

I asked these question to a young Buddhist who managed to make his way from Dacca to Calcutta. He told me tales of mass killings of Buddhists in his home territory-Chittagong—they voted for an Awami League candidate. I asked him if the stories about the massacres, as he was reading them in the Calcutta newspapers, seemed exaggerated. He replied, "They are at least eighty per cent true." Another intellectual, a lawyer from Dacca, told us in Calcutta: "The stories are, from my experience, almost one hundred per cent true."

Were the killings military action? Not initially. The people of East Bengal were unarmed. It was a case of deliberate mass killings, first of selected groups of people: Hindus, Buddhists, students, professors, and leaders of the Awami League. Later, the killings were often in retaliation to guerilla action by the Liberation Army.

What numbers of East Bengalies have been massacred? The figures range from thousands to 200,000 (given on the floor of the British House of Commons by a member who had visited West and East Pakistan). A conservative estimate is now 50,000 persons. Nobody really now knows or may ever know. And there appears to be no end.

If there are mass killings—whatever the number—is it genocide? This is the intentional mass killing of a people. If what has happened in East Bengal is not genocide, then this recently-coined term (but old practice) has no meaning.

How can the killings be stopped

Friendly states can urge West Pakistan to stop the killings. Only the Soviet Union has done so publicly; several states have probably tried to do so through private diplomatic channels. China has publicly encouraged West Pakistan. While pressures of the big powers on West Pakistan should continue, it seems unlikely that this method alone at this date will induce her to stop the war.

An additional factor is, of course, that now that the war has become one for independence, The Bangla Desh forces do not want peace if this means the status quo ante. Thus they, too, do not want a truce unless the outcome will be independence. For them, autonomy within Pakistan is a dead issue.

What about U.N. intervention? This also seems unlikely. So far no state has officially asked the U.N. Security Council even to discuss the issue. So far U Thant has apparently felt unable to take public initiatives as he did on Vietnam several years ago.

A third method to lessen the killing is for West Pakistan to be unable to maintain her fighting force—initially estimated at 80,000 men—in East Bengal. The previous and recent major arms suppliers of West Pakistan—the U.S. U.S.S.R., and China—could refuse to continue to give her arms. It appears now that China will

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

continue at least for some time, but even China could change her policy. There could be an embargo on arms going into East Bengal. A sea blockade might work in theory, with the participation of several naval states. (But no such blockade has been possible against South Africa after years of effort). An air embargo would be even more difficult, with West Pakistan planes landing in China and making over flights of Burma if not India. Also the over-committed economy of West Pakistan itself might not be able to continue the war indefinitely.

A final method to bring an end to the war would be the direct intervention of one or more states. India might attack West Pakistan troops in East Bengal or help the Liberation Army openly. She would risk retaliation by West Pakistan on her Western borders and even intervention by China. The U.S. or the U.S.S.R for various reasons will probably not individually intervene directly.

India's problems and opportunities

"Events in East Bengal" have presented Mrs. Indira Gandhi's new government with great opportunities, but also great problems.

Benefits to India so far have been multiple. India has not, in recent years, been so united. All Indian parties and people are supporting Bangla Desh overwhelmingly. Also India's position vis-a-vis Pakistan has been strengthened. India need not fear Pakistan's army in the near future-except perhaps in retaliation for any overt Indian military action in Bangla Desh. Pakistan is finished as a serious threat or competitor to India on the subcontinent. Also the action of Pakistan in Bengal has solidified India's position on Kashmir. Mrs. Gandhi will also now have more time during which to begin to produce results after her recent electoral mandate. There was always fear that, given India's huge problems, she could not keep her election promises. Now at least she has more time.

But India must face some difficult problems as a result of the West Pakistan action. There is the increased danger of communal violence. Also the refugees could soon become an economic strain. If they stay in India indefinitely, this will add problems to a country which cannot give jobs to its own citizens, especially in West Bengal.

India must also face, because of the war, renewed tension and rivalry with China. China could even intervene in the fighting. There might, finally, be a movement for a United Bengal, encompassing West Bengal and East Bengal. This demand could set off a series of demands for succession, not autonomy, by other Indian states.

Thus India must handle the situation, domestically and internationally, with continued wisdom and restraint. This is difficult, as the Indian people and many of their leaders are preoccupied with the issue and pressing the Indian Government for a least (1) recognition of Bangla Desh and (2) overt armed intervention.

Mrs. Gandhi's government is so far understandably resisting both requests—at least officially. Anything India does appears, to her enemies and the international community generally, as self-serving, and a continuance of India's long-standing battle with Pakistan. In reality, however, India did not cause the present tensions between West and East Pakistan and is indeed quite an innocent by-stander in this matter.

Unofficially, India is obviously helping Bangla Desh on several fronts. She is giving hospitality to the new government—its cabinet members at times, its diplomats, even its armed forces. India may not be giving arms, but the Liberation Army may not only be getting supplies from captured stocks from within

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

East Bengal. Small arms may be found or brought or manufactured, on a small scale, within India.

Bangla Desh

Pakistan has been a geographically and politically divided nation. Also, compared to India, Pakistan has been a totalitarian state. There have been few national elections in Pakistan since partition. Finally, in December, 1970, a national election was called and held. East Bengal was considered a single province (one of five in the country, the others being the Punjab, Sind, Northwest Frontier, and Baluchistan). East Bengal was assigned 169 seats out of 313 in the National Assembly.

Pakistan is also a classical example of internal colonialism. The East Bengal province was exploited in many ways economically by West Pakistan. This exploitation was the basis of the political programme of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami Party. A seasoned political leader, who has been in and out of prison, Sheikh Rahman divised a six-point program, calling for autonomy, not succession. This was the basis of the Awami League campaign. The Awami Party received an overwhelming victory—98% of the seats. This also constituted a majority in the National Assembly.

The National Assembly was to have been convened on March 3, 1971. President Yahya Khan postponed it. Instead, he finally flew to Dacca to negotiate with Sheikh Rahman. The negotiations continued for some days apparently with some success. Then suddenly on midnight of March 25th, President Khan flew out of Dacca for West Pakistan. Simultaneously the West Pakistan Army mass acred thousands of people, trying to capture the leaders of the Awami League-Sheikh Rahman was thought to have gone underground, but later West Pakistan released a blurred picture of him being held prisoner in West Pakistan. Since then, nothing more has been heard about him or from him, and many have wondered if he has not met the fate of Patrice Lumumba, the architect of a free Congo. His famous speeches, on records, are being played by refugees in Calcutta.

Major Zia Khan, Provisional Commander-in-Chief of the Liberation Force, announced the Declaration of Independence of Bangla Desh. The Declaration reads as follows:

"1. Major Zia, Provisional Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Liberation Army, hereby proclaims, on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the independence of Bangla Desh.

2. I also declare we have already formed a sovereign legal Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which pledges to function as per law and the constitution.

3. The new democratic government is committed to a policy of non-alignment in international relations. It will seek friendship with all nations and strive for international peace.

4. I appeal to all Governments to mobilize public opinion in their respective countries against the brutal genocide in Bangla Desh.

5. The Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is the sovereign lega Government of Bangla Desh and is entitled to recognition from all democratic nations of the world."

On April 10th a War Cabinet was announced, with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as President in absentia. Other members included Syet Nasrul Islam, Vice-President;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister; and Mr. Khandakar Mustaq Ahmed, Foreign Minister.

On April 18th, the Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan in India, Mr. Hasan Ali, stationed in Calcutta, defected, and Bangla Desh appointed him "High Commissioner" for Bangla Desh in India. The armed forces or Liberation Army, the Mukti Fouj, came into being, partly composed of members of the East Bengal Rifles who revolted.

The new government of Bangla Desh, working from a mobile capital, is beseiged with many problems. The members of its Parliament are scattered although most of its members are miraculously alive. Its executive is decimated and its members are out of communication with each other. The Awami League did, however, have experience in running the country during most of March. Some of the small courts may be running in certain pockets inside Bangla Desh; there may even be some tax collections. There is a small diplomatic corps arising, composed of defecting diplomats plus certain nationals who were fortunate enough to be out of the country on March 25th. One, a Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca, was in Geneva on March 25th and was deputized to represent Bangla Desh in London and at the United Nations.

One problem Bangla Desh must face is political radicalization. Only a small group of Maoists were active in East Bengal and they were defeated at the polls. However, the Maoist Naxalites in West Bengal were reported eager to infiltrate into East Bengal. They have, however, been stung by China's support of West Pakistan and appear to be paralysed. However, the longer the war continues, the more extremist political elements may become involved. One sees the election signs of all kinds of communists parties on the Indian border, including the slogan, "Long Live Mao". Communism is, however, not an issue in this conflict.

The morale of the government leaders, and even of the articulate refugees appears amaxingly high. This optimism does not seem to be only for public relations purposes. They feel that they will win their independence as a free Bangla Desh. They can, however, give no timetable. As for the role of the Liberation Army, it is still an unknown quantity—and quality. But it is hoped that the monsoons, due to arrive in mid May, will be mostly to the disadvantage of the Pakistan Army.

The Government of Bangla Desh needs not only arms, but publicity, funds, and recognition. To date, no state has recognized Bangla Desh—destined one day to become the eighth most populous nation on earth.

Why is the world so unconcerned

Why is the West, as well as the rest of the world, so seemingly unconcerned about the situation in East Bengal?

Moslems are killing Moslems. It is not a racial war.

No whites are involved.

No ideology is involved, at least not communism.

But why the relative silence, and unconcern, of—for example—the American people and the American Government? The U.S. is still preoccupied with the Vietnam War. Not only are American lives still being lost, but the emotional commitment of American activists is still massively directed toward a complete withdrawal from Vietnam. Also because of the overdue thaw of relations with China, some Americans may hesitate further to complicate relations with China.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

No. U.N. intervention seems possible, politically or even logistically. Finally, there is a Bangla Desh—a people wanting autonomy—in the womb of every big power, including at least Puerto Rico within the United States.

APPENDIX

An appeal on East Pakistan

Eye-witness reports in the world press describe widespread human suffering and misery in East Pakistan and the denial of democratic processes, and continued silence and unconcern by most States, the British Commonwealth, and the United Nations. Churches, temples, synagogues, mosques, and gurudwaras, and men of religion generally must give voice to the conscience of mankind on this issue. Otherwise, there is apprehension that such examples of internal colonialism and repression will increase in the world.

The officers of the World Conference of Religion for Peace (WCRP) condemn the infliction of suffering and death on masses of innocent human beings and the violent suspension of democratic processes.

The WCRP calls upon the President of Pakistan, Gen. Yahya Khan, and his Government immediately to stop violence and repression in East Pakistan. We urge this action not only to save the people of East Pakistan, but to preserve the honour of the people of West Pakistan. This appeal from representatives of the major world religions is made especially to the Head of an Islamic State. All religions stand for peace and affirm that it is never too late for reconciliation.

The officers of the WCRP, coming from various nations, urge their own and other governments to demand that the Government of Pakistan refrain from violence. In this effort, no nation can be self-righteous; every nation can, however, be compassionate. We especially urge that all nations stop immediately further arms supplies to Pakistan. We also suggest that mediation of the conflict be tried on the lines of the Tashkent Agreement in order to put a stop to the violence.

We also urge the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, to use his good offices to take initiatives in urging the Government of Pakistan to stop this tragedy. We consider that the destruction of human life and property in East Pakistan is no longer an "internal" or "domestic" issue. It is a denial of fundamental human rights under the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. Moreover, the situation as it has been developing has become a threat to the peace of the world. The U.N. cannot remain silent or inactive; indeed, we advocate the early use of suitable emergency U.N. measures to help stop the violence and to keep the peace to enable the restoration of democratic functioning.

To alleviate suffering, we urge governmental and non-governmental organizations, including religious ones, in all parts of the world, to organize relief and rehabilitation programs for the sufferers in East Pakistan as well as the refugees coming from there to India. We appeal to all nations, irrespective of political differences, to participate in this urgent task of compassion.

Implementation

To implement this policy statement, the WCRP urges its Secretariat:

1. To give the ending of violence in East Pakistan equal priority with its continuing efforts to stop the war in Vietnam.

2. To call upon its various national and inter-religious committees to give highest priority to adopting appropriate measures.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

3. To ask the Vatican, the Japan Religions League, the Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam, the World Council of Churches, and other religious groups with which we work informally to give urgent attention to this issue.

4. To visit various parts of the sub-continent to obtain first-hand information on the situation, to share our concern and implement this policy statement, and to take any other initiatives within this policy which appear feasible.

5. To make available current information on the situation to religious leaders and organizations throughout the world.

6. To use its influence on the U.N. community from its international headquarters.

April 23, 1971.

Issued at New Delhi on behalf of the International Headquarters of the World Conference of Religion for Peace, 777 U.N. Plaza, New York, New York 10017, U.S.A.

John Stonehouse's Interview with BBC on April 27, 1971

On his return to London, John Stonehouse was interviewed on the Today programme of B.B.C. on April 27. Stonehouse said that "terrible" things had happened in East Bengal, things which have not been seen since the last war. Describing it further stonehouse said that what had happened in East Bengal "makes Vietnam look like a tea-party." He talked in particular of the incident at Dacca University on March 25, when staff and students were "rounded up and shot in cold-blood." He expressed great regret that a "98 per cent" vote for a democratically held election had not only been refused its just deserts but had been subjected to a policy of repression by the military junta. "We *must* be concerned about this; we *can't* wash our hands off this," said John Stonehouse.

Statement by Senator Edward M. Kennedy in the U.S. Senate on May 3, 1971

On April 1st I spoke in this Chamber to express my deep concern over developments in East Pakistan.

Suppressed reports to our Government were telling of a heavy toll being paid by the civilian population as a result of the violence. It was a story of indiscriminate killing, the execution of students and dissident political elements, and the suffering of the tens of thousands of innocent civilians. It was a story of families dislocated and homes lost. It was a story of little food and water and coming in the aftermath of tragedy by natural disaster, the outbreak of violence and the near total disruption of Government services were compounding an already difficult situation. Conditions were threatening famine for millions—and the spread of epidemic and disease.

Over the last month I have communicated my concern in this matter to officials in the Department of State and elsewhere, in an effort to encourage and support reasonable initiatives by our Government and the International Community to help meet the urgent political and humanitarian problems in East Pakistan.

Regrettably, the record will show that little has been done. And so the pligh of the people in East Pakistan is rapidly deteriorating into a nightmare of more suffering and death for millions.

Although reports suggest that violence has subsided considerably, reports also indicate that feelings are tense between the people and the army of the Central Government. The great bulk of the population is alienated as a result of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

army's violent repression—which, as events in Dacca last week underscore, continues spordically.

Moreover, reports also indicate that the army effectively controls little ground—and that except for Dacca and Jessore, and the area immediately surrounding these cities, Government services and administration are practically non-existent. The transportation and distribution of available foodstocks and medical supplies is at a standstill—even in the area ravaged by last fall's natural disaster, where conservative estimates say a million persons are solely dependent for survival on effective relief operations. The tragedy of the Bengali people in East Pakistan has now spilled over into India, which so far has found it necessary to give asylum to well over a million refugees.

Hundred of thousands of people in East Pakistan—perhaps millions of people—are slowly reaching the point of starvation and death.

We are conditioned in the world we have created, to accept such suffering and injustice—especially in our time when violent conflict and oppression are active in so many areas. But the newer world we seek will not evolve if we ignore these challenges to leadership, and take comfortable refuge in the mundane patterns and attitudes of the past.

In the case of East Pakistan—in the effort to help her people caught in the passion of conflict—I cannot believe that our Government and the International Community stand paralyzed in face of great tragedy. The situation can no longer be ignored. At stake are human lives—innocent lives—Pakistani lives—thousands, even millions of lives—whose destruction will burden the conscience of all mankind unless something more is done to save them.

It is easy to deplore the repression and political disorganization in East Pakistan; it is easy to deplore the deteriorating conditions of the people. It is easy to proclaim a policy of concern. It is easy to advocate meaning full steps to ameliorate the conflict and bring relief to the people.

But such rhetoric is no alternative to action. And I strongly feel that whatever our own Government has done on the humanitarian needs in East Pakistan has fallen short of what should have been done—And like so much of our moral urgency, creativity and deep compassion for those in dire need.

And so today, as an American concerned about the dignity and preservation of the ultimate resource on our planet, I appeal for immediate action by the United Nations, which so far has chosen silience over leadership. I appeal to the leaders of Pakistan, to the leaders of other countries and to our own Government, to support a mercy mission and airlift into areas in need, and, hopefully, the appeal of the Indian Government for assistance to meet refugee needs within her border will receive a sympathetic response by all concerned.

Let us leave no stone unturned in accomplishing this objective. But let us do so with meaningful action to meet immediate needs, and with the urgency a serious crisis of people demands.

Statement by Senator Walter F. Mondale in the U.S. Senate on May 6, 1971

Mr. MONDALE: Mr. President, the people of East Pakistan already ravaged by cyclone and civil war—are now threatened by a new disaster of incredible magnitude.

Only the most urgent action by the United States and other governments can save millions from dying of starvation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The evidence of gathering tragedy was summarized in a letter printed by the New York Times, May 2.

Over 35 million Bengalis depend on imported food to maintain a precarious balance between life and death.

Food imports have been interrupted since February. Internal distribution has stopped.

History has given us the clearest warning of tragedy. In 1943, when the food shortage in the area was one-third of what it is now, a similar break down of food shipments meant the death of over a million people. Famine will not wait on publicity or bureaucratic inertia. A massive relief effort must be mounted now to revive the distribution system and reach the needy before meagre food reserves are gone.

By the time we see the pictures of starving children, it will be too late to save them.

Yet, in the face of this horror, the U.S. Government has stood by in unconscionable negligence.

We have made a vague, general offer of help, but failed to press the Gevernment of Pakistan in any way to undertake the necessary relief effort.

We were silent when International Red Cross, observers—whose impartial humanitarian mission is recognized by world community—were recently denied entry into East Pakistan.

The Department of State's "Pakistan Working Group," created when the civil war broke out, has been disbanded now that the fighting has subsided. Apparently the danger of millions starving was not deemed an occasion for a "special effort" by this Government.

But something can be done.

The Consortium of Governments giving economic aid to Pakistan are now in the process of meeting. They are being asked for considerable financial aid to bail Pakistan out of an acute foreign exchange crisis.

Joined by a bipartisan group of Senators, I yesterday wired Secretary Rogers to make clear that the United States will not meet that request, and will ask other donors to refuse likewise, unless, first, the Pakistani authorities undertake an emergency relief effort equal to the crisis in East Pakistan, and second, representatives of the International Red Cross are granted prompt entry to East Pakistan to plan a co-ordinated international food distribution and medical relief effort with Pakistani authorities.

I would hope the Secretary would also make clear the readiness of the U.S. Government to make available generous share of emergency food aid and vehicle for distribution including helicopters and transport aircraft to be loaned to Pakistan relief authorities or the International Red Cross.

Unbelievably, we seem on the verge of another Biafra—another combination of rationalized inaction and moral insensitivity which could cost million of lives.

If America's claim to moral and humane values means anything, if the Government of Pakistan deserves to be recognized as the responsible authority in East Pakistan, the only course for both governments is the strongest humanitarian action now—before we watch the burial of another generation of babies.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I ask unanimously that telegram to Secretary Rogers and a letter from the New York Times be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

May 4, 1971

HON. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, U.S. INTERESTS SECTION,
CARE OF SPANISH EMBASSY, CAIRO, UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC.

Dear Mr. Secretary: Tens of millions face starvation in East Pakistan without emergency efforts to restore full supply and distribution of food imports.

We urge you to instruct U.S. Rep. at Pakistan Consortium Talks to refuse further foreign exchange assistance, and ask other donors to refuse likewise, unless Government of Pakistan (1) mounts immediate emergency relief effort in east commensurate with potential need, and (2) grants ICRC observers entry to East to plan co-ordinated international food distribution and medical relief efforts with Pakistani authorities.

We recognize these are extraordinary actions but feel they are compelled by horrible prospects of millions starving in East Pakistan while governments have means to prevent it.

Sincerely,
Walter F. Mondale, Clifford P. Case, Fred R. Harris, Thomas F. Eagleton, George McGovern, William Proxmire, Harolp E. Hughes, Hubert H. Humphrey, Birth Bayh, and Edmund S. Muskie.

(CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Senate, May 6, 1971)

Statement by Senator Edward Kennedy on May 11, 1971

I appreciate very much the opportunity to be here this afternoon—because, as Chairman of the Judiciary Sub-committee on Refugees, I share your deep concern for the victims of natural disaster and civil war in East Pakistan. I am hopeful these hearings will contribute toward a better understanding of the undeniable problems which exist in relieving this basically humanitarian problem. And I am also hopeful that the hearings will underscore the urgent need to further encourage the initiatives underway to meet the needs of the Bengali people.

Official reports from our government and elsewhere express very serious concern about the condition of the people in East Pakistan. These reports say that within a month the condition of the people willl become "acute". The precarious situation which exists today will evolve into a nightmare of death for millions—unless immediate and concerted efforts are made to meet the needs of the people involved.

Although reports from East Pakistan suggest that violence has subsided considerably, reports also indicate that feelings are tense between the people and the army of the central government. In fact, official reports to our government suggest that the great bulk of the population is alienated, perhaps for ever. Regretably, this can only complicate, and perhaps delay, the organizing of a meaningful relief program, and the solving of those political problems which generated the recent violence

Moreover, reports also indicate that the army effectively controls only the cities and towns, and that throughout most of the countryside, government administration and services do not exist. The transportation and distribution of available food stocks and medical supplies are at a standstill—even in the area struck by the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cyclone last fall, where conservative estimates say a million persons have been solely dependent for their survival on effective relief operations. Food reserves—not confiscated by the army — are very low.

The tragedy, finally, has now spilled over into India, which so far has found it necessary to give asylum to nearly 2,000,000 refugees — of whom at least 526,000 are in camps. The recent daily influx into India has reportedly been some 50,000. The State Department informs me that the influx will continue at a high level, "at least until the beginning of the monsoon in a few weeks, when both military operations and travel will become more difficult". The continuing heavy influx of refugees into India is a stark reminder of how bad conditions have become in East Pakistan.

Over the last month, I have repeatedly communicated my concern in these matters to officials in the Department of State and elsewhere, in an effort to encourage and support reasonable initiatives by our government and the international community to help meet the urgent political and humanitarian problems in East Pakistan. I have strongly believed these initiatives should be taken through the United Nations.

On the humanitarian problems, at least some progress is being made.

On the Indian side of the border, and at the invitation of the Indian government, representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) are currently assuming relief needs and developing a plan of international action. According to a communication I received from the Department of State this morning, our government has "authorised up to $2.5 million in food and other assistance as our initial contribution to the international relief effort". While the UNHCR effort is being organized, the U.S. is providing emergency food assistance for 217,000 refugees in West Bengal. The food assistance is being distributed by CARE, Catholic Relief Services, and Church World Service Lutheran World Federation.

Far less progress in meeting relief needs is being made in East Pakistan. Initiating an adequate relief programme is undoubtedly being hampered for a number of good reasons — but, on the basis of talks I have had, the primary cause may very well be a simple lack of candor in recognising the vast dimension of human need brought on by the conflict. Let us not quibble over how we label the situation. Whether we call it a minor disturbance, a disaster, or an emergency—the threat of mass starvation puts a heavy obligation on the government of Pakistan and the international community.

In the name of neutrality, some in our government say we must not be involved in East Pakistan today. But we are involved. Our weapons have been involved in the violence. Our aid has contributed to East Pakistan's development for more than a decade. And today, our government, at the highest levels, is involved in discussions for even more aid. So we are involved. The only question is what this involve ment will be. At this point it mus be humanitarian—aid that will heal and rehabilitate, not further divide and destroy.

In this connection, I strongly urge that our government leave no stone unturned — especially this week when high level representatives of the Pakistani government are present in Washington — in supporting current efforts by the United Nations to organize a relief programme within East Pakistan. Since the last week in April, representatives of UNICEF, the U.N. Development Programme, and the World, Food Programme have travelled to Dacca to ascertain relief and logistical needs.

Moreover, representatives of the Pakistani government have assured me of their government's willingness to accept humanitarian aid and personnel through U.N.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

channels and private voluntary organizations. Thus there is nothing but inertia to prevent a meaningful relief effort.

Solving the political and humanitarian crisis in East Pakistan is, first of all, Pakistan's task. But in this effort, there is scope enough for all the energy and charity that the emergency of the civil war has called forth, among Americans and peoples throughout the world.

And so today, as an individual concerned about the dignity and preservation of the ultimate resources on our planet, I appeal to the leaders of Pakistan, to the leaders of other countries, and to our own government, to support immediately a mercy mission and airlift into areas of need. And, hopefully, the appeal of the Indian government for assistance to meet refugee needs within her borders, will also receive the sympathetic response by all concerned.

We are conditioned in this world we have created to accept suffering and injustice especially in our time when violent conflict and oppression are active in so many areas. But the newer world we seek will not evolve if we ignore these challenges to leadership, and take comfortable refuge in the mundane patterns and attitudes of the past.

In the case of East Pakistan — in the effort to help a people caught in the clutches of natural disaster and the passion of conflict — I cannot believe that governments stand paralyzed in the face of great tragedy. The situation must not be ignored. At stake are human lives — innocent lives — Pakistani lives — thousands even millions of lives — whose destruction will burden the conscience of all mankind unless something is done to save them.

Statement by Senator in the U.S. Senate on May 11, 1971

Mr. President, On April 29, I had printed in the Congressional record a letter dated April 17, from Dr. John E. Rohde of Hudson, Ohio. Dr. Rohde was stationed in East Pakistan as a physician under the U.S. Aid Programme. He is one of the several hundred Americans evacuated from East Pakistan soon after civil war started in last March.

In the letter, Dr. Rohde gives an eye witness account of the terror and killing by the West Pakistan army upon the unarmed civil population of the city of Dacca in East Bengal. Dr. Rohde and his wife walked through the University of Dacca area only 4 days after military action started. They reported seeing the student dormitories of Dacca University shelled by army tanks and artillery. They saw evidence of the slaughter of young inmates of those dormitories. They saw the breaches in walls of those dormitories where tanks had broken through. They saw mass graves in which dead students were heaped together outside the halls where they had studied. Dr. Rohde sums up what he saw in the following words:

"It is clear that the law of the jungle prevails in East Pakistan where the mass killing of unarmed civilians, the systematic elimination of the intelligentsia and the annihilation of the Hindu population is in progress."

It appears to me from Dr. Rohde's account and the accounts of other eye-witnesses that systematic and brutal killings on a scale unprecedented in recent times have been committed in East Bengal. And it is a matter of profound sorrow to me, as I believe it should be to Senators, that this brutality in large part has come with the arms provided to Pakistan by our country.

Dr. Rohde urges in his letter of April 17:

"The U.S. must not continue to condone the military action with official silence."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He recognizes, he says, the inability of our Government to "oppose actively or intervene in this desperate oppression of the Bengalis", but he urges that I and my distinguished and honoured colleagues in this House "seek and support condemnation by Congress and the President of the U.S. of the inhuman treatment being accorded to these 75 million people of East Pakistan".

I am a co-sponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, urging the suspension of our military assistance to Pakistan until the conflict is resolved. But, as I have read and re-read Dr. Rohde's account of the happenings in East Bengal, I have felt, increasingly, the force of his appeal that we here do something to help bring to an end the inhuman treatment to which the people of East Bengal have been subjected. We have a responsibility, an obligation, to do something. We cannot condone this military action through our silence.

Foreign policy and foreign relations are difficult and complex matters, and those who bear the responsiblity for their formulation and conduct in any country or government are capable of error. There is hardly an example of a flawless or all-successful foreign policy. Our foreign policy makers in the post-World War II era deserve credit for many things. But they also made mistakes, and some of the worst were made in Asia. Our policy toward Pakistan has been a serious mistake.

Here is why:

First, the decision in 1954 to arm Pakistan created an internal imbalance of forces in that country which resulted in the military *coup d'etat* of 1958. Democracy has worked well enough in neighbouring India, and but for this tipping of the scales in favour of the military in Pakistan, it might well have worked in that country too.

Then, this dominance of the military led to the virtual subjugation and exploitation of East Pakistan, comprising 75 million people, by West Pakistan with a population of about 50 million. That is what lies at the root of the conflict between the people of the East and rulers and the military of West Pakistan. This conflict may be another Vietnam, only much larger in size and spelling, perhaps, far greater dangers to Asia and the world.

Third, that policy alienated and antagonized, at least temporarily, a country which has all along been inclined to be among our well-meaning friends. India stands for humanist values, for liberty and freedom, and for democracy—goals and values which we ourselves cherish most. This policy led us into an alignment with Pakistan against India, a country which, despite its present economic problems and other weaknesses, is a force to reckon within Asian affairs, and a potential great power on the world stage.

But, let me confine myself to Pakistan. What did all our arms and economic aid accomplish in Pakistan? Almost 100 per cent of the arms aid and something like 70 per cent of our economic assistance was invested in West Pakistan, where only a minority of the Pakistanis live. Traditionally, more than half of Pakistan's export earnings come from East Bengal's jute and other agricultural products. And yet the lion's share of foreign imports financed by these earnings, as well as foreign aid, went to West Pakistan, with East Bengal getting no more than 20 or 30 per cent.

As a result, while West Pakistan made some progress, East Bengal only grew poorer since its independence as part of Pakistan in 1947. This was rendered possible by the fact that the people of East Pakistan had no share in the country's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

management, which has been carried on arbitrarily by an unrepresentative military regime drawn from the West and supported with our military and economic assistance.

Small wonder, then, that after the first-ever election to be held on the basis of universal franchise last year, the elected leaders of East Bengal led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman demanded a large measure of autonomy, not separation or independence but autonomy, more especially autonomy in the management of East Pakistan's economic, commercial and financial affairs.

I should remind my colleagues that during the negotiations preceding the military blitz of March 25, the demand of the East Bengalis was not independence, but autonomy or self-rule in domestic matters, such as police and para-military forces, trade and commerce, taxation and economic investment, and the like. Behind the smokescreen of these negotiations, the strength of the largely Punjabi West Pakistan army was increased, and its full force was unleashed on unarmed Bengalis in a manner and on a scale which Dr. Rohde and many other eye-witnesses have described as a veritable bloodbath, mass slaughter and genocide.

I should like to have printed in the Congressional record some dispatches on the subject on East Bengal.

* * * *

It know that the Pakistan Government's present line of defence is that what is happening in East Bengal is Pakistan's internal matter. What distresses me the more is that our own Government should choose to deploy the same line of argument in its response to questions from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. As the *New York Times* said in its editorial of April 21—and if there is no objection, I should like to have the editorial reprinted in the Congressional record:

"It is a dangerously short-sighted policy to insist that the military slaughter of democratic leaders and repression of the majority in East Pakistan is strictly an internal matter."

Arms and ammunition supplied by us on a grant basis or concessional purchases are being used by one side in this conflict. Our economic assistance enables the Government of Pakistan to divert its own resources to the purchase of more arms to carry on this war. I believe, emissaries from West Pakistan are right now to ask for more arms and more economic aid. And yet they tell us that what is happening in East Bengal is an internal matter upon which we should not express our views.

In the circumstances, it appears to me that it is not enough for the Senate to demand suspension of military aid to Pakistan until this conflict is resolved. Under the existing arrangements, the majority of the people of Pakistan will continue to be deprived of the benefits of our economic assistance. Therefore, until such time as this conflict is resolved to the satisfaction of the elected leaders of East Bengal, our economic aid to Pakistan must be suspended. I strongly urge this because, while this conflict lasts, any economic aid we give to Pakistan will be used by West Pakistan authorities only to suppress the majority in East Bengal.

I am not advocating interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. I am advocating our disengagement from this conflict. Through the use of our arms and our economic assistance in this conflict, the Government of Pakistan has involved us in it as a partisan against the more populous part of Pakistan. We need to disengage ourselves from this conflict completely by stopping all military and economic assistance to Pakistan. We can consider resumption of assistance when circumstances reassure us that our assistance will reach where it is most needed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Government of Pakistan, after expelling foreign correspondents on the eve of military action in East Pakistan, has invited half a dozen of journalists for a conducted tour of East Pakistan under a pall of heavy censorship. One of the privileged correspondents, Mr. Malcolm W. Brown, reported, in the *New York Times* of May 7:

"From a helicopter flying over the Eastern region of East Pakistan, vast destruction could be seen in towns and villages... A visit here is a visit to a city of desolation... apart from handful of people at the market place who carefully saluted passing army jeeps, the city was virtually deserted."

He goes on:

"At intervals, along streets lined with ramshakle houses, bodies have been buried in shallow graves and covered with piles of red bricks. Bodies covered with bricks are found even on the approaches of houses which themselves are unoccupied and closed."

This is not the story of a minor internal matter of law and order. What these press despatches indicate is a terrible massacre. It is a proper matter of international interest and world condemnation. Let the Senate condemn it, and let the Senate ask the administration to raise the matter in appropriate international forums, such as the Economic and Social Council, with a view to seeking redress of the grave violations of human rights involved.

If we condone the happenings in East Pakistan in silence, this tragedy will only be compounded. Refugees are streaming out of East Pakistan, and the Indian Government has announced that it is already host to some 2 million East Bengalis who fled. In East Bengal itself, with the disruption of normal life and communications there, is the threat of famine; there also is the threat of the spread of cholera and typhoid and other epidemics.

Such calamities are no respectors of national boundaries and international frontiers. I do not see how the present Government of Pakistan is going to be able to deal with those threats, with its resources depleted to bankruptcy by a war it cannot afford, and the majority of its population already alienated.

It is necessary that the pressure of international opinion be brought to bear upon that Government to create conditions in East Bengal in which the necessary relief can be provided to millions of people who have only known denial, exploitation and repression, and now, for no fault of theirs, face the threat of decimation by famine and epidemic.

I ask unanimous consent that the items to which I have referred be printed in the record.

Statement by Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher in the U.S. House of Representatives on May 12, 1971

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to comment briefly on the situation in East Pakistan, or Bangla Desh as the Bengalis and their supporters prefer it to be called. On May 11, my Foreign Affairs' Sub-commitee on Asian and Pacific Affairs held a hearing on this matter. We were scheduled to meet in May 13 to hear the witnesses from the Department of State and the Agency for International Development in executive session and professor Robert Dorfman of Harvard University in open session. Unfortunately, that day of hearing must now be postponed and it will be re-scheduled as soon as possible.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Whatever the politics involved in this region. I firmly believe that one of the great human tragedies of modern times may be in the process of being created. As additional background material for the continuing debate over the American role and the role of the world community in mounting a humanitarian assistance programme, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to the testimony of Senator Edward M. Kennedy before my sub-committee yesterday a position paper of the Ripon Society dated April 3, and a news dispatch from the Washington Star of May 12.

The phrase in the news dispatch about "vultures too full to fly" may be regarded as vulgar by many people unfamiliar with the history and the potential for tragedy in this region. However, it does graphically reflect the position of many who are intimately familiar with past events and with informed future predictions.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the material referred to be inserted into the record at this point, as well as my opening statement at the hearing yesterday.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

The Sub-committee will come to order.

We are beginning hearings today looking into the situation in East Pakistan with particular emphasis on the related problems of refugees and famine.

I think it would be useful to briefly summarize events leading to what may be one of the worst human tragedy in modern times.

In November 1970 a cyclone and flood killed thousands in East Pakistan and crippled the main port of Chittagong. The recent fighting has prevented most crops from being planted. Because East Pakistan is a food deficit region in the best of times, as many as 30 million people may starve, according to reports said to have been submitted to the Agency for International Development and the World Bank. Right now, refugees are streaming from East Pakistan into India at the rate of 60,000 each day, swelling the already strained Indian food supply by an estimated 1.5 million new mouths to feed.

The refugees and the potential famine are the result of civil war which broke out on March 25, 1971. While politics of Pakistan and the sub-continent are not the focus of this hearing, it is important to remember that in the election for a National Constitutional Assembly in December 1970, the Awami League captured 167 of the 169 seats contested in the East. This gave them an absolute majority of the 313 seats contested in all of Pakistan.

While the government of Yahya Khan now is in apparent control of the cities, those who embrace autonomy for Bangla Desh claim the countryside. Factually, the countryside of East Pakistan is the equal of the countryside of South Vietnam in providing natural surrounding for insurgency and the fighting thus far has produced reports of savage atrocities on both sides.

Putting this together, we seem to have a situation which is potentially equal, in terms of human misery, to a combination of Vietnam and Biafra. Because of our military aid to the Central Government it appears that our arms, in conjunction with those supplied by other governments, are being used to defeat the people who won the election.

While these and other questions are as important as they seem to be unanswerable at this point, our focus is the immediate threat to the lives of millions. To emphasize that concern, we are very pleased to welcome this afternoon Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts. His Sub-committee on Refugees of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Senate Judiciary Committee has produced extremely valuable information about the impact of policy on people and the dimensions of the suffering and the dislocation in countries where war has been conducted. The humanitarian aspect of the East Pakistan situation must be considered by all the parties involved and it will be a great pleasure to hear Senator Kennedy discuss the information developed by his sub-committee.

Statement by Senator Church in the U.S. Senate on May 18, 1971

Mr. President, I speak today in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21. What has taken place in East Pakistan since the night of March 25, 1971, when a bloodletting of untold proportions began, is hard to comprehend. We know that the Pakistan army, equipped mostly with American arms and led by U.S. trained officers, let loose a massive burst of violence on fellow Muslims. After the first week of the civil strife, the normally calm French newspaper, *Le Monde*, headlined events in Pakistan as "The week of the Bloodbath." The *Chicago Sun-Times* after running a series of eyewitness descriptions, labelled the affair, "The Pakistan Pogrom". And Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, the present Martial Law Administrator of East Pakistan, admitted on May 6 that there had been "quite a lot of massacre" during the current conflict.

On-the-spot accounts reaching Washington on a continuing basis from Americans Europeans, and sub-continentals have confirmed the charge that killings have been widespread and sadistic. Such an account came from peggy Durdin in the *New York Times*. After an extensive stay in East Pakistan, she wrote on May 2 of the wholesale slaughter that had taken place in Dacca and other urban centers following the breakdown of talks between Pakistan President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the duly elected leader of the Awami League. This Bengali Political Party had just won an overwhelming mandate: One hundred and sixty-seven out of a possible 169 seats assigned to East Pakistan in the 313-seat National Assembly, on a platform advocating greater political autonomy for the East. Mrs. Durdin observed that:

"The freedom the Bengalis were determined to achieve and the concessions the vested interests of the West and Pakistan's Military Dictator-President were prepared to give finally culminated in one of the bloodiest slaughters of modern times, as Pakistan's Armed Forces moved with total ruthlessness to reassert Islamabad's authority."

As more and more facts are collected and analyzed, there is evidence to suggest not only that mass killings took place, but also that Bengali leadership groups may have been selected out by the central government for annihilations. Thousands of Bengali civilians—professors, elected leaders, businessmen, lawyers, engineers, politicians, civil servants, doctors, workers, students, farmers, women, children—together with many of the men who made up the East Pakistan Rifles and the Pakistan Border Security Forces, plus local policemen, are said to have been exterminated.

Reports T.J.S. George in the *Far Eastern Economic Review:*

"Should East Pakistan be handed over to local political parties tomorrow, there simply will not be many leaders or intellectuals of the Awami League brand to take over responsibility. In one murderous week the army wrought a vacuum which it will take a generation or more to fill."

I ask unanimous consent that these and other accounts describing the Pakistan civil war be printed at this point in the Record.

* * * *

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. President, how can we change the present course ?

The lessons learned here are obvious, or should be. First, we should admit that to take a truly "neutral position" in the civil conflict, we must stop favouring West Pakistan over the East with military weapons and economic aid. This process can begin by altering our arms arrangement as the Case-Mondale resolution proposes. We should stop pretending that Pakistan must be treated as an "ally" because of its SEATO and CENTO membership; Pakistan's participation over the last 10 years has been no more than ritualistic. The fact of the matter is that, diplomatically, Pakistan has clasped hands with Peking. The Chinese currently are providing Islamabad with millions of dollars of arms, including AK-47 automatic rifles and Mig-17 aircraft, and have promised $20 million in grant aid.

Second, we should reject the Pakistani military government's contention that the slaughter of elected leaders and repression of the majority of its population in the East is not a proper matter of concern for the international community. Close to 3 million refugees are now in India. As the killing or threat of violence continues, there will be more. Victims of the fighting still in East Pakistan, plus refugees, need care; the food crisis worsens; disease and epidemics spread, even across borders into India. International action is essential in rehabilitating and reconstructing the devastated area of Bengal, one of the most densely populated regions of the world.

* * * *

Then too, the Pakistan Government, in constantly blaming India for its troubles, has internationalised the issue, thus aggravating the danger of spreading the war. A *New York Times* editorial on April 21 stated this danger well:

"There is ample evidence to jusitfy a strong plea by the world community for an immediate end to the bloodshed and for the admission of international relief agencies into East Pakistan."

The Pakistani Government itself has made this conflict an international issue by attempting to place the blame for Bengali resistance on neighbouring India If deep-rooted—and now profoundly aggravated—Bengali grievances are allowed to fester, mounting tensions between India and Pakistan could explode into a war that might quickly involve one or more of the major powers. The United Nations Security Council and its member states have not only the right but the responsibility to do all that is in their power to try to forestall such a development.

A particularly heavy burden of responsibility falls on the United States Government since Washington's arms provide the principal muscle of West Pakistan's military power and American economic aid will become increasingly crucial for the Pakistani Government's survival. Washington has the leverage to support democratic and peaceful development in Pakistan. Continued blind backing for the military regime in Islamabad can only lead to disaster for this country's substantial interests on the Indian sub-continent.

Third, our military assistance programme as exacerbated troublesome situations before. The pages of recent history are full of the well-known role American arms have played in fueling existing tensions between Greece and Turkey, Jordaan and Ilsrael, Honduras and El Salvador, Iran and Iraq, India and Pakistan, France and Algeria, Portugal and its African Colonies, on mention a few. "Guns provided others", editorialised the *Baltemore Sun*, "will in all probability be discharged, but not necessarily discharged against the target of your prescriptions." This is the reason Congress needs to alter drastically the export of American arms in the future. Certainly the Pakistan example is a flagrant case in point. I plan to offer

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

such legislation later this year, in the hope that the United States will end its addiction to arsenal diplomacy, and stop pressing armaments on other nations through grants.

Death in "Golden Bangla Desh", by Homer A. Jack, New York Times, May 20, 1971

Karachi, Pakistan—Poet Rabindranath Tagore wrote many years ago : "I love you my golden Bangla Desh.....O Mother, during spring the fragrance of your mango groves maddens my heart with delight....." This spring there is only the stench of death in the mango groves of East Pakistan/Bangala Desh as many hearts are maddened by massacre.

Firm figures of massacre in East Pakistan, as anywhere, are hard to verify. Some say thousands, others insist on two hundred thousand. Probably 50,000 is a conservative estimate. Numbers of refugees are more obtainable: 650,000 in four Indian states on May 1.

The refugees from East Pakistan insist that those massacred were Bengalis—Moslems, Hindus, Bhuddhists, Christians living in East Pakistan who were systematically eliminated by the Pakistan Army immediately after March 25 when negotiations for the autonomy of East Pakistan broke down. The West Pakistanis insist those massacred in the "east wing" were Biharas-Moslems originally from Bihar and other Indian states who migrated to East Pakistan after partion but had not yet been absorbed into the Bengali culture.

A visitor to Karachi finds the Pakistan economy going downhill, martial law declared in the West and East, and a Government desperately trying to show a return to normalcy among the 75 million people in East Pakistan. All in Karachi are deeply upset about the massacre of the Biharis, not by the army, but by some members of the autonomy-*cum*-secessionist Awami Leaque; however, almost all deny any massacre of the Bengalis by the army.

West Pakistanis feel the whole situation in an Indian plot—Indian "infiltrators" (soldiers without uniform). Indian ammunition, even Indian (not Pakistan) refugees—aided by a few "antistate elements".

A visitor to Delhi finds an India united as seldom before in recent history with the people pressing Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to recognize Bangala Desh (the independent state of East Bengal) and to give the "freedom fighters" arms. The Indian press emphasizes the massacre of Bengalis. India is obviously taking every political and psychological advantage of the situation, yet so far is acting with great restraint.

In Calcutta and especially at the border, one sees thousands of recent refugees —only one-quarter in camps. Optimistic cabinet ministers of the Bangla Desh Government plead for recognition and arms. Refugees show how West Pakistan has treated East Pakistan as an internal colony for 2 years. They feel their country can no longer remain as part of an integrated, two-wing Pakistan since the events of March 25.

Sheik Mujibur Rahman's Awami League won 98 per cent of the seats for the National Assembly in East Pakistan during the first national election since independence in 1947. Sheik Mujib campaigned on a six-point platform calling for autonomy, not secession. Apparently the military rulers of Pakistan, aided by the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

powerful bureaucracy and some industrialists, refused to submit to this major transfer of power On March 25 they declared martial law, banned the Awami League, arrested Sheik Mujib, and their army began the massacre. Before and after this army action, some elements in East Pakistan apparently indulged in their own massacre in this seldom non-violent sub-continent.

Why the unconcern about East Pakistan in the U.S., the U.N. and the world? Are Americans unconcerned merely because Moslems are again killing Moslems and in any case, no white Americans are involved? Or because, for once, ideology appears involved, at least not Communism? Or are Americans unconcerned because East Pakistan could easily become a second Vietnam?

Why the unconcern at the U.N.? In an era of norms against genocide, are events in East Pakistan merely an "internal" matter and not a clear violation of the rights of man? Is this situation still "domestic" if it endangers the peace of the world, with Indian and Pakistani armed incursions into each other's territory not to mention possible intervention by the big powers?

Why the unconcern from the non-aligned nations? Does each nation have its own Bangla Desh in its belly? Can no process be devised by the international community to face squarely the "autonomy plus" of peoples in the 1970's so a people, such as the East Bengalis—separated by language, culture, and one thousand miles—can opt for freedom if it is truely a free choice?

Bangla Desh struggles to be born. The green and red flag, with an outline of the country's borders in gold, flies over the head-quarters of Pakistan's former deputy high commissioner in Calcutta. And the "freedom fighters have adopted Tagore's song, for their national anthem: "I love you my golden Bangla Desh....."

Will the U.S., the U.N. and the world do nothing?

(NEW YORK TIMES—May 20, 1971)

Adjournment Motion moved by Mr. Heath Macquarrie, M.P. (Progressive Conservative) in the House of Commons, Canada, on May 31, 1971, regarding East Pakistan conflict

Mr. HEATH MACQUARRIE (HILLSBOROUGH): Mr. Speaker, on May 4, I asked the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Sharp) about Canada's role in providing relief supplies for the victims of the cruel war in East Pakistan. Regrettably, Sir, the question still has painful relevance today. News items from India-East Pakistan Border tell of terrible suffering on the part of vast numbers of people. A despatch from New Delhi today declares that over four million East Pakistanis have fled from East Pakistan since Martial law was imposed. The Indian Labour and Rehabilitation Minister, R. K. Khadilkar, is quoted as saying. What the eventual figure will be is anybody's guess. It may be five or even eight million". Reports of cholera epidemic add tragedy to an already deplorable story of mass human suffering. Crowded living conditions have fostered other diseases.

The Minister already quoted accused Pakistani troops of pursuing the refugees across the Frontier into India. Alluding to the possibility of India taking defensive or preventive measures, he said, "Nobody wants war but if they start hot pursuit, as they are now doing, in such a situation can one keep absolutely mum and just protest?" Thus the prospects of International Military action are very much and very dangerously present. So, along, with a gripping story of fearful human suffering we have here a grave threat to world peace.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As I said in the House on Friday, I welcome the Government announcements regarding the dollars two million contribution to relief funds. Certainly the whole burden must not be borne by India. It is a matter of International concern and should also be one for International action. So far I have not noted any commonwealth interest or initiative. I wonder what, if anything, Canada has been doing to have this matter discussed in a commonwealth context.

The initiative of Secretary General U Thant is welcome. The visit of the Three-Member Team from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was also a proper step. But the need for International Inspection on both sides of the border is compellingly urgent. I think none of us here enjoy seeing Pakistan become the object of widespread and sharp criticism from the thoughtful and sensitive in the International Community.

There is obviously a very serious situation in Pakistan, and while that country may well assert that the political aspects are not the subject of International scrutiny or concern, the humanitarian aspect is one which should prompt the Government of Pakistan to welcome the good intensions and efforts of people from many parts of the world.

I hope that Canada will not rest its case with the dollars two million contribution or desist from its efforts to broaden the base of aid and enlarge the scope of the assistance which so many people across the world desire to extend to the victims of this grim human tragedy. I hope that we will continue our aid program through the approved channels. We should also use our good offices with Pakistan a fellow commonwealth state to open the doors and remove all grounds for criticism that political considerations are standing in the day of maximizing aid to an unhappy people.

Statement by Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher in the U.S. House of Representatives on June 10, 1971

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss the situation in East Pakistan generally and to report specifically on my recent trip to view the refugee camps in India.

Let me say that the situation is the worst I have seen abroad during my 12 years of service on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. My Sub-committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs held 2 days of hearings into the situation during May and I must confess that I had felt the reports of genocide, brutality, and unparalleled human misery were overstated.

I can now report to my colleagues that, if anything these, reports were understated. I do not believe I could be called a "bleeding heart" or a "professional dogooder," and I share the reluctance of many of my fellow House Members to embrace eagerly every cause which promises "instant celebrity" for its leaders and "instant humanitarianism" for its adherents. I have learned to distrust sweeping generalizations and to discount inflated rhetoric.

The crisis in East Pakistan, as disastrous and as horrifying as it is, is not a matter solely for the Government of the United States to solve. But, neither is it solely an internal matter of Pakistan. It now threatens the peace of the Indian Sub-continent, provides a rich and fertile breeding ground for communist inspired movements, challenges whatever is good in human nature, and poses a dreadful moral choice for mankind.

However, a simplistic search for heroes and villains in creating the torrent of tragedy sweeping over the 75 million inhabitants of East Pakistan is doomed to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

failure. Much of my speech today will be critical of the actions undertaken by the army of Pakistan after its initial actions on the evening of March 25, 1971. But it is true that supporters of the Awami League promoted work stoppages earlier; it cannot be denied that Bengalis themselves butchered members of other populations within East Pakistan; and the world community has not ennobled itself by its response.

While I hesitate to repeat what I regard in other contexts as a mind-numbing cliche, in a very real sense we are all guilty of promoting the climate of uncon-cern and in acquiescing in policies, which, given the crystal clarity of the vision of hindsight, led inexorably to the truely appalling situation now confronting East Pakistan, West Pakistan, and India. And the United Nations, the United States, and virtually every other nation in the world is either an active or reluctant partner.

BACKGROUND

Let me try to briefly sketch the political background. East and West Pakistan are divided by some 1,100 miles of Indian territory and we now know that they are socially, intellectually, and spiritually worlds apart. The Awami League in East Pakistan was the clear winner in the elections held last December for a National Constituent Assembly to write the constitution which would provide for non-military rule. The Awami League captured 167 seats of the 169 contested in East Pakistan and this gave them an absolute majority of the seats contested in both Wings. Candidates of the Awami League won at least 80 per cent of the popular vote in East Pakistan in an election which was run by the Military Government of Pakistan.

We must never forget that the leaders and supporters of the Awami League successfully worked within the system by gaining an absolute majority in both Wings of Pakistan. Therefore, they should not now be regarded as secessionists or rebels in the usual sense of those terms.

Indeed, because of the victory of the Awami League, the leader of the league and a man who President Yahya once said was the next Premier of all of Pakistan, could have established a government immediately after the election in December. It is a fact he did not; it is a fact that he depended on the word of President Yahya to effect an orderly transfer of power; and it is a fact that he never spoke of secession, only of democratic autonomy within a loose federation of all of Pakistan. Perhaps the world will never know the exact reasons for the break-down in the talks in which the Awami League placed such faith, but the facts just cited show that the leaders did not insist upon "Bangla Desh" until after the army took its action.

Testimony before the Asian and Pacific Affairs by Dr. Robert Dorfman of Harvard University is very revealing about the economic background. He points out the disparities in resource allotment and in economic development between the two Wings and he testifies, in a very graceful manner, to the widely shared but tragically short-sighted attitude that West Pakistan provided the most promising opportunities for investment, including American aid. East Pakistan came to regard itself as a colony of West Pakistan, further exacerbating tensions.

ACTIONS OF UNPRECEDENTED VIOLENCE

Spokesmen for the Central Government of Pakistan claim that the army sweep of March 25 was necessary to restore law and order and that it was a quick, clean, almost surgical incision. They claim, that all that remains now is for the East to again return to its normal place in a united Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Two simple facts speak powerfully against that argument: First, the sheer number of refugees is irrefutable evidence of the brutal policies pursued by the Government of Pakistan to crush the people who won the election: and second, the sharp increase in Hindu refugees, in the past weeks shows the undertaking of a "Holy War." There are now some 5 million refugees in India with thousands more crossing the border each day. Based on interviews I conducted with a cross-section of the refugees, I now believe that a calculated attempt to crush the intellectual life of the Bengali community occurred because of mass killings of professors, students and everyone of any distinction by the Army. This, in my judgment, gives credence to the charge of genocide.

In addition, the sudden emergence of a majority of Hindu refugees has resulted from a calculated reign of terror by the army to inspire and inflame communal tensions. These tensions naturally existed, because the 10 million Hindus in East Pakistan were a small minority and it would be foolish to contend that Bengalis took no action themselves against non-Bengalis in the region. However, I believe that the long stored passions were ignited by the thwarting of the will of the people and, as terrible as the stories of Bengali violence may be, they cannot be used to justify any action of the central government.

AN INTERNAL MATTER OF MANKIND

The argument has been advanced that the world community cannot and should not take action to alleviate the suffering, because it is an internal matter of Pakistan.

At the risk of repetitiveness, let me gaain refer to the refugees. The latest reports from Indian sources, the only sources who can really speak with any authority, the figure has now reached at least 5 million. It cannot be argued that a policy which generates sufficient terror to cause 5 million people to flee into a neighbouring country is strictly an internal matter. It is semantic nonsense to call a policy internal only which continues to create refugees at the figure of some 100,000 a day. It cannot be argued that the incredible strain this situation puts on India is not the legitimate concern of the world.

Quite obviously, Mr. Speaker, the situation in East Pakistan is not an internal matter of Pakistan.

In addition, let me quote the testimony of Senator Edward Kennedy before the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommitte on May 11. We had asked Senator Kennedy to appear, because of the outstanding work being done by his Subcommittee on Refugees of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in describing the impact of policy on people and in disclosing the humanitarian demands of people living in areas where wars have been conducted. The Senator testified:

In the name of neutrality, some in our government say we must not be involved in East Pakistan today. But we are involved. Our weapons have been involved in the violence. Our aid has contributed to West Pakistan's development for more than a decade. And today our government, at the highest level, is involved in discussions for even more aid. So we are involved.

Since the Senator's statement the conflict has spilled over the borders of East Pakistan into India by the 5 million refugees now there. Testimony before my Subcommittee revealed that American aid had assisted in the economic exploitation of the West by the East. Our aid—some $ 5 billion—has contributed to the unspeakable agonies now occurring in the region.

For example, American boats supplied last winter to bring relief supplies to the victims of the hurricane and flood, are presently being used to carry troops on murderous raids throughout the countryside.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I contend that these and many other facts demolish the concept that it is solely an internal matter of Pakistan. Rather, it has now become an internal matter for mankind, and the world community must not retreat behind queasy legalisms.

All American aid to the Military Government must stops

Mr. Speaker, in light of the dimensions of the tragedy, it may appear heartless and cruel to insist on no more American aid to the military government. Many informed and concerned people are fully aware of the unspeakable agonies in East Pakistan and their natural response is to continue and expand economic aid to the central government. It is, after all, still the legal government of sovereign nation and while it is understandable to castigate that favorite whipping boy by calling for a continued and absolute suspension of military aid, economic aid and even food assistance is not seen in the same light.

But the war being waged in the East is costing the central government some $ 2 million a day. They do not have adequate foreign reserves even in the best of times and, therefore, economic aid from America or from the World Bank is essential for the continuation of the slaughter. General Yahya has been making some conciliatory statements recently and I understand he is inviting the United Nations to assist. However, we must be neutral in deed as well as in word and we cannot finance or subsidize the action of the military in East Pakistan. American aid, according to Professor Dorfman's informed testimony before my subcommittee, is a prerequisite for any continuation of military activity. It must, therefore, stop and remain stopped untill independent outside observers confirm a change in policy by the central government. This has, as yet, not occurred.

Cholera epidemic spreadings

The cholera epidemic now sweeping through the Indian refugee camps came to India along with the refugees. The bodies of thousands of people killed in the violence were thrown into rivers and thus fouled much of the drinking water and created cholera.

And now that dreaded disease is spreading even to the native Indian population living near the refugee camps. Quite understandably, but very horribly, Indian natives are becoming fearful of the refugees. I refer to a report in the Washington Star of June 8, 1971. It says, in part:

"India's West Bengal State is short of police because so many are guarding the rivers to keep the bodies of cholera victims from being thrown in."

The Star report from Krishnagar, India, continues with these omnious paragraphs:

> Rumours spread daily that Pakistani agents from across the border 20 miles away are emptying bottles of cholera germs into local water supplies to make the epidemic spread faster.
>
> A crowd of 500 persons beat a Moslem to death yesterday at the Krishnagar railway station after a report that he had emptied a small bottle into a roadside well.

Mr. Speaker, I doubt if those rumours are true, but the point is that they exist and are undoubtedly believed on the scene. It is, however, an undeniable fact that cholera is increasing and so we must not only help to combat the disease, but we must do all we can to pacify the source of the disease and allow the refugees to return to their homes.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This, of course, cannot be done unilaterally by the United States, but it is further evidence against the resumption of any form of American aid to the Government of Pakistan. Rather than diminishing, the numbers of refugees are increasing, offering a powerful counter-argument to claims that the situation in East Pakistan is returning to normal.

Further, it must be recognized that the size of the cholera epidemic inside East Pakistan must be immense. I believe we are only seeing the tip of the iceberg when we see the cholera in India.

THE WORST MAY BE YET TO COME

But East Pakistan simply must return to some stability or else the worst is yet to come. I speak of the distinct possibility of famine, a famine unimagined in modern times. Should the flow of refugees continue, it will be extremely expensive for the world community to feed them. For not only must food be provided, but also housing, jobs, sanitary facilities and some basic amenities.

However, if food could be gotten to the people inside East Pakistan, relief efforts would not be as expensive. That is, unfortunately, a very real consideration and, in my judgment, is yet another reason for mounting an extensive effort controlled by international agencies.

The specter of famine and the death of as many as 30-million people from starvation hangs heavy over the region and virtually compels the prompt resumption of normal life in East Pakistan.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, we must consider what the political climate inside East Pakistan would be if the normal flow of life does not return. Obviously, the army is now in control of the population centres—described in reports from East Pakistan as being virtual "ghost towns"—but the countryside is ideal territory for insurgency. Any sort of aid in any form now to the Military Government of Pakistan would be seen as assisting it in its thwarting of the will of the majority in East Pakistan. This would undoubtedly cause Communist-inspired groups already existing in East Pakistan to gain adherents.

From what I have learned of the leadership of the Awami League, it is moderate, and they scored electoral success on a programme of gaining a fair share of economic resources and political power. They made democracy work.

The Military Government of Pakistan showed during its inadequate attempts to alleviate suffering caused by the flood and cyclone, and proved conclusively by its bloody policy of destruction after March 25, 1971, that it is not to be trusted with control over relief supplies.

To allow American aid to be utilized by the still intransigent military government would merely exacerbate passions and probably assure the end of any opportunity for people who cherish democracy and who are friendly to the free countries of the world to exercise their electoral mandate.

INDIAN RESPONSE HAS BEEN MAGNIFICENT

Mr. Speaker, the response of the Indian Government to the crisis created by the actions of the Government of Pakistan has been magnificent. They have demonstrated almost unbelievable restraint in view of the provocative effects of the army's brutal sweep and they have shown inspiring compassion to the refugees. If it can ever be said that any government is truely moral and humanitarian, the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has earned that distinction in the weeks since the first refugee crossed her border.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But India obviously cannot continue to accept 100,000 refugees each day. The regions of India surrounding East Pakistan, particularly, West Bengal, are not richly endowed with resources or with wealth. The indigenous Indians have little to call their own and, while they have shared what little they have with some of the refugees, it cannot be expected that any human being would not begin to resent massive waves of foreigners. Coupled with the fact that there are no jobs for the refugees, we also now understand that cholera is being brought in by those forced to flee East Pakistan. I have learned that for the past several days there has been a 5-mile-long line of refugees waiting to cross the border.

Of course, the United States is correct to radically increase its aid to these refugees but even the recently announced $ 15-million will only feed these people for 3 or 4 days. To avoid a wholly understandable reaction by India to these incredible facts, the situation must return to normal inside East Pakistan, as soon as possible.

WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING INSIDE EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. Speaker, I have tried to indicate what must be occurring inside East Pakistan today. One thread ran through the hundreds of interviews I held with all types of refugees—rich, poor, educated, ignorant, helathy, mutilated. The common story was something like this:

> The "peace committee" came, they poured petrol on our homes, and when we ran out they robbed us of our valuables and, if we resisted further, we were shot by the Punjabi soldiers.

What is the "Peace Committee"? Apparently, these are bands of local hoodlums which are sent by the army as an advance guard to burn and loot. The Government of Pakistan has said it was necessary to take action against "miscreants," yet it seems that the army is encouraging the worst elements in each community to be shock troops.

Arguing further against the stated resumption of normal life in East Pakistan is the fact that the new wave of refugees is almost entirely Hindus. Here again we find it difficult to avoid using the term "genocide," for once the army established what it has told the world is "law and order" it then selected the Hindus for extinction or for expulsion.

When one speaks of the eventual normalization of East Pakistan, I trust we do not intend to be deluded by the facade of a "Quisling" government. A government established must truely represent the people of the region and must be responsive to their wishes. The Awami League is now outlawed, and one can only urge the Government of Pakistan to allow that duly elected party to take its electorally mandated control.

Frankly, Mr. Speaker, it does not appear within the range of the rational hope that a reversal of the bloody policies of the past months will occur. As a brief example of the cast of mind of the army, consider Martial Law 148—the text of which appeared in the pro-government newspaper, *Pakistan Observer*, of April 27. A brief excerpt follows :

> MLO 148. Death Penalty for damage to Government Property.
>
> 1. Any person or groups of persons causing damage, tampering with or interfering with working of the roads, railways, canals, aerodromes, telegraph, telephone, wireless installations or with any Government property will be liable to legal action under MLR-1414, which prescribes the maximum punishment of death.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

2. Inhabitants of the surrounding area of all or any such affected place or places will render themselves liable to punitive action collectively.....

Mr. Speaker, such collective responsibility for actions against the government troops is all too reminiscent of similar tragedies in Europe. It is hard not to say that the Government of Pakistan has tried to create a desert so they can call it peace.

Is it any wonder that the control over the distribution of food in East Pakistan must also be severely questioned and in my judgment, must be done exclusively by international agencies? The calculated reign of terror destroyed the civil government inside East Pakistan and it is unlikely that the army could, or would, distribute food on an equitable basis. Indeed, there is considerable doubt in my mind whether the terrorized populace inside East Pakistan would accept food if it were offered by the army. After the devastating flood and cyclone last November, there were reports that Bengalis would not take relief from the army. A recent private report, dated May 24, 1971, contains this quote by a Bengali:

> Please do not have your country send any aid to this country, not even food. The food will only go to the Army and prolong our agony.

Based on the interviews I had with the refugees and the discussions I have had here in America with people familiar with East Pakistan, I am very afraid that that attitude is widely shared by the people of East Pakistan.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, the nations of the world must make a great effort to avert other great tragedies from being piled on top of the flood and cyclone and the barbarity which has already occurred in East Pakistan. I am convinced that all of our aid should be through international agencies and that we must do nothing at this point to provide economic assistance to the Government of West Pakistan. There are now reports that West Pakistan is feeling the effect of its barbarous policy in the East Wing and if we were to alleviate the problems in the West we would intensify the problems in the East. It is as simple, and as complex, as that.

I will introduce legislation to put those principles into policy. At this point, however, I would implore those in our Government who have the responsibility to shape our response not to yield to ordinary solutions which will, in my judgment, have extraordinarily disastrous results. I would urge that every single dollar which could now go to the Government of Pakistan be diverted to international agencies. I would urge the people of the world to insist that their governments do the same. Any other course, in my judgment, would subsidize slaughter and spread pestilence.

This may well be an ultimate testing ground for world responsibility, humane belief, and international effectiveness in dealing with crises. I hope and pray that we can, collectively, have an ennobling action rather than one which could only debase us as fellow members of mankind's fragile community.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy's statement in the U.S. Senate on June 18, 1971

Mr. President, I have long been distressed over the critical situation that has developed in East Pakistan and India. Today I released correspondence I have had with Secretary of State William P. Rogers on the problem in South Asia, as well as comments I made during a Press conference this morning.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I would like to share this correspondence and other information on the condition of the people in East Pakistan and India with my colleagues, and ask unanimous consent that this correspondence, my Press release, as well as other Press reports on the situation in East Pakistan, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Senator Kennedy comments on India/Pakistan and releases correspondence with Secretary Rogers.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman of the Judiciary Sub-committee on Refugees, said today "the Administration's high level silence over developments in East Pakistan is whitewashing a great human tragedy and contributing to the suffering of millions.

"Contrary to many official public statements that the situation in East Pakistan is returning to normal, field reports to our government and international agencies continue to report much violence and rapidly deteriorating conditions among the people. Unless stronger efforts are made to bring peace and relief, we appear to stand on the brink of a sharp escalation in human tragedy—which threatens needless war, instability and economic disruption of the entire area, and Great Power confrontation."

Senator Kennedy made his comments in releasing an exchange of correspondence with Secretary of State Rogers on the Pakistan Civil War and flow of refugees into India. Senator Kennedy said that "the latest figures available from U.S. Government sources show upwards to 130,000 new refugees, per day, the bulk of them Hindus. The total since early April, now stands at more than 6,000,000.

"The reasons for the continuing refugee flow", said Senator Kennedy, "lie in the chaos of East Pakistan and the policy of violence which apparently governs the activities of the Pakistan army."

Interviews with refugees sound a theme of looting, burned villages, and indiscriminate killing.

There is a breakdown of civil administration and government services in the country-side.

A preliminary report to the World Bank describes the situation as extremely serious, as does limited information available to other public and private agencies.

Deteriorating conditions are seen especially in areas affected by the cyclone last fall, where at least 2,000,000 persons will surely face starvation and death unless a relief program is organized now.

Senator Kennedy said: "Belated steps currently underway in Pakistan to bring about political reconciliation and an international relief program are encouraging but they are far from being implemented. The State Department's response to my letter of May 27 outlines some of these steps.

"So the fact remains that a heavy refugee flow continues, as of now. And, apart from much rhetoric and tokenism and paper plans, our government has not really responded promptly and positively and strong to the requirements of peace and humanitarian relief in the area.

"Especially distressing to me, is our government's continued silence, and apparent indifference, over the actions of the American supplied Pakistan army toward the people of East Bengal. Until the army is restrained, the refugee flow

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

will continue beyond its already massive dimensions. It is unconscionable for our government, and the President himself, to remain silent any longer."

Attached is the exchange of correspondence between Senator Kennedy and the Department of State, Senator Kennedy's letter of May 27 contained four-point proposal for action.

Text of letter sent to Secretary Rogers by Senator Kennedy on flow of East Pakistani refugees into India

May 27, 1971.

Dear Mr. Secretary: Congressional and public concern continues over the situation in East Pakistan and the heavy flow of refugees into India. As you know I share this concern, and since the early days of the tragedy I have strongly advocated and supported efforts by our Government and others to amliorate political tensions in the area and to initiate emergency relief operations under international auspices, preferably the United Nations.

The record indictaes that little substantive progress has been made. The situation continues to deteriorate. Nearly all reports, including those to our government, tell of growing human need, sporadic military conflict, lack of government services, and deepening divisions between the central government and the people of East Pakistan. Political tensions between the governments of India and Pakistan escalate daily, and threatens the peace and stability of the area, and Great Power confrontation. The flow of refugees into India reportedly continues at a rate approaching 100,000 persons a day. The cumulative total already exceeds 3,500,000. India's appeal on Appril 23 for international humanitarian assistance has received only a token response, as individual governments and the United Nations stand immobilized in the face of great tragedy. Steps are urgently needed on at least four fronts.

First, stronger efforts must be made by individual governments and the United Nations to encourage and facilitate political accommodations between the Central Pakistan Government and political forces within East Pakistan, so as to stop the flow of refugees into India and facilitate the return of those who have already fled the civilian conflict.

Secondly, our government must place higher priority on urgently needed emergency relief operations within East Pakistan, as a condition for any normalization of general American economic assistance to the Central Government. In this connection, our government should immediately respond to Pakistan's stated need for food and medical supplies and water transport for the distribution of relief commodities by Pakistani authorities and international personnel.

Thirdly, immediate initiatives by our government and others must be taken through appropriate diplomatic channels to ameliorate the escalating tensions between Pakistan and India—tensions which threaten the peace and stability of the region and needless Great Power confrontation in South Asia.

And fourthly our government must not stand idle because of the United Nations continuing immobilization in responding substantially to India's appeal for international assistance on April 23rd. As of today, no United Nations relief operation is being implemented in India. Until this is done, our government should respond to India's appeal on a bilateral basis. India has stated its requirements

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to meet human need, and our allocation of funds to an immobilized international organization only aggravates the immediate crisis of people confronting the Indian government.

I am extremely hopeful that our government will view the plight of the people in East Pakistan and the refugees in India with deep compassion, and, with a strong sense of urgency, will join with others in responding immediately to the requirements of peace and relief throughout the entire area.

Sincerely,

EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Sub-Committee on Refugees.

(CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Senate—June 18, 1971)

Statement by Senator Edward M. Kennedy in the U. S. Senate on June 22, 1971

Mr. President, the American people and Congress have been misled again—this time on the question of U.S. policy toward Pakistan.

Since very early in April, I have been assured repeatedly—in private conversations and official correspondence—that our Government was not supplying arms to Pakistan. I know that other Senators have had similar assurances. In a letter to me on April 20, for example, the State Department said.

Since we placed an overall embargo on map assistance to Pakistan in 1965 we have supplied no lethal end-items of military equipment to Pakistan. Last October we announced a one-time exception to sell to Pakistan a limited quantity of lethal arms. Nothing has been delivered following this decision nor is anything in the pipeline under this decision. Technical talks on this subject have not been held during the past 6 weeks. The matter is being kept under review.

In addition, we have a modest program of cash and credit sales to Pakistan of non-lethal military end-items as well as some spare parts and ammunition. We have been informed by the Department of Defence that none of these items has been provided to the Pakistan Government or its agencies since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan March 25–26, and nothing is presently scheduled for such delivery.

Now we learn from Press reports, President, that a Pakistani ship, the Padma, sailed last night from New York to Karachi with American military supplies sold to Pakistan under the Foreign Military Sales Act. Apparently this is not the first violation of officially stated policy, and, according to some sources, it is not to be the last.

Whether it is doubletalk, incompetence, or both, the shipment of U.S. Arms to Pakistan is violation of policy. And even worse, it will continue to fuel military actions which have already been the primary cause of over 6 million refugees and countless civilian dead. Last Friday, I expressed, again, my dismay over our Government's silence and apparent indifference over the actions of the heavily American supplied Pakistan Army toward the people of East Bengal. Today we find it is not just silence and indifference, but a degree of complicity, which is unconscionable.

But saddest of all, Mr. President, is the fact that our great Nation is more efficient in moving military hardware than in arranging humanitarian relief. A ship left last night laden with military goods for Pakistan, while very urgently needed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

relief operations—in both East Pakistan, and India—lie in a morass of procrastination and redtape.

When will we begin to attach the same degree of priority—the same sense of urgency—in moving food to aid the victims of war that we apparently attach to the guns that create those victims?

And, more importantly, when will we begin to attach priority to concerted diplomatic initiatives to restrain the forces that generate conflict resulting in such massive human tragedy?

Mr. President, if Congress can no longer believe the word of the executive branch—if their promises and assurances are so easily violated by their own actions—then we must reluctantly conclude that Congress must write those promises and assurances into law which cannot be so easily violated.

Statement by Senator William B. Saxbe in the U.S. Senate on June 22, 1971

Mr. Saxbe: Mr. President, in light of recent revelations made public in today's New York Times that military equipment is being sold to the Government of Pakistan by the United States in spite of an announced embargo on such sales, I would like to relate to the Senate the conversation that I had with a medical doctor—who will remain nameless to protect his family still in the eastern wing who escaped from the eastern wing on June 15. Enjoying the relative safety of an internship in a hospital in the United States, this young doctor returned to his homeland, crossing the border from India in early April. He relates the following account:

Everywhere is the same picture. The troops seek out students, young people capable of fighting, and girls. They are detaining and killing the young people capable of fighting and raping the girls. The Hindus have already evacuated the towns and villages. Those that have not fled have been killed.

After having pacified the towns, the Punjabi troops are now ransacking the villages. They reach the villages travelling on the same armed personnel carriers that are now being loaded on boats in New York. Those villages that cannot be reached by roads are reached by boats. Unfortunately, again our government has assisted in those efforts by making available $1,000,000 for additional charter agreements for boats.

Everywhere you go you can see dead bodies, Villages have been burned and ransacked. Children are maimed. Girls raped, their breasts cut off....Cholera victims lie helpless because doctors have escaped and pharmacies have been ransacked. The Red Cross is only effective within Dacca and Chittagong. The food supply is deficient and the people are not allowed to plant their crops within one and half miles of the road (for security reasons). People no longer come to the small markets. If they seek food they go to the cities. They travel by day for fear of what may happen at night. The spectre of famine hangs over the land.

I have been told that the following areas have been burned. I would suggest that any international inspection team look at the following areas: First, Ramchandrapur, P. S. Bancharampur, Dt. Comilla; second, the entire subdivision of Munshiaganj; third Jinjra and Keraniganj—suburb of Dacca; fourth, Jagadispur, near Itakhola P. S. Madhabpur, subdivision: Habiganj, Dt. Sylhet.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Further, the champion leader of the Bengal Regiment, Shafikern Rahman who was undergoing physical therapy in Dacca Combied Military Hospital, was severely beaten in the hospital and selected for execution. He escaped and is now residing in Bedal Deb, 85 Airport Colony, Agartala, Tripura, India.

Mr. President, the *Washington Post* in an editorial published on Sunday, June 20, 1971, stated that:

India's suggestion that international aid to Pakistan be suspended "until a political solution acceptable to the people of East Bengal is found" is offensive in its reference to East Pakistan as "East Bengal" but otherwise apt. It is unthinkable that donors would want to underwrite a minority military government's cruel war against its own citizens, thousands of whom it has murdered, millions of whom it has forced into flight.

Mr. President, this is precisely the Saxbe Church amedment to the Foreign Assistance Act. I believe that it is the only way possible that our Government can and should react to this terrible situation. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record both my amendment and the Washington Post editorial. I further relate to the Senate that we have approximately 20 co-sponsors for this amendment, most of them within the last week, and would appreciate more.

There being no objection, the amendment and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

"Pathetic Drama of India and Pakistan" by Fortes Gil

(Translation of an article by Mr. Gil, Ex-President of Mexico and Ambassador of Mexico to India, which appeared in EL HERALDO of June 24, 1971)

The press has been pre-occupied with the terrible drama of India and Pakistan in which thousands of persons have been killed by the Pakistan Army. Men, women and children have been killed by the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan without any mercy and without any consideration for the peaceful inhabitants of East Pakistan. As a result of this grave conflict thousands and thousands of corpses lie without burial, according to newspapers, which have brought much misery, more hunger and terrible epidemics one of which is Cholera which has taken more than 8,000 lives.

In addition, more than 8 million persons of East Pakistan have taken refuge in India which has complicated grave problems which the land of Gandhi already faces.

Some of the great countries, Russia and U.S.A. have collaborated to alleviate the misfortunes of these refugees. What the West Pakistan has done and continues to do in East Pakistan is genocide and the question arises: "What has the United Nations done?" Which no doubt represents the voice of 120 or 130 countries which are members of this Organisation. It is about time that Security Council of the Organisation of United Nations condemns this genocide which has been committed by the Army commanded by the President of West Pakistan which without mercy has not only caused thousands of deaths but has also destroyed villages, houses and roads. In addition, West Pakistan has sometimes threatened India with invasion and there have also been some incursions by the West Pakistan Army into Indian territory. Even there has been exchange of firing between the two armies.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Isn't the United Nations going to do anything to avoid this catastrophe?

The Secretary-General of the United Nations U-Thant, a man of great humane qualities who has denounced with great courage and politely the crimes committed or which are being committed in many parts of the world but in this case nothing has been said. Is it on account of the impotency that the United Nations is going to witness this genocide without lifting a finger and before the possible war between these two Asian countries? In my opinion, it is now time that the Organisation of the United Nations takes some part not only to aid the poor East Pakistanis who have crossed over to India but also to stop this war which without doubt will be the cruelest of all, if we take into consideration the millions of inhabitants of these countries, 360 millions in India and 90 millions in Pakistan.

Statement by Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher, in the U.S. House of Representatives, on July 1, 1971

(Mr. Gallagher asked and was given permission to address the House for one minute, to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. Gallagher: Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss briefly the situation in East Pakistan and the American response to a situation which our arms and military equipment helped to create. The current policy, which has allowed arms to continue to be shipped from the United States to the Government of Pakistan, in spite of the ban of March 25, is bureaucratic inepitude which will become, in my judgment, diplomatic catastrophe.

On June 15, I introduced H.R. 9160 which will cut off all military, economic and relief assistance to the Government of Pakistan until outside observers report a cessation of army action against the population of East Pakistan and that the refugees, as far as feasible, have been allowed to return to their homeland and reclaim their property. I visited the refugee camps early in June and found the situation to be one of unimaginable horror.

Although many of the world community regard the crisis as an interna matter of Pakistan, it appears obvious to me that any policy which creates 6 million refugees completely destroys the queasy legalism of "an internal matter". In addition, it is bad enough that our arms contributed to the brutal action of the army's repressive sweep through East Pakistan on and after March 25; it is impermissible for us to continue to subsidize the slaughter by not completely stopping our arms shipments.

The shipments of military equipment now going forward are in the Department of Defence pipeline due to the fact that ownership passed to the Government of Pakistan prior to the time the ban was announced. The only way now to plug up that pipeline is for the United States to issue a formal embargo and I regard that step as crucial.

Mr. Speaker, I have learned that the Government of Canada has stopped military shipments to Pakistan which in some cases, resulted from licences and approvals granted as long ago as 5 years. Surely, given the extraordinary nature of the crisis of the damaging effect a continuation has on our credibility, our Government can find an adequate response.

Any kind of aid to that government will be misused and, in my judgment, will be diverted to crush the people who won the election in East Pakistan. We

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

must never forget that the Awami League won 167 of the 169 seats contested in East Pakistan and this gave them a clear majority in the constituent assembly. It is obvious that the leaders of the Awami League felt that they could trust the word of the Government, or else they would have established "Bangla Desh" as soon as their electoral victory was confirmed. It is a fact that they did not and so, in spite of many misleading statements, they must not be regarded as rebels or secessionists. They are people who made democracy work and they are now under what might be called an internal seige; that is, the Army is in control. To put it another way, it might be said that the people of East Pakistan are the victims of outside aggression, in the sense that West Pakistan is separated from East Pakistan by 1,000 miles.

Be that as it may, Mr. Speaker, the problem facing the United States is not to make the problems any worse. Yet, we are allowing ships to sail from the Unitd States with our military goods on board and these weapons will be used to continue the crushing of the winners of the election. In addition, I also believe that the United States must cut off all economic aid. Informed testimony during the hearings of my Asian and Pacific Affairs Sub-Committee in May by Prof. Robert Dorfman confirmed that American economic aid is all that is keeping Pakistan from bankruptcy and, according to the professor, a resumption of our aid is essential for Pakistan to continue its savage repression in its east Wing.

The World Bank has refused to make any additional finances available to the Government of Pakistan, and I call upon the United States to follow that lead.

One hopeful sign is that Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger will visit India and Pakistan in the next several days, I hope that he will visit the areas of the refugees camps, for, if he does, he will come away a believer. I had some doubts about the stories of brutality and unparalled human misery myself before I visited those camps. When one sees the problem first-hand, its enormity is clearly visible and the appalling suffering is clearly evident. If Mr. Kissinger sees the camps and hears the stories of the refugees, he will, I am sure, recommend that the United States alter its policy.

This must happen, Mr. Speaker. Our policy now continues to inflame a situation that is a mounting tragedy and contains the clear threat of war between India and Pakistan. No government can continue to accept refugees in such staggering numbers and, no matter how compassionate or humanitarian the Government of India has been since the first refugees crossed its borders, such disruption cannot continue. India must receive not only all the relief assistance of the world community, she must also receive help by a vigorous and courageous effort to pacify the source of the refugees. If East Pakistan does not return to normal, India will be forced to consider unwanted options, which will have worldwide implications.

India has shown incredible restraint. Why cannot the U.S. Government take a forthright, although difficult action and stop the shipment of arms? Do we so lack flexibility that once we begin on a course, nothing can change it? We can clearly see the dangers of the Pakistan situation; let us draw back now, while there is still time.

Any further shipments to Pakistan, no matter what the technical explanation, will be viewed by India as a lack of sympathy for its plight and as approval of Yahya Khan's use of terror as a political weapon. By continuing support in economic and military terms, we are intervening in the situation on the side of the Army of Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Speaker, I call on this administration to issue a formal embargo to stop the pipeline of arms to Pakistan. By so doing, we will reopen the pipeline of goodwill to India; and restore some of our lost credibility in the eyes of the nations of the world. Even more, we will show that we can be responsive to situations which alter suddenly and we will demonstrate that the humanitarianism which highlighted so much of our past is still relevant and visible in our relations with other countries today.

Reginald Prentice calls for pressure on Yahya Khan: statement on July 4, 1971

Mr. Reginald Prentice, a former Minister of Overseas Development and a member of the Commons fact-finding mission to East Pakistan and India, yesterday called for international pressure on President Yahya Khan to bring about a political settlement.

Mr. Prentice, Labour MP for East Ham North, said that the President should release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and discuss the situation in the East with him and the leaders of the Awami League.

A political settllement in the East could amount to independence or to the measure of independence—control over everything except foreign affairs and defence—envisaged before the outburst of violence.

This is, of course, a good deal more specific than the British Government's call for a political solution. But Mr. Prentice agrees with the Government over the policy of not renewing economic aid and of not giving any military materials to Pakistan.

There should be relief aid to Pakistan under proper supervision, and continuing relief aid to India, which is faced with the enormous problem of dealing with seven million refugees.

Three of the four members of the Commons mission—Mr. Prentice, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Labour, Middlesbrough East, and Mr. Toby Jessel, Conservative, Twickenham—will be reporting this week to the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Doughles-Home. The fourth, Mr. James Ramsden, Conservative, Harrogate, was taken ill in India.

The MPs will also be reporting to Ministers, party leaders and backbench groups. One of the most influential findings of the mission, agreed both by Labour and Conservative MPs, is likely to be that acts of brutality continue to take place in East Pakistan.

Mr. Prentice said he talked to refugees arriving in India on his last day there described to him the conditions which had forced them to leave.

Mr. Jessel said on the BBC's "World This Weekend" that he was convinced that the Pakistan Army was slaughtering people and imposing a reign of terror. All refugees "had similar stories of army raids on their villages, and the weight of this evidence to me is far too great to be contradictory".

Mr. Prentice feared that the situation could get worse. A few thousand troops trying to control 70 million people when separated by thousands of miles from West Pakistan could impose their wishes only by creating a reign of terror.

Mr. Prentice said the delegation had seen everything it had asked to see in East Pakistan—with one exception. The list of places to visit had been drawn up

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in consultation with the British High Commission. The exception was a village near Dacca, which was said to have been sacked. Civilian guides had said the MPs could go there but the military authorities created delays.

The MPs found the people inhibited in talking to them in the presence of representatives of the Pakistan Government. But it had been possible to have some quiet, uninhibited conversations and, of course, to talk freely to the refugees in India.

(GUARDIAN, Manchester—July 5, 1971)

REFUGEES IN WEST BENGAL

Letter to the Editor

From Lady Alexandra Metcalfe

Sir, I have just returned from spending some time in the refugee camps in West Bengal. The conditions which have been described in the press and on television and radio are in no way exaggerated. Due to the magnitude of the problem they are the most appalling and harrowing I have yet seen in many visits to disasters.

Giving shelter and food to over five million totally destitute human beings, and more are streaming over daily, is beyond the capacity of the Indian Government. Their efforts are impressive and praiseworthy. The cases of serious malnutrition among the babies is enormous. The "Save the Children Fund" have hundreds through their hospital in Kalyani, for many it is too late, others are being saved.

The point I would like to stress is that in the coming two to three months due to living conditions in the camps made more intolerable by the monsoon. The shortage of food and other essentials, the situation is going to deteriorate rapidly, epidemics of all sorts will spread like wild fire and hundreds of thousands more will die. It would be wrong to imagine that because the cholera scare has been checked the most serious problem is over, it has yet to come.

Relief must continue to flow and in no way diminish.

Yours sincerely.

ALEXANDRA METCALFE, Vice Chairman, "Save the Children Fund".
65 Eaton Place SW1.
July 3.

(THE TIMES, London—July 5, 1971)

Statement by Senator Frank Church in the U.S. Senate on July 7, 1971

Mr. Church, Mr. President, the 4-month-old civil war afflicting the people of East Pakistan worsens, and no relief is in sight to heal the deep and festering wounds. Committing monstrous acts of inhumanity, the West Pakistan military regime, with an Army of 70,000 men, equipped, armed, and trained for the most part by the United States, still occupies the eastern wing of this bifurcated Asian country. Reports of atrocities continue to come in.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In turn, the Bengali sufferers, 75-million Muslims and Hindus, making up the majority of the country who won the majority of seats in the new National Assembly last December, continue to resist. Latest dispatches from Dacca, for instance, tell of the freedom fighters knocking out the electrical power systems of the biggest cities, Dacca and Comilla.

During this tragic period, the utter wrongness of American policy has become blatantly apparent. The United States supports the Government at Islamabad, the very creators of the widespread suffering in their own country. We keep shipping arms, ammunition, and spare parts and, although the U.S. bureaucracy has advised against filling the arms export licenses still outstanding, the President has said to go ahead anyway.

Thus, the American Government gives tacit support to a regime at which even the British Conservative Government has openly expressed outrage. Sir Alec Douglas Home, the Foreign Secretary and a man noted for his high regard for the Pakistani oligarchy in the past, has urged:

> The creation of a framework in which civil government can be formed, that will give confidence to the refugees to return home.

Otherwise he has warned:

> The danger of war is very real and could convert what is already a tragedy into a catastrophy.

American editorialists have unanimously labelled the regime in the harshest words possible, the Washington Evening Star rightly saying:

> The American people are not in a mood to finance experiments in genocide.

Others have said that the actions of the West Pakistanis are something like what Hitler did.

However, neither President Nixon nor Secretary of State Rogers have said one public word, about the tragedy. The President has even reportedly sent "a very warm, kind personal letter" to the leader of the regime that has caused upward of 6½ million of its citizens to flee, and brought the possibility of war with India closer and closer. Why do we befriend such an Asian Minotaur?

We say in Vietnam that we are fighting for "self determination" so that the people there can have the opportunity to choose their own government, yet in Pakistan we continue to give support to an authoritarian clique that conducts business by martial law and forcibly deprives its own citizens of the right of self determination, even after a free and fair election! A Bengali student recently asked what had his people done wrong to be treated to a 4-month campaign of violence; the answer is that an election was held and the Awami League won over 80 per cent of the votes and 167 out of a possible 169 seats in the National Assembly, becoming the dominant political group in the country.

Our Government goes to great pains to warn us of a fearsome bloodbath that will befall the people of South Vietnam if the regime there is left to fight on alone, yet one of the worst manmade bloodbaths of our time is taking place in East Bengal, administered by the Pakistan Army. The martial law ruler, General Tikka Khan, has been quoted recently as saying:

> We will reduce you (the Bengalis) to a minority.

This supports the widespread conviction among the foreign community in Dacca that the huge exodus of refugees to India stems not from panic and false

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

propaganda, as military spokesmen claim. Rather it stems from the fact that Pakistan army soldiers have shot and continue to shoot Muslim intellectuals and professionals plus much of the Hindu community as an expression of their fury at the outcome of last December's elections.

If the Nixon administration were really concerned about the principles of self-determination in Asia, the United States would do all it possibly could to end the gruesome tragedy in East Pakistan. At the very least, our policy would be one of total abstention.

However, the administration is so unconcerned about events in Pakistan, as well as voices of outrage in Congress, the Press, and among private citizens groups, that the transfer of arms to the transgressors continues on a "business as usual" basis. I understand an estimated $ 35 million is still in the arms pipeline, and the President refuses to stop the flow.

The most embarrassing commentary is that while the United States takes no action to stop its intervention on the oligarchy's side in Pakistan, the Canadian Government stepped in, over the week-end to try to do what it could to prevent further arms from being loaded aboard the Padma, one of the ships loaded in New York harbor with American arms, ammunition, and spare parts.

The best Congress can do is to suspend all U.S. moneys for economic assistance and transfer of military goods, in all shapes and in all forms, to Pakistan until an international relief effort takes place throughout East Bengal and a majority of the refugees in India are repatriated.

To build further a record relating to events in East Bengal, I ask unanimous consent that the following exhibits of the pertinent articles be printed in the RECORD:

Exhibit 1, editorial opinion as expressed in the leading newspapers and journals in the United States and United Kingdom.

Exhibit 2, articles dealing with U.S. policy toward the Pakistan civil war.

Exhibit 3, news dispatches from Pakistan and India of development there.

Exhibit 4, a thoughtful analysis of the present crisis by Selig Harrison, longtime observer of the subcontinent.

There being no objection the exhibits were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"The Repression of Bengal" by Mr. Reginald Prentice, a Member of the British Parliamentary delegation which visited Pakistan and India, in "Sunday Times", London, dated July 11, 1971

IN THE ABSENCE of a political solution the crisis thrown up by the events in East Pakistan can only get worse. This applies to both Pakistan and India. In East Pakistan there is bound to be continuing repression, using the most brutal methods, simply because this is the only way in which a few thousand troops can maintain power over 70 million hostile people. The troops are heavily out-numbered. Their supplies and reinforcements have to travel 3,000 miles round the south of India. Parts of the country are very good territory for guerrilla forces. The guerrillas can take shelter in India and will be reinforced by recruits

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from among the refugees. More than one observer has predicted an escalation of the fighting into a Vietnam type of situation.

From the Indian side the prospect is equally depressing. In the border states the local officials, doctors and nurses are doing a wonderful job in keeping most of the refugees alive. But this is happening in a country which is desperately poor and most of it is happening in West Bengal, which is one of the poorest and overcrowded areas in the world. The local administration is obsessed with the refugee problem at the expense of other duties; local development projects are postponed; schools are closed to the children because they are packed with refugees. An explosive situation may well develop in the refugee camps as a result of months of enforced idleness. An equally tense situation may develop among the local people, who see the refugees getting more food than themselves—and getting it free—although they do a full week's work. But this cannot be solved by letting the refugees work, because there is already very high unemployment.

The world must take a larger share of this burden. So far the total aid committed from the rest of the world amounts to well under half the estimated cost to India for a six-month period. All countries must commit much larger sums of aid and recognise that this may have to continue for a very long time. But however large the aid contributions, India will inevitably pay an enormous price and this will become much greater as time goes on.

This downward spiral can only be reversed by a poltical solution acceptable to the people of East Pakistan. In practice this must mean a solution acceptable to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League. The pattern is the familiar one of a colonial situation breaking up, in which the only people who can make an effective settlement are the leaders of the political party which has the confidence of the population. Yahya Khan must either accept this, or continue with his policy of suppression—a policy which is bound to fail sooner or later.

Supposing that Sheikh Mujib were released from prison, the Awami League recognised again and genuine discussions were held, what would be the outcome?' The six-point program on which the Awami League won the election last autumn provided for East Bengal to be self-governing for most purposes, but with the central Government controlling foreign affairs and defence. The idea of one Pakistan would be preserved, but the provincial Government in the East would have effective control over its own destiny.

It is very doubtful whether this solution is still possible. There has been too much bloodshed and bitterness in recent months. The essential point is surely this: whether the settlement is to be some kind of loose federation, or whether (more probably) it is to be complete independence for Bangla Desh, will have to be decided by the Awami League, as the only credible representatives of the people of East Bengal. They must make the decision and the military rulers of West Pakistan must accept that decision.

At present the military rulers are in no mood to do anything of the kind. They persist with their threadbare claims. They repeat that the Army had to restore "law and order"; that the remaining trouble is caused by a few "miscreants" aided by the Indians; that the refugees would like to return home but are forcibly prevented by the Indians; that life in the east wing is returning to "normalcy", that the world should not be misled by India lies, etc., etc.

The real hope of a change must rest on two factors—their continuous failure to pacify East Bengal and the growing economic cost. Pakistan is a poor country to start with. It is now suffering a heavy loss of export earnings

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from East Bengal, where the economy is badly distrupted and is showing few signs of recovery, despite the claims about "a return to normalcy". (East Pakistan, so much poorer than the West has always earned the larger share of foreign exchange.)

There will be a serious food shortage in the East later this year, perhaps of famine proportions, owing to the disruption in the sowing of the crop due to be harvested in a few months' time. This will be aggravated by the breakdown of the transport system. Meanwhile drought conditions have caused a poor harvest in the West which normally makes up part of the grain deficiency in the East.

On top of all these difficulties the consortium of Western aid donors has decided not to make fresh pledges of economic aid to Pakistan for the new financial year which started on July 1. Existing projects will be completed, but this decision, provided the Western powers persist with it, will mean a rundown of overseas aid and a deepening foreign exchange crisis in the coming months. Even in normal circumstances, this would have been a very serious blow to the Pakistan economy. The group of generals who run Pakistan know very little about economics, but sooner or later the hard facts of the situation may compel them to change course. It is our only hope.

I believe that there are three ways in which pressure can be maintained in favour of a political solution. First, the Western Powers must stand firmly by the decision not to renew economic aid (apart from relief aid, properly supervised by the U.N. for the victims of the likely famine in East Pakistan). There are powerful arguments against using aid as a political lever in most cases, but this is a very exceptional situation. Quite apart from the political circumstances, effective development projects could not be carried out in East Pakistan in the foreseable future, so that any economic aid to the country would be channelled into projects in West Pakistan alone. This would have the effect of easing the economic situation and releasing resources for the suppression of the East. Speaking from my experience as a former Minister of Overseas Development, I believe it is wrong to attach political conditions to aid in 99 cases out of a 100—but this is the 100th case. Any power lever must be used which might help to bring about a political settlement.

Second, there should be an immediate end to the shipment of arms from the U.S.A. to Pakistan. World opinion should back those senators and congressmen in Washington who have urged the Administration to reverse its policy. That the United States should line up with China in supplying the armed forces of Pakistan at the moment is something that defies any rational explanation.

Third, there should be the most explicit condemnation from governments, parliaments and influential commentators of all kinds. It must be made clear that the governments and peoples of the world identify themselves with the aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh, and that we are united in demanding a shift of policy by the Government of West Pakistan.

We may not have decisive power to enforce a peaceful solution, but such power as we have must be used to the full. This is not a time for diplomatic niceties. It is a time to stand up and be counted.

Mr. Prentice was a member of the Parliamentary delegation which recently visited both East and West Pakistan.

(*By Reg. Prentice, a member of the British Parliamentary delegation which visited Pakistan and India, in* **SUNDAY TIMES,** London—July 11, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Statement by Senator William B. Saxbe in The U.S. Senate on July 12, 1971

Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to recent developments in regard to the further deterioration of events in East Pakistan.

On Saturday the Washington Post reported that the World Bank barred distribution of the Cargill report, because the report was a scathing indictment of Pakistani President Yahya Khan's regime. The report was said to have made the following points:

A continuing reign of terror exists in East Pakistan enforced by Yahya's West Pakistani trops; urban life in the east wing of the country has been shattered and the economy paralyzed; active guerilla resistance to Yahya's regime continues; widespread famine is likely this fall, and Yahya's administration is in ignorance of world opinion and the state of affairs in East Pakistan.

Both Reuters News Service, in the Washington Post, and the Washington Star reported on Sunday that the World Bank finally distributed the Cargill report after rainly trying to suppress the document. I commend it for distribution of this document to the 11-nation Pakistan Aid consortium and call upon the World Bank to make copies of its report availble to the Congress.

This report is necessary in light of our Government's continued aid to Pakistan since the terrible events following the army's action on the night of March 25. Further, the Foreign Operations Sub-committtee of the Senate Appropriations Committee reports that the administration has requested that the military and economic supporting assistance will increase tenfold from $ 500,000 to $ 5,500,000. This breaks down to $ 5 million for credit sales under the foreign military sales and $ 2,50,000 for police training.

Last week Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) in an eloquent speech, reported that $ 35 million worth of military equipments was still in the "pipeline'. for delivery to Pakistan. This speech has received considerable attention in the news media. In light of the military aid in the pipeline, plus the request for fiscal year 1972, I think the Cargill report from the World Bank would be of great assistance to the Congress in our further deliberations.

Mr. President, I would stress one particular item of the World Bank report—the prospect of famine. It has been reported to me by the high Government sources that there will be a short fall of 13½ million tons of feed grain. Further, if the food were delivered, there is no effective organization to distribute it—even if President Yahya were willing to do so.

Mr. President, I hope that Henry Kissinger can dissuade President Yahya from his present course or, as an alternative, help change the course of American policy of continued commitment to the Yahya regime's reign of terror. Mr. President, let us recognize Yahya's policy for what it is—the most brutal and deliberate genocide since Adolph Hitler.

Anthony Lewis in today's New York Times raises this ugly comparison and says:

This time there can be no excuse for any informed person failing to understand what is happening, contemporary accounts leave little to the imagination. And yet, some responsible men do not see. But the American interest goes beyond realism. We can no longer have any illusions about our ability to make unpleasant governments around the world behave well, but there does come a point at which self-respect requires us to stop helping them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Our policy of continued shipments of arms is wrong. It is a terrible mistake. We seem to be trying to placate both India and Pakistan since the Soviet Union is siding with India and China with Pakistan. As Flora Lewis said in the *Washington Post*:

"It courts disaster, not only for India and Pakistan. And it is more likely to wind up with a spread of Communist control into truly strategic areas than would the collapse of South Vietnam. For once grand strategy, national interest, and urgent humane needs are on the same side. Why isn't the United States on that side with its main allies?

I believe that the Pakistan strife may provide an opportunity for the United States, Soviet Union, and Peoples Republic of China to attempt to reconcile a most difficult problem and thereby strengthen their common efforts at international co-operation. The President may wish to call for an international conference to discuss this problem.

Last Thursday, July 1, Canada blocked a shipment of weapons to Pakistan. Customs officials there said the order blocked the loading of 46 crates of parts for F-86 Sabre jets. Even if we have provided by license or other means arms for Pakistan which have not left the United States, why cannot we prohibit their shipment? There is no principle in law which says that we must continue. For example, we could follow Canada's lead by asserting that our public policy overrides all contract law. A license is always subject to being withdrawn when it is contrary to public policy, for example, the license to practice law and the license to practice medicine.

We are being told today by some that the rule of law has returned to Pakistan. If that is the case, why was Sydeny H. Schanberg, the *New York Times* correspondent, expelled from East Pakistan Wednesday, June 30? If the rule of law has returned, why did a Pakistani army platoon smash into the Hindu section of Boliadi shooting men, ransacking homes and burning the village market.

Mr. President, the time has come for legislative action. I invite the attention of Senators to the Saxbe-Church amendment No. 159 to S. 1657, the Foreign Assistance Act. It was submitted on June 10, 1971 and at present being considered by the Foreign Relations Committee. We have 29 cosponsors for our amendment. I ask unanimous consent that the following Senators be added as cosponsors of amedment No. 159 to S. 1657: SCOTT, TUNNEY, CASE, PASTORE, BENNET, PELL, BELLMON, HART, ROTH, BAYH, BOGGS, CRANSTON, BROOKE, METCALF, GURNEY, MCGOVERN, EAGLETON, STEVENSON, MOSS, MONDALE, HUGHES, HARTKE, MUSKIE, PROXMIRE, HUMPHREY, MAGNUSON, WILLIAMS, RANDOLPH AND RIBICOFF.

Today, Al Horton of Scripps-Howard gave me a letter to the Cleveland Press which is particularly articulate in its explanation of the bunders our bureaucracy is making in the continued aid as usual policy toward Pakistan. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed at this point in the RECORD.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Both Sides of Disaster By Mr. Reginald Prentice, a member of the British Parliamentary delegation which visited Pakistan and India, in *New Statesman*, London, dated July 16, 1971

We left Rawalpindi with a personal assurance from President Yahya Khan that we could go where we liked and see what we liked in East Pakistan. It soon became clear just how much and just how little this meant. Certainly we went to the places we had chosen, visiting widely separated districts and flying low over the countryside in between our stops. Nowhere was refused to us, with the exception of a village which we had been informed had recently been sacked by the army (this was not actually refused, but we were delayed until we had to drop the proposal). But wherever we went, we were on a conducted tour in the hands of the regime, meeting the local 'peace commitees', listening to the official point of view. Our attempts to ask simple questions were met by confusion and even by panic. Nobody would admit publicly that the army had committed excesses. A school-teacher in Barisal was painfully embarrassed when he had to admit that no Hindu children had been back to school since the fighting. A police officer in Dacca tried desperately to avoid admitting that the last batch of new police recruits were all non-Bengalis. Everywhere we saw symptoms of a country in the grip of fear.

The basis of this fear became apparent as each member of our party in turn received confidences from people who spoke to one of us quietly, snatching a few words in a corner and giving us a picture of the real situation. Between us we received a significant number of these confidential statements from a wide variety of people. They all added up to the same conclusion not only had the army committed widespread killing and violence in the March/April period' but it still continued. Murder, torture, rape and the burning of homes were still going on: It was a story that would be powerfully reinforced by the accounts given us by the refugees in India a few days later.

Flying over the country in a helicopter, or in a light aircraft, we saw villages and small towns where houses were destroyed. The incidents varied and often we went for miles where there appeared, at least from the air, to be no damage. Then we would see appalling devastation in a group of neighbouring villages. The worst example we saw was near the Comilla-Chittagong railway line, where two bridges had been blown up. Just south of the larger one, the Feni bridge, between 30 and 50 villages had been completely destroyed, apparently a reprisal by the army.

There is a great deal of propaganda about the country returning to normality but the facts belie this. Even in areas where the army has been in firm control since the end of March, the economic and social life of the country is at a very low ebb. Apart from the exodus to India, workers have fled the towns to stay in their villages and most of them are not yet going back. There are fewer people in the streets, many shops are closed, factories which used to work three shifts are now only working one, and that is usually below strength. At the Isphari jute mill in Chittagong I was told that 800 men were at work, out of a normal complement of 7,000. The docks are undermanned, transport is disrupted, classes in schools are understrength and the opening of the new university year has been delayed. Most serious of all, there is likely to be a big shortfall in the rice harvest.

What were we told about the millions of refugees who fled into India? Originally the regime denied that there were any. During our visit they admitted that there were some, but claimed the maximum figure to be 1.2 million. The refugees were said to be people who had been frightened by firing in their vicinity when the army was carrying out its brief 'law and order' mission, plus some

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

others who had been misled by the propaganda of Radio India. Anyway, the refugees would all like to return home, but were being forcibly prevented by the Indians. We asked to see one of the reception centres designed for returning refugees and we were taken to one at Chuadanga, near the western border with India. This was planned to receive 500 a day, but even their own records showed only 226 returned refugees in the 10 days since it opened. We met a group of 20 all women and children, who had returned that morning. Through interpreters we were told that the men with them had been turned back by 'Hindus'. They were very reticent and it was never clear where this had happened and who these Hindus were. We were left in serious doubt as to whether this was a stage performance, but our hosts claimed that this was further evidence that India was forcibly preventing refugees from returning.

Four days later we saw the refugee situation on the Indian side. Any temptation to accept the smallest part of the Pakistan version would have been swept away by the awful reality of what is happening. As we drove up the road towards the frontier at Boyra, about 70 miles north-east of Calcutta, we drove past thousands of new refugees crowding the road on either side. They just kept coming, for mile after mile, people of all ages, carrying their cooking pots and little bundles of possessions. Young children were carrying babies a few weeks old. Some people were lying helplessly in the ditches. Some had died in the ditches. The numbers were so vast that our convoy had difficulty in making its way up the road. And so it goes on—sometimes as many as 100,000 new refugees a day reaching India.

For two days we visited refugees in their camps, in the hospitals and along the roads. Some are packed together in camps—the luckier ones with tents or tarpaulins to keep out the monsoon rains, others with make shift thatched roofing and a sea of mud for their floor. Some are staying with friends, or relatives, some are living in schools or office buildings. Some are camped in large drain pipes. Some are in the open. Everywhere we went we questioned refugees at random; everywhere we were told similar stories. The army had come to their village, or a nearby village. People were shot or mutilated, houses and farms burned. Women were raped, the sodiers had looted, or encouraged the non-Bengalis to loot the Bengalis (and especially the Hindus). This was still happening. That was why they had left. They wanted to return, but only when it was safe, that is when Mujib said it was safe, or when the army left.

After a day travelling within driving distance of Calcutta, we spent another day flying to refugee camps further afield, so as to see the situation in the more remote areas away from West Bengal. At Agartala in Tripura State, the local hospital normally has beds for 240 patients, but wounded and sick refugees have now swelled the number to 640. Patients are lying in the corridors, between the beds and in every available space. They include 150 with bullet or bayonet wounds, all recently inflicted—80 of these were children. The doctors are working round the clock, reinforced by some doctors from among the refugees. We were told that about 2,000 refugee doctors are at work.

Out of a total of nearly 7 million refugees (a fortnight ago) about 5 million are in West Bengal, whose 45 million orginal inhabitants are among the poorest and most overcrowded in the world. In Tripura 1.1 million refugees have been added to the original population of 1.5 million. Tripura does not suffer from the overcrowding of West Bengal, but its remoteness imposes supply problems of fantastic difficulty. The nearst railhead is 120 miles away, the road bad.

In both these states the local officials, the doctors and the nurses are achieving the near impossible by keeping most of the refugees alive. But they face problems that get worse every day. The numbers keep going up. The responses

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Delhi and the outside world have been on a tremendous scale, but inevitably too little and too late, because nobody has ever had to cope with a disaster of this magnitude before. The Indian government has given the world its estimate for the cost of the operation for a six months period. The total aid so far committed by the outside world is less than half this total. But meanwhile the number of refugees continues to go up. And for how many times six months will aid be needed ?

Whatever the cost of keeping the refugees alive, the real cost to India will be much greater. The immediate cost includes land taken up for camps, officials being taken away from other duties, local development projects postponed and schools closed to their pupils. All this is serious enough in an area as poor as West Bengal, but what of the future? What will happen to millions of people living in enforced idleness month after month? What will the local workers attitude be, working a full week for two rupees a day, and feeding his family no better than the refugees, who get their food free? But how can the refugees ever be allowed out of the camps to work, when they would inevitably undercut that two rupees a day, and when there is heavy local unemployment? So far the local population has shown kindness and goodwill, but how long before serious tensions develop? Could these tensions deteriorate into communal disturbances? What will be the effect on the turbulent politics of West Bengal, now once again under direct rule from Delhi after the fall of yet another State government?

I came away feeling that the appalling events of the last few months might well be leading to an ever deepening tragedy for both countries. This can only be averted by a political settlement acceptable to the people of East Bengal. Time is not on anybody's side.

by Mr. Reginald Prentice, a member of the British Parliamentary delegation which visited Pakistan and India, in New Statesman, London, dated July 16, 1971

REPORTS IF THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

Text of the agreed report released to Press by members of Canadian Parliamentary Delegation, M/s. Lachance, Macquarrie and Brewin in Ottawa, after their return on July 19, 1971

Following is text of agreed report released to Press by members of the Canadian Parliamentary Delegation, M/s Lachance, Macquarrie and Brewin in Ottawa, after their return on July 19, 1971.

Major reason for going to India was to see at first hand plight of East Pakistan refugees who have been moving in such vast numbers across border into India. It was our belief that immense task of coping with great influx of people should not be borne by India alone. We return more than every convinced that humanitarian issue is one of international concern and that generous effective assistance in looking after these unfortunate millions should be provided by world community without delay.

While Canadian Government and non-Governmental agencies have helped it is our fervent hope that a much greater measure of assistance will be forthcoming. We shall so recommend to our Government, our parties and people of Canada having seen at first hand immensity of tragedy and magnitude of problem we could not do otherwise. From our visits to camps our interviews with refugees and discussions with those bearing responsibility of caring for these millions of people we developed a high regard for manner in which Indian Govern-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ment is coping with this immense problem. Considering magnitude of task India's efforts have indeed been remarkable and deserving of highest commendation.

Under any circumstances provision of food and shelter for six million people would be an almost insuperable challenge to any country. Against background of difficulties created by terrain, weather and general climatic conditions, problem now faced by India is monumental in its immensity.

One matter very much in dispute was as to whether, flow of refugees had ceased or whether, as we were told in India, flow continued albeit on a somewhat reduced level.

On this point all that we are able to say is that near borders between East Pakistan and West Bengal, we oursrselves saw and spoke to people trudging along the road who told us that they had walked for ten days to get across the border which they had crossed within last 24 hours.

Indians told us that number of refugees who had crossed had increased, while we were there from 6.4 million to 6.8 million. In West Bengal we toured many individual camps each with a population of 10,000 to 100,000, larger than many Canadian towns and cities. To provide on short notice basic necessities, shelter, food, medical and sanitary services is a strain on the administrative capacity of any country. While in two busy days in Calcutta and North Bengal regions we saw many camps and thousands of people, we realise that time permitted us to view only a small portion of refugee population. Considering extent of burden upon India's economy, it is not surprising that her leaders affirm that their country cannot for long sustain or retain these millions of people and that their return to their homeland must be brought about.

Initially, when number of refugees in India was between one and two million, the Indian Government estimated that total requirement to keep refugees on a minimal standard of existence and shelter for six months would be 150 million dollars. It was at this time that Canadian Government pledged an initial amount of two million dollars.

We are now told a revised figure has been prepared and approved by the authorities. This figure estimates six months expenditure for now nearly seven million refugees at 400 million dollars.

It is obvious that Canadian and other nations will have to increase scale of their giving if burden on India is to be relieved. We recommend that Canada should now increase provisional figure of its commitment to five million dollars.

From our inquiries of many of the refugees it is clear that the great exodus of people was prompted by fear. We were given many sad and depressing accounts of violent actions by the West Pakistani military forces and other groups — many reported their homes burned, members of their families put to death and other incidents which led them to flee in terror to sanctuary across Indian border. Although mindful of dangers of any effort to over-simplify a complex situation it would appear that unless there is established in East Pakistan an administration which the refugees do not regard with fear they will not voluntarily return to their homes. It would be unthinkable that India or any other authority should force them back at gun point. Therefore the political and administrative situation within Pakistan becomes germane to the situation.

While it has been a long-held contention that a nation's political structure is an internal matter, the massive outflow of Pakistan citizens upon the soil of another State gives question an international dimension which cannot be gainsayed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Already, some members of world community have sought to put pressure upon Pakistan to withdraw Martial Law in East Pakistan and to make accommodation with political party which won such an overwhelming electoral victory in recent elections. Consideration is also being given to terminating all economic aid to Pakistan, and as in case of Canada, shipment of arms to Pakistan is being stopped.

Whether these and other such acts of pressure will be effective is not certain. History records some significant and painful failures of such techniques of international persuasion.

In India, one is overborne and traumatized by the magnitude of the sorrow and suffering of so many people. In Pakistan there are also elements of the tragic which are almost equally painful and depressing, President's call for democratic elections and a popularly constituted constitution a few months ago, opened great new opportunities for democratic growth, in Pakistan. By all accounts election was conducted properly and efficiently with a high degree of popular participation. That all the bright prospects for democracy throughout Pakistan and of the possibilities of adjustment of East Pakistan grievances should wither just before fruition is a source of profound regret to all who wish well to Pakistan.

At present time in aftermath of collapse of planned constitutional changes there are obviously great strains upon Pakistan economy, not to mention its social structure.

While recognising that recent events may well prompt reconsideration of question of overall aid programmes it is not our view that a total cessation of aid to Pakistan by Canada would be an appropriate or useful response to present situation. Although still affirming that immediate effective aid to millions of refugees must be our highest priority, we must not forget the needs of the many East Pak. residents who remain in that troubled land. The prospects of serious economics problems and food shortages in near future are serious, enough to prompt us to look with compassion upon needs of these people. It would seem realistic and commendable if Canadian aid could be channelled to people of East Pakistan who are victims of existing situation. Great emphasis has been naturally put on immense tragedy of refugees who left Pakistan and have gone to West Bengal. This has occupied centre of attention on world stage. It is our view, however, that a tragedy of comperable proportions is building up in East Pakistan. Inter Agency Committee of Relief and Rehabilitation Department of the Government of Pakistan has furnished a report to U.N., dated July 4. This emphasised that there would be a food gap in East Pakistan in 1971 and 1972 of two million tons. What was urgently needed was an international commitment of 250 thousand tons of foodgrains. In addition report urged necessity for gift of 100 thousand tons of edible oil.

External funds would also be required for medical supplies to rehabilitate citizens returning from India. One of the most urgent needs is 15 coasters to repair damage to transportation system to enable food to be taken from ports to where it was needed.

Recently, Senator E. Kennedy released a U.S.A. AID report following a field study made from June three to June twenty-one in East Bengal which expected serious food shortages in many areas by August.

As Senator Edward Kennedy said, "Unless emergency measures are taken immediately, millions of innocent people will die of hunger." For this reason we recommend an immediate commitment by Canada of substantial sums to meet this need in East Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In our discussions with President Yahya Khan he indicated his readiness to talk at any time or any place with Prime Minister of India. Believing that consultation is generally preferable to confrontation, we transmitted President's indication to Indian Government representatives. It would appear, however, that there is little prospect of such a meeting. Several Indian officials and Parliamentarians observed that essential dialogue was not between heads of Government in Pakistan and India but between President Yahya Khan and Leader of Awami League, Sheikh Mujib.

While in Pakistan we visited a reception centre established to meet returning refugees. It was our impression that this centre was well managed with competant persons. Regrettably only a small trickle of people have returned and comparison with massive flow which moved outward is all too obvious.

In discussing with President Yahya Khan the need for creating an atmosphere of trust in refugees as a prerequisite to their return, he expressed his willingness to have U.N. persons in his country to assist in establishing such a climate of confidence. We regard this as a positive factor and one which should be reported to world community.

We return with renewed conviction of need for immediate and greatly increased action on humanitarian side. We also feel seriousness of political situation with many potentially explosive possibilities cannot be overemphasised. Throughout our visit we heard of threat of war between India and Pakistan arising out of disasters which have occurred in East Pakistan and movement of refugees to West Bengal. We emphasised wherever we want that eventually of war could not possibly be a solution and would indeed aggravate the problems of people of both countries including the refugees.

As observers anxious to find out as much as we could we did not regard our mission as one of passing judgment. Nor had we or have we any solution for grim and gripping human tragedy. It is our hope that all nations will use every means to bring about an amelioration of problems and avoid anything which would exacerbate an already dangerous situation.

Although it was a strenuous and difficult trip we are glad that we made it and would like to pay tribute to both Governments of Pakistan and India for invitations to their countries. Without exception we were treated with kindness, graciousness and every consideration and to all those responsible we express our grateful thanks.

Summary of recommendations.—(i) We recommend to Canadian people, and specifically the Canadian Government, that Canadian commitment to "relief of refugees" be increased immediately from two million to five million dollars. We call upon Canadian people through their voluntary organisations headed by "Combined Appeal for Pak. Relief" to give generously.

(ii) We urge the setting aside of substantial funds for provision of needed supplies of foodgrains, edible oil and transportation facilities to prevent famine in East Pakistan.

(iii) We ask the Canadian Government, either by itself or in collaboration with other nations, to bring question to attention of U.N. as conscience of mankind stressing (*a*) the right of humanitarian intervention on behalf of world community and (*b*) willingness of U.N. to make available observers to supervise and encourage . . . refugees from West Bengal to East Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(iv) We urge upon parties concerned namely Government of Pakistan and representatives of East Pakistan that a political settlement be reached reflecting clear expression of opinion in election of last December for greater autonomy and a role in their own affairs.

Let the World know: Who share the Guilt, By Rev. J. D. Claphan—Talk on All India Radio, New Delhi on July 24, 1971

Three weeks ago I watched dogs and vultures piece at several bodies too little buried by weary relatives in the loose wet earth of roadsides. In a sub-health centre, Meant only for the simplest of out patient treatment, I watched a child dying. He was unconscious: there was not enough saline then to use for one so far gone: He was perhaps 12 years of age. Outside was the body of a young woman, Dead the previous night. Another child, about 10 years old watched as I stood and looked—A child whose parents had both died two days before. Across the road, with dogs at work, was the wide brown earth covering of a pit where 60 refugees had been buried. The police officer responsible in the area for the collection of refugee corpses had had a daily count of about 130 for the previous week—1,045 in all. As I talked with him, the truck and crew that did the work came by with a load already of 7 bodies at 10 in the morning. But the pace of such deaths has slackening: Pakistani troops had sealed the border at Shikarpur and Phulbari, and this sub-divisional area of Karimpur in Nadia District had began to come to grips with the massive, desperate medical needs of refugees. I watched an Army innoculation team at work down the road as a line of refugees moved on ; further south in Krishnagar a hospital successfully countered cholera and Gastro-enteritis.

Many early refugees had walked across the border from no great distance. But, Later more and more have walked for many miles. Already sick in heart from brutality and loss, weighted with whatever they could carry, fugitive and sometimes shot at, they finally have travelled in exhaustion: And have needed to drink, wash and excrete where they could among the pools and rice fields and crowded villages along a road trodden by tens of thousands before them. Sickness became the price of their successful escape.

But so many were unsuccessful. One large party was caught at the last river bank by troops. The small ferry boats shuttled across but machine gun fire caused a stampede to the bank and the soldiers then came and carried off the teenage girls. Another column failed to reach the border at all: At Jhudanga they were surrounded by sodiers and machine gunned, 400 dies. In Bashirhat hospital was a mother who survived but with an amputated foot and everyone of her children, even the baby, injured by bullets, her husband left behind dead and unburied.

In Calcutta, my colleague talked with a man who had paid Rs. 1,000 ransom for each of his children to free them from Pakistani soldiers: A man disparingly, far beyond his resources, struggling to buy back the last of his sons. Others tell of ransoms unable to be paid and daughters violated and mutilated before their fathers' eyes. One man could not pay the last few hundred rupees and was beaten instead so mercilessly as to lose an eye.

At Banpur, near Krishnagar, I talked with an elderly Muslim who had crossed the border that day. He had stayed against hope that Muslim brotherhood

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

still had meaning for his country. But finally he knew, or so he felt, the Pakistani Army was a bloody and brutal instrument ordered to murder any sense of his own Bengali identity. There, around him the Railway station platforms were with Terpaulin shelters and a crowd was gatherd from the nearby camp of 20,000 refugees. They begged me to come and listen: Everywhere you go it is the same: 6 million people everyone with a story to tell of homes shattered, crops burnt, people tricked into ration queues and then machine gunned, children shot down as they ran from berserk soldiers, the endless shock of women ravaged.

As human beings, for all our failings, the one design that makes any sense of our days is love. For these refugees and their fellow-countrymen the pattern is wrenched and mutilated. They live in the shock of having seen people who, belonged to them and to whom they belonged, turned into meaningless flesh suitable for bullets, lust, Bayonets and vultures. Men have spoken but have not been heard and violences—Not just of one side-has erupted. This is an abscess in our human system and we all live with it. The world's shelter, food, work, entertainments and family joy are not immune. The vultures eat at our tables. The refugees camp at our doors. Only as the human community finds means of reconciliation is there any hope of being human.

Why do I go on? Is there any point? The United States of America let another 2 or 3 ship loads of Armaments sail for Pakistan—The Agreement was signed before.....Before when? If the bullet or bayonet is for President Nixon's daughter before his eyes will he still had it to a friend now become a gangster just because he had said he would? Do a few thousand miles make so much difference?

Are politics so complicated? Is there any doubt that the guilt of the 6 million refugees and their many millions of compatriots who live in fear and the quicks and of compromise is their wish to be heard in the management of their country? And if in the struggle biharis and others have also suffered, is that sufficient to condone the wholesale, demented barabarity the world now knows about with certain knowledge? Can the British Government seriously not condemn West Pakistan's action? Is it enough to think a leader means well, while those under his direct command repeat the sick ferocities of belsen and lidice still today?

Is the earth so barren? Is there no humane consent between great nations when the affront is so gross? Surely the heat of the moment when blood lies warm and the stench of corpses still rises is the right time for the full weight of economic and moral force to be applied. Are nations paralysed by their own guilt? Or is it China? If China keeps such friendship and is seen to do so what need has she of enemies? Is it sheer weakness? The ease of inaction plus a modicum of charity? No one could envy the burden of decision, if only decisions were made. Instead, we see, day by day, the slow shuffle of 'wait and see' accompanied by small charities of Government shammed by comparison with the great efforts of private agencies. Thus, while a whole country-side of 75 million people is visibly and brutally compelled to live against its clearly spoken will, more than 6 million men, women and child refugees are left in a bitter status quo.

I do not believe that one side are monsters and the others angels. Nor do I think it easy for distant nations even in our instant world of communication to commit resources as India is doing. Nor can I pretent to see any easy, dramatic way to reconciliation. But I do believe the soft words and permissive actions of the powerful and affluent nations of Europe and America are an abdication from truth and that such words and acts poison the future for Pakistan as much as for anyone.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There is still time. There may even be a moment now, in so profound a tragedy for a group consent of nations that would overcome their own differences. At the least, economic sanctions and concerted diplomatic confrontation can yet be demonstrably done. And 6 million refugees who have fled to the outside world must not be left to subsist on India's own subsistance and on fluctuating 'Head-Lines' charity. They must be honoured as human beings: People, Homeless and deeply hurt, needing the full resource. Or must we be yet more sick before we walk together for the sake of peace.

(TALK BY REV. J. D. CLAPHAN, ALL INDIA RADIO—New Delhi, July 24, 1971)

Statement by Senator Proxmire in the U.S. Senate on July 27, 1971

Mr. President, those who delay the ratification of the Genocide Treaty cannot ignore the tragedy taking place 8,000 miles from our shore in East Pakistan. Since March, the Pakistan Army apparently has been ravishing the country, mass-acring thousands of men, women and children whose only crime is being Hindu.

Through the eyes of journalists leaving that country we have seen the slaughter of old men and infants, poor peasants, people who have never had any connection with the rebel army. I quote an article published in the *London Sunday Times*, June 13.

"West Pakistan's Army has been systematically massacring thousands of civilians in East Pakistan since the end of March. This is the horrifying reality behind the news blackout imposed by President Yahya Khan's Government since the end of March. This is the reasons why more than five million refugees have streamed out of East Pakistan into India, risking cholera and famine."

Mr. President, this article is entitled simply "Genocide". That word describes what is taking place in East Pakistan.

I quote again from an article entitled "Why the Refugees Fled", also published in the *London Sunday Times* of June 13:

"The bone-crushing military operation has two distinctive features. One is what the authorities like to call the "cleansing operation." a euphemism for mas-sacre. The other is the "rehabilitation effort." This is a way of describing the moves to turn East Pakistan into a docile colony of West Pakistan. These commonly used expressions and the repeated official references to "miscreants" and "infiltrators" are part of the charade which is being enacted for the benefit of the world. Strip away the propaganda, and the reality is colonization and kil-ling.

Genocide is not a thing of the past. Just look at what is happening right now in Pakistan. How much longer can we delay in acting on the genocide convention?

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Hindus are Targets of Army terror in an East Pakistan Town," published in the *New York Times*, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

(From the NEW YORK TIMES—July 4, 1971)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hindus Are Targets of Army Terror in an East Pakistani Town (By Syaney H. Schanberg)

Faridpur, Pakistan—The Pakistani Army has painted big yellow "H's" on the Hindu shops still standing in this town to identifty the property of the minority eighth of the Population that it has made its special targets.

Members of the Moslem majority—who though not exempt from the army's terror feel safer, than the Hindus have Painted on their homes and shops such signs as "All Moslem House".

The small community of Christians, mostly Baptists, have put crosses on their doors and stitched crosses in red thread on their cothes.

Compared with some towns in East Pakistan, Faridpur, which sits in the central part of the province 85 miles by road and ferry west of the capital, Dacca, suffered only moderate physical damage when the army struck here in April. The attack was part of the offensive begun March 25 to crush the Bengali autonomy movement.

Though a number of shops, most of them belonging to Hindus, have been razed in Faridpur, most of it is physically intact. But every other aspect of life has been shattered, and the hate and terror and fear that wrack the town make it typical of virtually every community in this conquered province of 75 miiiion people.

Eased up on Executions

Only about half of Faridpur's 35,000 people have returned, although the flow has been growing. Recently the army eased upon its executions and burning of villages in an attempt to demonstrate that normality has returned. The change in tactics began in mid June, just before the central Government announced that it was allowing foreign news-men back into the region.

An undetermined number of Faridpur's 10,000 Hindus have been killed and others have fled across the border to predominantly Hindu India.

Some Hindus are returning to Faridpur, but it is not out of faith in a change of heart by the army but rather out of despair. They do not want to live as displaced persons in India and they feel that nowhere in East Pakistan is really safe for them, so they would rather be unsafe in their own town.

A Hindu barber said that he was still in hiding but that he sneaked into Faridpur every day to do a few hours' work to earn enough to eat. "I come into town like a thief and leave like a thief," he said.

Those Hindus who have slipped into town keep guards posted at night. "None of us sleep very soundly", a young carpenter said. "The daylight gives us a little courage".

This is our Home

A 70-year-old Hindu woman who was shot through the neck said that as bad as conditions were and as frightened as she was, "this is our home—we want to stay in golden Bengal."

On April 21, when the army rolled into Faridpur, the old woman and her 84-year-old husband ran to seek refuge in a Hindu village, Bodidangi, about three miles away. The next day the army hit Bodidangi and, reliable local reports say, as many as 300 Hindus were massacred.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The old woman stumbled and fell as she tried to flee Bodidangi, she related, and two soldiers caught her. She said they beat her, ripped off her jewelry, fired a shot at point-blank range into her neck and left her for dead.

She and her husband had owned a small piece of property on which they rented out a few flimsy huts. Only the dirt floors are left, she said.

The campaign against the Hindus was—and in some cases still is—systematic. Soldiers fanned through virtually every village asking where the Hindus lived. Hindu property has been confiscated and either sold or given to "loyal" citizens. Many of the beneficiaries have been Biharis, non-Bengali Moslem migrants from India, most of whom are working with the army now. The army has given weapons to large numbers of Biharis, and it is they who have often continued to killing of Hindus in areas where the army has eased off.

Hindu bank accounts are frozen. Almost no Hindu students or teachers have returned to the schools.

Assurances by Yahya

President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan has appealed to the Hindus to return from their hiding places and from India-possibly four million of the six million Bengalis who have fled to India are Hindus— and has assured them of an equal role in East Pakistani life. However, army commanders in the field in East Pakistan privately admit to a policy of stamping out Bengali culture, both Moslem and Hindu—but particularly Hindu.

Although thousands of "antistate" Bengali Moslems have been killed by the army, the Hindus became particular scapegoats as the martial-law regime tried to blame Hindu India and her agents in East Pakistan for the autonomy movement.

In Faridpur—and the situation was much the same throughout East Pakistan there was no friction to speak of between Hindu and Moslem before the army came.

The army tried to drive a wedge between them. In April, as a public example, two Hindus were beheaded in a central square in Faridpur and their bodies were soaked in kerosene and burned. When some Hindus trying to save their lives, begged to convert to Islam, they were shot as unworthy non-believers (in some cases, however, converts are being accepted).

The army also forced Moslems friendly to Hindus to loot and burn Hindu homes; the Moslems were told that if they did not attack Hindus, they themselves would be killed. Most of the Hindu house in the region around Faridpur—some say 90 per cent—were burned as a result.

Still, there is no sign of a hate-Hindu psychology among the Bengali Moslems. Many have taken grave risks to shelter and defend Hindus; others express shock and horror at what is happening to the Hindus but confess that they are too frightened to help.

Many Bengalis, in fact, feel that the army has only succeeded in forging a tighter bond between Hindu and Moslem in East Pakistan.

Statement by Senator William B. Saxbe in the U.S. Senate on July 27, 1971

Mr. President, the repression in East Pakistan is deeply alarming not only because of the senseless human slaughter but also because of the grave

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

implications for the United States. At the moment we find ourselves on the same side with China in continuing arms shipments to Pakistan. Yet, only China can gain from this inharmonious relationship.

A Bengali recently asked, "The cradle of democracy America, and great revolutionary China are allies giving aid to the Pakistan army, which is suppressing our freedom and slaughtering our people. Why is this?"

If West Pakistan successfully represses East Pakistan it will be indebted to China. These two totalitarian countries have much in common, both in callous regard toward human life and hatred toward democratic India. On the other hand if China can sustain West Pakistan's efforts over a long period of time, the leadership of the moderates will slip under Communist influence. By continuing to supply aid to the Central Government of Pakistan, the United States is increasingly coming to be viewed as an enemy by the Bengali people.

The Government of Pakistan tells us that the refugees are welcome to return from India to East Pakistan and yet in today's *New York Times* we see refugees begging on their knees to be allowed to return to their villages, only to be sent to camps. If the Government of Pakistan is sincere in its avowed promises of safe passage home to the refugees, it must prove it.

Mr. President, I am discouraged that United States-India relations have reached a new low. India has not created the problem: It was dumped in its lap. India must be commended for its nonwar position. Yet I fear this nonwar position may not last very long. Guerrilla camps are springing up along the border where reportedly 30,000 Bengalis are training to recapture their homeland. The guerrillas may provide the spark which would start a major war between the two countries. In the alternative the guerrilla force "Mukti Bahini" may be taken over by Communist elements that would be deterimental to the long term interests of the United States.

Mr. President I ask unanimous consent to have some articles on Pakistan inserted in the RECORD.

Statement by Senator J. W. Fulbright in the U. S. Senate on July 28, 1971

The cataclysmic chain of events in East Pakistan not only points up the egregious misuses to which U. S. military and economic assistance can be put. It also illustrates the insensitivity of U. S. policy to changing events and the seemingly inevitable reaction to defend the status quo regardless of the context.

U.S. military assistance was furnished Pakistan to defend against Communism. It was used instead to wage war on India, the world's largest democracy, and subsequently to suppress the feeble steps to-ward democracy taken in Pakistan itself. Despite this perversion of U.S. largess, we have now been astonished to learn that shipments of military goods are continuing, apparently in pursuit of illustory influence or "leverage" with the Pakistan Army. The shock is compounded in view of the fact that the Foreign Relations Committee had been assured by the administration that no military items had been furnished Pakistan since March 25 and none were scheduled for delivery. This is another sad case

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of private executive foreign policy decision-making taken without the benefit of, indeed in strict isolation from, public discussion and debate.

Economic assistance provided by the United States was misused by the Pakistan Government to subsidize unbalanced development favouring West Pakistan at the expense of the East, which in the process exacerbated the problems which have now been so graphically revealed. Yet we support the Pakistan Government, economically and military, despite its destruction of emerging representative government and in the face of a ruthless military campaign, largely directed against Hindus and the intellectual and leadership elements among the Bengalis, which has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people. This support continues in the face of a recommendation by the World Bank against further aid and in the face of contrary attitudes on the part of other aid-giving nations of the world.

It is said that we must not intervene in the internal affairs of other countries—a principle which should have been better understood in 1964, or since 1949 in China for that matter—and that we should not use economic aid for political purposes. However, supporting a Government engaged in civil war with economic assistance is as much an intervention as helping the other side. It is distressing to see that, through continuation of assistance to Islamabad, the United States against finds itself actively alined with a military dictatorship pursuing policies diamatrically opposed to those to which we say we are committed.

Unfortunately the implications of this civil strife are not confined to Pakistan. The refugees created by the Pakistani military actions have been driven into India where they pose a grave problem, and, indeed, it is not an overstatement to suggest that they constitute a potential danger to world peace equivalent to that created over 20 years ago in Palestine. These hapless Bengali refugees are pressed into an area of India where insurrection and instability are already widespread and the problem of griding poverty is most acute. India simply cannot bear the burdens, in terms of food, housing, employment, and health measures, which the refugees have thrust upon it. The situation could easily lead to renewed communal rioting, accelerated revolutionary activity—which could threaten the future of India itself—or another Indo-Pakistan war.

In this situation the administration says that it is privately urging the Pakistanis to find a political solution in East Pakistan. However, the subsidy of the Pakistan dictatorship continues. AID announced on June 10 that it was providing $ 1 million for Pakistan to charter vessels for the purpose of distributing food in the East, a worthy purpose. On analysis, however, there are some serious questions, Earlier Pakistan was supplied with similar vessels for cyclone relief and she is reported to be using them for military purposes.

In this context, is not the $ 1 million for new boats simply a means of permitting Pakistan to use its existing vessels to pursue military objectives?

And what assurances do we have that Pakistan will not divert to military purposes the vessels which they will charter with the $ 1 million we are giving them now?

The situation in East Pakistan is intolerable, as is a foreign policy which in practice reinforces the status quo there. The United States should instead use all the influence, limited though it may be, which it can bring to bear. In this connection, steps should be taken to insure that military goods, including spare parts, are not shipped to Pakistan and the offer of F–104's B–57's patrol aircraft, and armoured personnel carriers made last fall should be immediately rescined. Economic assistance should be suspended until the Pakistanis,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

both East and West, agree upon a satisfactory political solution and until steps are taken to repatriate the refugees now in India. If the administration does not abandon its fruitless status quo course, I will support congressional action to achieve that objective.

Statement by Senator Proxmire in the U. S. Senate on July 29, 1971

Mr. President: he was about 3 years old, and his mother was still in her teens. They sat on ground made muddy by the steady drizzle of the summer rains. The baby's stomach was grotesquely distended, his feet swollen, his arms no thicker than a man's finger. His mother tried to coax him to eat some rice and dried fish. Finally, the baby mouthed the food feebly, wheezed and died.

That quotation is from a cover article in the August 2 edition of Newsweek magazine entitled "Bengal : The Murder of a People." The article tells the continuing story of the Bengali people—those who survived the massacres committed by the rampaging West Pakistani troops—who are now dying from disease and hunger. It tells of how the political strife in this poor Asian nation has led to the wholesale slaughter of one quarter of a million people and the mass emigration of 6 million more to escape the savagery of Government soldiers.

I quote from this article :

Throughout that blood-drenched night and the days that followed, the carnage continued. And the massacres were not limited to Dacca but were carried on throughout the countryside as well. After a desperate visit to his native village on the Indian border, a sobbing Bengali journalist told how the land had been devastated : "I passed through a dozen villages which had been burned and deserted, with bodies everywhere being eaten by the crows. The smell ! The horror ! I kept praying it would not be like that at my village. But it was. The village was just a mass of charred rubble and crops. My wife and child were missing. There was just one old alive and she could no longer talk. She just sat on the ground, shaking and moaning.

It is as though a City the size of Richmond, Va., has been obliterated and the population of New York made homeless.

Mr. President, even though the immediate killing has stopped, thousands are dying each week of cholera, famine, and ahost of other deadly sicknesses that are thriving in the makeshift villages populated by the millions of Bengali refugees. The Government of India may soon have to return the refugees to Pakistan, unable to afford the cost of the mass welfare operation. If the Pakistanis are returned, the bloodshed may start again.

I quote once more from the Newsweek article :

It seemed a routine enough request. Assembling the young men of the village of Halughat in East Pakistan, a Pakistani Army Major informed them that his wounded soldiers urgenlty needed blood. Would they be donors ? The young men lay down on makeshift costs, needless were inserted in their veins—and then slowly the blood was drained from their bodies until they died.

This article and others like it tell of atrocity after atrocity by the Pakistani Army. Those who were lucky enough to successfully elude the West Pakistan Army are now living in refugee camps in India where disease and famine are killing thousands of them a week. A diplomatic cable from Pakistan reads :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Specter of famine hangs over East Pakistan, prospects for averting widespread hunger, suffering and perhaps starvation not repeat not good.

Pakistan will not recover for years to come :

Already, the experts say, the country's economy is a shambles. Since the fighting began, experts have plummeted, the vital jute crops that are Pakistan's highest foreign exchange earner rot unharvested, and the vast consumer market of the eastern region on which West Pakistan's factories lived has vanished along with the refugees and rebels. "Unless something is done", an economist adds, "there is going to be a famine here that will make all prior suffering look like nothing".

Ask unanimous consent that the full text of the Newsweek magazine article from August 2, entitled "Bengal": The Murder of a "People" printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

I ask my colleagues to read the full text of the article. Unfortunately, I cannot print the pictures which show even more vividly the genocide which is occurring at this very moment. I think one line spoken by a Bengali peasant best tells what happened:

My God, My God, Civilized man cannot describe the horror that has been done.

Mr. President let us ratify the Genocide Treaty.

Statement by Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher, in the U. S. House of Representatives, on August 3, 1971

Mr. Chairman, 4 months have passed since the Pakistan Army launched its campaign of Genocide on the people of East Pakistan in an effort to supress the verdict of the elections of last December and to Terrorize the Bengal is seeking self Rule into submission. Since then, on Conservative estimates, A quarter Million.

Innocent Bengalis have been massacred and 7½ million have taken refuge in the adjoining States of India. Even now, thousands of them are moving across the border into India every day to escape the Humiliation indignity, and the sheer brutality and horror of life in East Pakistan.

II' Specter of Famine

There appears to be yet more Tragedy in Store for the unfortunate people of East Bengal. Senator Kennedy recently brought to light some Telegraphic reports from American officials in Dacca to the State Department stressing the danger of a terrible famine in East Pakistan.

Owing to the Civil War and the dislocation of masses of people from their homes and farms, the sowings in the rice paddies did not take place in time. Hence, the impending shortage of foodgrains. The system of Transport and Communications has been disrupted. An alienated population is unwilling to extend its co-operation to a military regime whose functionaries are, in the eyes of the local populace, alien in Language and culture and medieval, to say the least, in their Brutal Methods of Rule.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The threat of Famine looms large in East Pakistan, and there are reports to the effect that some 30 million people may be affected by it in the coming months. That may further step up the exodus of East Pakistan refugees to India.

III The War of Resistance to Army Rule

In recent weeks, a new future has emerged in prominence in East Pakistan and that is countrywide armed resistance by the Bengalis to the West Pakistan army. Before the Military Crackdown, which began on 25 March, there were perhaps about 40,000 to 50,000 Bengal's trained in the use of arms, belonging to the country's military and para-military units such as the East Pakistan Rifles, the East Bengalis Regiment, and the Police. These Bengalis deserted their units to the last man and after unsuccessful initial pitched encounters with the Pakistan army, went underground with their arms and other equipment. In addition, much military equipment has been captured from the army of West Pakistan.

This force appears to have been transformed into a network of Guerilla groups. They have launched a countrywide guerrilla warfare against the Pakistan army in East Bengal.

That was bound to happen. Terror does not always succeed in subduing a people, it never wins their loyalty and affection. It only succeeds in strengthening their resolve to put an end to the tyranny to which they are subjected and to fight back for their lives and for their honour, and freedom. The more brutal the terror, the more determined the resistance. That is the kind of battle that is developing in East Pakistan today. We have a new Vietnam five times the first with which we are acquainted. I will attach a report from the New York Times, of July 30, which makes this point well and which contains quotes sadly like some our leaders made in the early days of Vietnam.

IV Allegations against India

Allegations are made by Pakistan that "miscreants" are infiltrating into East Pakistan from India. The fact is that a large potential Guerrilla force was in existence in East Pakistan right from the start of the present conflict. It is quite possible, however, that some of the refugees who had fled to India initially to escape the Pakistan army's campaign of terror and genocide have returned to participate in the fight during my inspection of some of the refugee camps in West Bengal. I had met East Pakistani young men who had suffered at the hands of the army, had fled to India to receive some Medical treatment or to escort their parents, and loved ones to safety. They were itching to return to their homeland to seek revenge for the injury caused to them, for the loss of their near and dear ones and especially for the humiliation and dishonour perpetrated on their women.

So far as the Government of India is concerned, it has refrained from recognizing the Government of Bangla Desh. They have accepted and handled the burden of 7-1/2 million refugees with remarkable fortitude and praiseworthy competence. The World has not given India enough help, it has not given India enough credit for its patience and restrainst. The burden India carries is the World's burden, not its own.

At the same time, the parliament, the press, and the people of India are openly, and for good reason, sympathetic to the people of East Pakistan and their fight for their freedom and survival. The frontier between East Pakistan and the neighbouring States of India is 2,720 miles long. There are no natural features along this frontier. People on both sides speak the same language, wear the same dress, eat the same foods, and belong to the same ethic and cultural group. This

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

frontier cannot be sealed except with the fullest co-operation of the East Pakistani population itself. But that co-operation is not available to the Pakistan army at all.

It is possible that the Indian people may give aid and shelter to East Pakistani guerillas, but no Government can prevent people to people co-operation in that manner. Besides in the context of traditional India-Pakistan relationship, it would be futile to expect that the Indian Government join hands with the Pakistan military Junta to quell Bengali resistance in East Pakistan.

This war of resistance in East Pakistan is bound to spread. A whole people has risen in revolt against an unpopular regime. The Pakistan army cannot win this war. For that army is fighting an outmoded colonial war in a land far away from its home base against a vast population of 75 million which its barbaric actions have totally alienated.

V A political solution

The war of East Pakistanis liberation and independence may already be too far gone for a settlement short of independence through the processes of political conciliation and negotiation. The question really is how long will this war last? Or how much more bloodshed will there be? Or what will be its repercusions on the South Asian region? The one man who holds the key to these questions is held prisoner by President Yahya Khan in West Pakistan. President Khan has threatened to put the Bengali leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, on military trial in camera on grounds of treason, with death penalty if the charges are proved. The day that trial begins, the last remote hope for a peaceful, political, settlement will have vanished for good.

VI Danger of war

As the power and effectiveness of the Bengali freedom fighters increase, Gen. Yahya Khan and his military Government become more desperate. Twice in recent days he has threatened to declare a general war upon India on hypothetical grounds. He is reported to have said on July 31 that if the Indians have the idea of taking a chunk out of East Pakistan, he would declare a general war on India.

The Indians want the Pakistani refugees to go back, but they have not said that they want any part of East Pakistan. Indeed, it makes little sense for the Indians to seek a chunk of East Pakistan territory. India is neither short of territory nor people.

But it is quite likely that the Bengali freedom fighters will liberate, sooner or later, one or more chunks or perhaps the whole of East Pakistan and set up their own independent Government there. It seems to be Gen. Yahya Khan's intention, in that circumstance, to precipitate an India-Pakistan war with serious threat to world peace. That will be an act of the gravest delinquency on the part of a Junta which has already acted with extreme irresponsibility and in unbelievable cruelty toward 75 million gentle and cultured people whom it claims to be its own.

A distinguished and respected American, Angier Biddle Duke, who heads the international rescue committee team studying the plight of Pakistani refugees in India is reported to have told the *Washington Post of* July 29, Marilyn Berger's despatch attached—that the Pakistani army has tried to maintain a desperate air of tension along the border with India by mortar fire.

There is every reason, therefore, for the world to take serious note of Gen. Yahya Khan's threats of war with India if he cannot get his way in East Pakistan and to forewarn him against such recklessness.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VII Paralysis of American Policy

In these circumstances, the paralysis in our Pakistan policy is a cause for serious concern. We are continuing to permit the despatch of arms and spare parts to Pakistan, knowing full well that these arms are being used by the Pakistan army in East Pakistan. The army is using artillery and tanks and jet fighters for which spare parts and ammunition continue to be shipped from here.

We have thus become partisans with the military against majority of Pakistan's people. Are we in a position to advise others, the Indians or the Russians or the Chinese, to remain aloof in this civil conflict?

Our economic assistance continues to go to Pakistan even though the World Bank has said that in view of the disruption and alienation caused by the military action no constructive economic development activity can take place in East Pakistan for a long time. The money provided by us can, therefore, only be diverted to the purposes of war.

It must already reluctantly be concluded that we have already intervened on the side of the Government of Pakistan.

The Awami League, the party for which the people of Bengal voted with near unanimity in the December elections, is an anti-Communist and a pro-western party with friendly feelings toward the United States. It is this party and its following which have been fighting for liberation. Our policy of drift antagonizes and radicalizes a people and a potential Government who are inclined to be moderate and friendly.

Our current policy assists only the most radical groups in East Pakistan and in India. We are fomenting a Communist controlled revolution in this region and we are laying the groundwork for a Communist dominated Government. No policy could be further from the American tradition or more deeply against American longrange interests.

Gen. Yahya Khan has shown no inclination to negotiate a political settlement with the elected leaders of Awami League. And we have not effectively exerted pressure and persuasion on him to do so. We do not seem to be sufficiently alive to the dangers of the situation and seem to be persevering in their ineffective line with the Pakistan military regime at much peril to Pakistan, to South Asia, and the world.

By being firm with this reckless dictator from the beginning we would perhaps have helped save Pakistan. By being firm with him even now we could help avert an unnecessary war.

VIII Unwelcome Maneuver

There is discussion of a maneuver which is anathema to India. This maneuver suits Pakistan and may have originated from there. The proposal concerns the stationing of United Nations observers both in India and East Pakistan with the ostentatious purpose of facilitating the return of refugees from India to Pakistan.

Indians are understandably indignant that they are being equated with a regime which because of its evil actions in East Pakistan has already imposed unbearable burdens on India.

Indians have rejected the proposal saying that the question of facilitating the return of refugees will arise only when conditions in East Pakistan are such as to generate confidence among the refugees that they can return to their homes and hearths with some assurance of safety of their lives and their honor.

These are the very provisions your Committee on Foreign Affairs has written into the Foreign Aid Bill to allow assistance to be resumed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Indians also point out that close to a thousand foreign volunteers are working in refugee camps in India which are open to inspection by foreigners. They have nothing to hide from the world in these camps and the Indian Ambassador here has personally extended invitations to a large number of Senators and Congressmen to visit the camps.

I share the Indian Government's view that a political settlement in East Pakistan is of fundamental importance and that the issue should not be confused by such diversionary moves as the proposed posting of U.N. observers on the Indian side a large U.N. presence and the presence of other foreign voluntary agencies on the East Pakistan side would be entirely justified and is, in fact, necessary to the fair and equitable distribution of relief assistance in East Pakistan.

For the sake of a Pakistan which cannot survive in its present form we are alienating the people from the world's largest democracy: India. We are alienating the 75 million people of East Pakistan. By associating ourselves with the barbaric actions of a reckless regime, we are tarnishing our own image as a humanitarian, Free and freedom loving people in the world.

I have thought it necessary to bring these facts out in the open so that the congress can assert its role in helping the administration formulate a rational and meaningful policy towards Pakistan, towards East Pakistan and towards India.

Because of the undue solicitude for Pakistan on our part, American's relations with India today face a serious challenge. Indians have not suggested that we endorse their viewpoint, but they are far more deeply concerned with the situation in East Pakistan than are we. We ought to have close consultations with them and show some difference to their concerns and anxieties even if we disagree with them. We should help them to bear their burden of Pakistani refugees. We should not permit them to feel that ours is not the country that they can look to for help and understanding in a difficult situation not of their making.

In Asia, India with 600 million people is nearly as important as China. If India is antagonised to the point of being driven into the arms of Soviet Russia, any success in the policy of rapproachment with China would have been offset by an avoidable and unnecessary failure in the policy towards India, because of a misplaced attachment for what is really no more than a medium sized middle eastern country, West Pakistan.

IX Definition of an American Policy

There is no longer any rationale if ever there was, for the contained supply of American arms and economic assistance to Pakistan while the conflict between West Pakistan and East Pakistan lasts.

All such assistance must be stopped forthwith, hopefully, the house of representatives may force the issue by passing the foreign aid bill, including my amendment.

The United States should disassociate itself from and condemn the atrocities of the Pakistan army in East Pakistan.

President Yahya Khan should be pressured to end the military action and to order the army back to its barracks in East Pakistan.

Pressure must be exerted on the military Government of Pakistan to immediately release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and to enter into negotiations with him with a view to setting up a civilian, provincial Government in East Pakistan headed by him and his Awami League Party which swept the polls in December last on the platform of autonomy for East Pakistan.

Pending the formation of a popular provincial Government large scale relief assistance should be furnished to avert famine epidemic in East Pakistan and,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

provided, and it can be insured, that such assistance is administered either directly by or under the close supervision of U.N. personnel, by specialized agencies of the U.N. and by foreign voluntary agencies. Again this is exactly what your committee on foreign affairs has provided.

It should be insured that there is no interference from the Pakistan military in the distribution of relief assistance where it is needed. It should also be insured that resources provided for relief, such as boats and vehicles are not taken over or misused by the army for the purposes of military action.

The Awami League Government should then undertake the responsibility for the return and rehabilitation of East Pakistan refugees now in India.

Further financial assistance should be given to India on a scale commensurate with the needs of relief for 7-1/2 million Bengalis who have taken refuge there.

The U.S. Government should suitably warn the President of Pakistan against any action which might precipitate a war with India. Any such war would lead to a confrontation between the Soviet Union, China and the United States and divert attention from the fundamental issue of repression in Pakistan.

"U. S. Arms to Pakistan" by Mr. Chester Bowles, The Washington Post, August 15, 1971

A former governor of Connecticut, congressman and Under Secretary of State, Bowles was ambassador to India for eight years. His autobiography, "Promises to Keep", was published in April.

Recent statements make it appear that governments around the world and the United Nations are waking up to the fact that there is a real and growing danger of another major war in South Asia. We can only hope that constructive action, conspicuous by its absence up to now, will be forthcoming before it is too late.

Since March 25, when soldiers from West Pakistan began ruthlessly suppressing their East Pakistani countrymen, the flood of frightened, undernourished refugees from East Pakistan into India has totaled more than seven million. Caring for the refugees has not only placed a staggering economic burden on India, it has exacerbated volatile social and political problems as well.

At the moment, fighting between West Pakistan occupation forces and East Pakistan guerrillas is increasing, tensions are rising and extremists talk of a "showdown."

If the West Pakistanis in East Pakistan and Indian troops along the border come into direct conflict, the fighting is likely to spread to the Punjab and Kashmir in the West. President Yahya Khan's threat that should war come West Pakistan "will not be alone" implies that the Pakistanis expect support from China while the recently signed Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty suggests that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to support India.

The British have outspokenly condemned Pakistan's policy of genocide for what it is, a moral and humanitarian outrage.

The United States, by refusing to halt arms shipments to Pakistan, has seen its stock drop to an all-time low in India. U.S. explanations that the arms will provide "leverage" with the Pakistanis are patently and demonstrably ridiculous.

Sitting in the wings is the United Nations, which has thus far been ineffectual.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A series of miscalculations by the United States government in the last 20 years has contributed significantly to this explosive situation. The initial blunder occurred in the winter of 1954 when the U.S. agreed to modernize and expand Pakistan's armed forces in return for vague assurances that Pakistan would become "our loyal ally." The objective of this arrangement, John Foster Dulles emphasized, was to block the expansion of the U.S.S.R. into the Middle-East and of China into non-Communist Asia.

The West Pakistanis, of course, had no intention of fighting the Soviets or Chinese in support of U.S. policies. Indeed, the U.S. military equipment which they asked for and received is of no use in the mountain passes through which the Soviet or Chinese invasion would come. Our tanks, motorized artillery and fighter planes would be of use only in a war with India on the plains of the Punjab, and they were so used in 1965.

Fuel for Arms Race

Many observers, of whom I was one, strongly and doggedly opposed this program. A modern, antagonistic Pakistani Army, it was pointed out, would force India to increase substantially its military expenditures, which in 1954 were less than 2 per cent of its gross national product. The escalating arms race which would be triggered by our military assistance to Pakistan would force both nations to curtail their initial development programs, which were in desperate need of funds.

Moreover, the assumption that Pakistan was a nation of 130 million "fighting Moslems" eager and willing to shoot whichever Communists the United States designated was absurd. For the U.S. to spend more than $ 800 million to build up West Pakistan's military capacity (almost all arms have gone to the West, as any East Pakistani refugee will attest) against the U.S.S.R. is about as rational as if the Soviets were to arm Mexico to counter-balance the United States.

Unhappily, our 1954 decision to arm Pakistan was only the first of a series of miscalculations. As each argument in support of the misguided exercise was knocked down, its proponents quickly produced another.

Thus, when it became clear that the Pakistanis had no intention of opposing either the U.S.S.R. or China, a new rationalization to justify our arms shipment to Pakistan was produced. U.S. military assistance to Pakistan, it was now asserted, was really designed to assure continued use of our Peshawar air base in West Pakistan, from which U-2 spy planes overflew the Soviet Union. In off-the-record meetings, congressional committees and the press were told that this installation was "utterly essential to the security of the United States."

When the Pakistan-India War broke out in August, 1965, the arms shipments to Pakistan were suspended. But in April, 1967, after bitter debates within our government during which the importance of the Peshawar base was emphasized, the flow of U.S. military assistance to Pakistan was resumed. Within a year Pakistan forced us to vacate Peshawar.

One might have thought that this would be enough to kill what was already a bankrupt policy, but the supporters of arms aid managed to pull yet another rabbit out of the hat. If we didn't continue to arm Pakistan, they said, China would do so. This argument could be used with equal validity by a dope peddler to justify selling heroin.

In October, 1970, the United States again raised the ante. Pakistan was permitted to purchase one squadron of B-57 bombers (which could most effectively be used to bomb Indian cities) and a sizeable number of armored personnel

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

carriers (which could best be used to transport ground troops over the flat plains of North India).

This year the resourceful West Pakistanis found yet another use for their American arms: to crush their fellow countrymen whose only crime was voting for greater autonomy within the Pakistan union in the December, 1960, election—the first democratic election ever held in Pakistan.

When the State Department and Pentagon assured the Congress, press and public that there would be no further deliveries of U.S. military equipment until a political settlement had been reached, it was again hoped that this issue was at long last settled.

But a few weeks later an alert newsman disclosed that Pakistani ships loaded with more American arms were still quietly leaving American ports. Since the Indian Foreign Minister had just arrived home bearing personal assurances from the State Department and Pentagon that military aid to Pakistan had been halted, it was assumed that this must be an unfortunate bureaucratic snafu which did not represent United States policy. But it soon became clear that it *was* official U.S. policy and that the decision came directly from the White House.

At present, we are in the process of coming up with yet another reason for supplying weapons to West Pakistan: this assistance is the price we paid to secure Pakistani co-operation in helping Mr. Kissinger set up the President's visit to China. Since there were other ways for Mr. Kissinger to get to Peking, this can only be described as one more devious and needless maneuver.

Four Steps Needed

What can be done to lessen the impact of our past mistakes and place our policy on a sound basis? First, we must understand that Bangla Desh is not primarily a conflict between Pakistan and India but between President Yahya Khan and his West Pakistan Government and the East Pakistani Awami League headed by Sheik Mujibur Rahman.

In view of the bitterness of the fighting and the huge loss of life (estimates range from 100,000 to 1 million), prospects for a political settlement seem remote. Direct negotiations between the two principals would be necessary. But Mujibur Rahman is now said to be in a West Pakistan prison and, according to press accounts, is being tried secretly before a military court for treason. This act may very well touch off an explosion.

Second, the West Pakistan army can continue crushing the East Pakistani opposition only if it receives substantial economic and military assistance from abroad since the East Pakistan guerrilla forces, which continue to grow, enjoy the support of the vast majority of East Pakistanis.

To provide the military equipment that enables the West Pakistan army to continue its heartless destruction is irresponsible and immoral. The U.S. should join with the World Bank and the consortium powers in withholding economic assistance to Pakistan (except for food and medicine) until a mutually acceptable solution is reached between the two wings of the Pakistan nation.

Third, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have a common stake in a stable South Asia. Could they not agree jointly to call the Security Council into session and propose a positive course of action to forestall a conflict which no one can win? In 1966, the U.S.S.R., with our tacit support, successfully mediated a settlement of the Indo-Pakistan War. The need now for action by either them or us or both

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is even more urgent. The opportunity to play China against the U.S.S.R. may be appealing to diplomatic trophy hunters, but it would be grossly irresponsible.

Fourth, the U.S. cannot act effectively in South Asia unless we develop a better understanding than we have evidenced thus far not only of India's present economic and political plight but also of India's strategic and ideological imoprtance in Asia.

India, with one-seventh of the human race, is one of the few democracies left in Asia or Africa. The flow of seven million Pakistani refugees across its border has forced India to divert much of its energies and resources from economic development to emergency relief, which has cut deeply into India's inadequate reserves. It is estimated that refugee programs at current levels will cost India close to $1 billion a year. The U.S. should lead an international effort to relieve India of this massive burden.

Can the U.S. Government and people understand while there is still time the political, economic and social forces which are now shaping the future of Asia, Africa and Latin America? If we continue to disregard these forces and place primary faith in military power, we will soon be cut off and at odds with a sizeable majority of mankind. The record in Asia since World War II is not reassuring.

In the 1940s we poured millions of dollars into a futile effort to "save China from Communism" by bolstering the Chiang Kai-shek Government which by its failures had lost the support of its people. In Korea, with our objective of driving back the North Koreans accomplished, General Mac-Arthur embarked upon a reckless rush to the Chinese border. This brought the Chinese into the war and forced the U.N. army back across the 38th parallel. In the two years and ten months of fighting required to get back to where we were in the first place, 25,000 Americans were killed; and for what purpose?

In 1950, as a quid pro quo for the assignment of 12 French divisions to NATO, we agreed, at a cost of $ 2.3 billions, to underwrite the French effort to reestablish their colonial position in Indo-China. Following the French defeat in 1954, we assumed responsibility, step by step, for a war which could not be won even at a cost of 45,000 American lives and which resulted in the nearly complete destruction of the people and the country we had set out to save. It is a sorry, sorry record. And it is time that the American people considered its implications.

Most of the mistakes that we have made in Asia since World War II are due to the fact that we have downgraded and largely ignored political, economic, and social factors in favour of military considerations. U.S. military assistance designed to prop up friendly Generals, Presidents and Field Marshals has not only failed to achieve its objectives, it has badly eroded our influence.

In the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department and the Congress, the danger bells are ringing. Is the U.S. Government capable of shifting its policies to the political realities of the 1970s? South Asia may be the ultimate test.

(THE WASHINGTON POST—August 15, 1971)

Extracts from the transcript of the Television interview given by Pakistani Ambassador Mr. Agha Hilaly. To the ABC Television network in Washington on August 15, 1971

ATROCITIES AND MILITARY REPRESSION COMMITTED BY PAKISTAN IN EAST BENGAL :

* * * *

Mr. Bob Clark : Would you admit that your troops have been guilty of some wanton killing of civilians?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Agha Hilaly : Very little. Very little if any.

Mr. Bob Clark : Very little.

Mr. Agha Hilaly : Very little if any. Because armed action—you see the troops had to face when the federal government had been declared and the federal government had been put up there were about at least a hundred and sixty thousand armed personnel who defected on account of the Awami League propaganda.

The army was asked on the twenty-fifth of March to go and deal with these hundred and sixty thousand armed people. Now how do they do it? They had to use force. And in using force they do kill people—the civil population in place of — get into the cross-fire. But the killing of the civil population — some of it did take place — was unwittingly done by the army. The army had not declared war on unarmed mobs.

Mr. Bob Clark: Mr. Ambassador, these reports of massacres that come from a wide variety of sources, from foreign diplomats, from missionaries, from reporters who are on the scene early in the war—wouldn't this tend to lend some credence to many reports from refugees themselves, who have poured out of Pakistan?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Foreign diplomats were in Dacca—they did not see people being killed on this scale anywhere.

* * * *

Mr. Ted Koppel: Well, Mr. Ambassador, with all due respect I was in Dacca during March and while I was not permitted at that point once the fighting started to go into the interior we did see evidence during the night of March twenty-fifth of very severe repression, of tanks being used against civilians, the university being bombarded. I don't think you would suggest that in all of these instances it was merely the East Bengali rifles against the West Pakistani Army. There were civilians who were killed and who were killed when they had no opportunity to fight back.

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Yes. I did not say there were no civilian casualties.....

* * * *

Villages haven't been destroyed. Some of the houses have been burned and destroyed. There is always reconstruction. In East Pakistan unfortunately in my country.....

Mr. Bob Clark: By reports from the scene the destruction has been very widespread and devastation of entire villages.

Mr. Agha Hilaly: This is—you see we differ on facts. It is not so widespread that it cannot be rebuilt. Certain destruction has taken place. But it is not on the scale that it is beyond our capacity to rebuild these houses and rehouse these refugees.

The nature of defections in East Bengal

* * * *

Mr. Bob Clark: Would you admit that your troops have been guilty of some wanton killing of civilians?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Very little. Very little if any.

Mr. Bob Clark: Very little.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Very little if any. Because armed action—you see the troops had to face when the federal government had been declared and the federal government had been put up there were about at least a hundred and sixty thousand armed personnel who defected on account of the Awami League propaganda.

The army was asked on the twenty-fifth of March to go and deal with these hundred and sixty thousand armed people. Now how do they do it? They had to use force. And in using force they do kill people—the civil population in place of—get into the cross-fire. But the killing of the civil population—some of it did take place—was unwittingly done by the army. The army had not declared war on unarmed mobs.

* * * *

There were not only East Pakis—Bengal—regiments—there were East Pakistan rifles. There was a border military force. There were the armed police. Then there were the armed bands who had been armed by weapons from across India, by the Awami League, so it was—it went up to well over a hundred and fifty thousand armed people.

NUMBER OF REFUGEES FLED FROM EAST BENGAL TO INDIA

* * * *

Mr. Bob Clark: Mr. Ambassador, some seven million refugees fled from East Pakistan into India since the start of the civil war. They are posing a great economic burden on India which obviously can't absorb them permanently.

Is your country prepared to take the refugees back and to offer adequate guarantees for their safety?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Yes, Sir. (Note: There is no denial of the figure of 7 million.)

THE REMARKS ABOUT THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PAKISTAN DURING THE AYUB REGIME AND JUST BEFORE THE EVENTS TOOK A VIOLENT TURN IN BANGLA DESH

* * * *

Mr. Agha Hilaly: True, during the military rule of President Ayub which lasted for about twelve years there was no representative East Pakistani leader in his cabinet. But there was—this happened with the people of West Pakistan also. They did not have representative government. They did not have any elected public leader in the cabinet ruling them.

Mr. Ted Koppel: But as you know for more than a decade, Mr. Ambassador the East Pakistanis have been complaining that they're being bled dry economically, that much of the foreign aid which is produced by jute, for example, is used to support the West Pakistani economy.

Mr. Agha Hilaly: No, these are allegations which are not borne out by facts. The development in East Pakistan in the last seven or eight years has exceeded by many times the development of East Pakistan before that period. (Note: The Ambassador does not say that it exceeded the development in West Pakistan.)

As I was going—as I was intending to tell you—the people of West Pakistan also suffered by the lack of democracy when military rule was established. Their spokesmen too were not in the government, it's not only the East Pakistanis who were deprived of popular rule of democracy, but West Pakistanis too.

* * * *

General Yahya's government, military government no doubt, but it was pledged to restore democracy. He held three elections. He promised three elections. They were held on the seventh of December. So you cannot say.....

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Ted Koppel: Why were the results not implemented?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: The result is because...

Mr. Ted Koppel: No, why were the results not implemented of those elected?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Because the political parties, the political leaders of East and West Pakistan, could not get together and discuss on certain fundamentals on the outlines of the constitution. They couldn't even get together on the date of the constituent assembly on account of the unreasonable attitude of the Awami League.

* * * * *

Mr. Ted Koppel: Well, he (Mujibur Rahman) was the majority candidate, was he not?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Well, may be yes but it was a fifty three percent majority. West Pakistan was not two per cent. He may have represented seventy million people. But the people of West Pakistan were partners in this. They were also Pakistanis. And they represented sixty million people.

V. India's non-involvement in training, arming and organising Mukti Bahini

* * * *

Mr. Bob Clark: Would you admit that your troops have been guilty of some wanton killing of civilians?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Very little. Very little if any.

Mr. Bob Clark: Very little.

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Very little if any. Because armed action—you see the troops had to face when the Federal Government had been declared and the federal government had been put up there were about at least a hundred and sixty thousand armed personnel who defected on account of the Awami League propaganda.

The army was asked on the twenty-fifth of March to go and deal with these hundred and sixty thousand armed people. Now how do they do it? They had to use force. And in using force they do kill people—the civil population in place of—get into the cross-fire. But the killing of the civil population—some of it did take place—was unwittingly done by the army. The army had not declared war on unarmed mobs.

* * * *

There were not only East Pakis—Bengal—regiments—there were East Pakistan rifles. There was a border military force. There were the armed police. Then there were the armed bands who had been armed by weapons from across India, by the Awami League, so it was—it went up to well over a hundred and fifty thousand armed people.

* * * *

I'm sorry, those weapons came from collections made by looting of armories and government stores and from the armories of the reserve police and so on, weapons that had been collected by force, by militant students bands who were going and knocking at the doors of the houses and asking people to deliver their guns and whatever sporting rifles—guns and rifles—they had. These were not collected from the East Pakistan rifles. We wish that we had taken the trouble to disarm them before. We hadn't that's why all the fighting took place on March 25 in Dacca.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MUJIB'S TRIAL

* * * *

Mr. Bob Clark: Mr. Ambassador, Sheikh Mujib would have been the principle victor of those elections. Now he is being tried by your country.

If you—your country—has a valid case against Sheikh Mujib why is he being tried in complete secrecy without even any foreign observers?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Because we do not want to have a public trial at the present time, which would bring about probably retaliation and commotion in the country.

Mr. Ted Koppel: Well, we can stop a little short of a public trial. Would you concede having—perhaps we could have some foreign observers.

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Either a trial in camera or a public trial. What else?

Mr. Ted Koppel: You could have foreign observers. Could you not?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Foreign observers may be but then how do you keep it a private trial?

Mr. Ted Koppel: Well, perhaps have the U.N.....

Mr. Agha Hilaly: What is the point? I mean what.....

Mr. Bob Clark: How can a secret trial guarantee justice to Mujib?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Because he is being—or going to be given—he's been offered legal defence. The best lawyers of Pakistan are available. The government has said that he can engage any one of them. A defense is going to be—wait a minute...

Mr. Bob Clark: Should we ask you this—is Mujib still alive at this moment?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Well, obviously he's alive. How can he be tried if he's dead?

Mr. Bob Clark: Well, we don't know. We have no idea the trial has been held or...

Mr. Agha Hilaly: But we say we are trying a man. We are not trying a corpse.

Mr. Bob Clark: Is he being tried at the moment? Is the trial in progress?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: The trial was announced...

Mr. Bob Clark: Announced that there would be a trial...

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Yes, and was to have commenced on a certain date...

Mr. Bob Clark: Is it in progress at the moment?

Mr. Agha Hilaly: Obviously, it's in progress.

* * * *

He is (Mujibur Rahman is) not going to be taken and lined up against the wall and shot.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Address by Senator Edward M. Kennedy to the National Press Club, Washington, on August 26, 1971

I am grateful for this chance to speak to the members of the National Press Club and to share with you my experiences during a week-long visit to the refugee camps of India—to a scene which only can be described as the most appalling tide of human misery in modern times.

In just a few months, since early April, the civil war in East Bengal has driven nearly 8,000,000 men, women and children into India to escape conditions in their homeland. Unnumbered thousands of others have been slaughtered in the civil strife, or displaced within their country. Millions more in East Bengal face continued terror, disease and starvation, unless they receive immediate relief.

This stark tragedy is not yet understood by the world. And although it has been a source of urgent concern to me and the Senate Sub-committee on Refugees from the outset, I can tell you that not until you see it first-hand can you begin to understand its immensity. For only by being there can you sense the feelings and understand the plight of the people, and the forces of violence which continue to create refugees and increase the toll of civilian casualties.

In India I visited refugee areas along the entire border of East Bengal—from Calcutta and West Bengal in the west—to the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts in the north—to Agartala in the State of Tripura in the east. I listened to scores of refugees as they crowded into camps, struggling to survive in makeshift shelters in open fields or behind public buildings—or trudging down the roads of West Bengal from days and even weeks of desperate flight. Their faces and their stories etch a sage of shame which should overwhelm the moral sensitivities of people throughout the world.

I found that conditions varied widely from one refugee camp to another. But many defy description. Those refugees who suffer most from the congestion, the lack of adequate supplies and the frightful conditions of sanitation are the very young—the children under five—and the very old. The estimates of their numbers run as high as fifty per cent of all the refugees. Many of these infants and aged already have died. And it is possible—as you pick your steps among others—to identify those who will be dead within hours, or whose sufferings surely will end in a matter of days.

You see infants with their skin hanging loosely in folds from their tiny bones —lacking the strength even to lift their heads. You see children with legs and feet swollen with edema and malnutrition, limp in the arms of their mothers. You see babies going blind for lack of vitamins, or covered with sores that will not heal. You see in the eyes of their parents the despair of ever having their children well again. And, most difficult of all, you see the corpse of the child who died just the night before.

The story is the same in camp after camp. And it is complicated by the continually growing number of civilian casualties overburdening an already limited hospital system. Most of these casualties have been brought across the border by their fellow refugees. Yet there also are large numbers of Indians whose border villages have been subjected to shelling from Pakistani troops. In addition, there are the untold numbers of victims who remain uncounted and unattended in the rural areas of East Bengal.

The Government of India, as it first saw this tide of human misery begin to flow across its borders, could have cordoned off its land and refused entry. But, to its everlasting credit, India chose the way of compassion. The Indian Government

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has made Herculean efforts to assist and accomodate the refugees—efforts which history will record and remember.

But even this noble work is being defeated by the sheer numbers involved in this calamity. At peak periods two months ago, refugees were arriving in India at the rate of 150,000 a day. Today they still arrive at the rate of 25,000 a day.

And while the magnitude of the problem staggers the imagination, the individual accounts of the people who have fled East Bengal tear at your heart.

A 55-year old railway employee—he was a Muslim civil servant with 35 years of service—told me of an unexplained noontime attack by the Pakistani army on his railroad station. "I do not know why they shot me," he said. "I don't belong to any political party. I was just a railway clerk." Now he sits idly in an Indian refugee camp, financially crippled, and with no prospect of returning to receive his long-earned government pension that was to begin next month.

Even more tragic are the experiences of the innocent and uneducated villagers. You can piece together the mosaic of misery from dozens of interviews among new refugees on the Boyra-Bongaon Road north of Calcutta.

On the day we travelled this 20 mile road, atleast 7,000 new refugees were streaming along the banks of the border river crossing near Boyra. Nearly all were peasant farmers. Most were Hindus, from the Khulna and Barisal districts south of Dacca—on the fringe of the area affected by last fall's cyclone.

The very young and the very old were exhausted from many days and nights in flight—usually on foot. Many were in a visible state of shock, sitting listless by the roadside or wandering aimlessly toward an unknown fate. They told stories of atrocities, of slaughter, of looting and burning, of harassment and abuse by West Pakistani soldiers and collaborators. Many children were dying along the way, their parents pleading and begging for help. Monsoon rains were drenching the countryside, adding to the depression and despair on their faces. To those of us who went out that day, the rains meant no more than a change of clothes. But to these people it meant still another night without rest, food, or shelter.

It is difficult to erase from your mind the look on the face of a child paralyzed from the waist down, never to walk again; or a child quivering in fear on a mat in a small tent still in shock from seeing his parents, his brothers and his sisters executed before his eyes; or the anxiety of a 10-year old girl out foraging for something to cover the body of her baby brother who had died of cholera a few moments before our arrival. When I asked one refugee camp director what he would describe as his greatest need, his answer was "a crematorium." He was in charge of one of the largest refugee camps in the world. It was originally designed to provide low income and middle income housing, and has now become the home for some 170,000 refugees.

It is time—it is past time—for Americans to understand what has produced this massive human tragedy, and to recognize the bankrupt response by our own nation.

The issue from beginning in East Bengal has been self-determination and democratic principle. After years of political and economic domination by West Pakistan—after years of martial law and unfulfilled election promises—a free election finally was conducted throughout Pakistan last December 7th. The election was administered under martial law and, at the time, loudly proclaimed fair by the government of President Yahya Khan. It produced in East Bengal an overwhelming mandate—almost 80% of the vote—for the Awami League party and its leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Awami League was thus given a majority in the forthcoming Pakistan National Assembly charged with drafting a new constitution for returning the nation to civilian, democratic rule. But what happened next formed a pattern of delay and deception, followed by the invocation of marital law once more. Negotiations between Sheikh Mujib and President Yahya over the party's six-point proposal for regional autonomy dragged on and deteriorated—erupting in terror and bloodshed suddenly on the night of March 25th.

While the East Bengalis negotiated for democracy and autonomy, the West Pakistan army prepared for systematic repression and organized terror. Countless thousands were butchered during the days that followed March 25th, and many millions more were dislocated within East Bengal. What I saw last week in India was the human debris from that night of terror and from the subsequent weeks of violence. Martial law remains, as does the military's violence. "Collective responsibility"—a policy of destroying whole villages on the suspicion that they harbour Awami Leaguers or Bengali guerillas—is now sanctioned by martial law, and it is reflected in the continuing flow of refugees.

Unfortunately, the face of America today in South Asia is not much different from its image over the past years in South-East Asia. It is the image of an America that supports military repression and fuels military violence. It is the image of an America comfortably consorting with an authoritarian regime. It is the image of an America citing its revolutionary past and crowing about its commitment to self-determination, while it services military juntas that suppress change and ignore a people's aspirations.

The situation in East Bengal should particularly distress Americans, since it is our military hardware—our guns and tanks and aircraft delivered over a decade—which are contributing substantially to the suffering. And even more shocking is the fact that these military supplies continue to flow—apparently under instructions from the highest officials of our land. Pakistani ships loaded with U.S. military supplies continue to leave American harbors bound for West Pakistan troops. And it is all so shameful and so sad. For they could be halted with a simple stroke of a pen.

It is argued that the continuation of military aid to West Pakistan somehow gives us "leverage" to constructively influence the Pakistan military's policy in East Bengal. Well, where is that leverage? Where is the leverage to stop the use of U.S. arms which produce the refugees and civilian victims that we then must help support in India? Where is the leverage to halt the secret trial of Sheikh Mujib whose only crime is that he won a free election? Where is the leverage to prevent our humanitarian aid from being turned into military equipment, when American relief boats are transformed into American gun boats? Why, if we have the leverage to influence the government of Pakistan, must our great nation assist in this shabby and shameful enterprise?

It is time for Americans to ask their leaders: "Just what kind of government is it that we seek to influence—and for what purpose?"

For over ten tragic years, Americans have been asked to sacrifice nearly $ 100 billion and 45,000 lives to uphold the concept of self-determination and democratic principles in a land 10,000 miles from our beaches. Today,—in a land 12,000 miles away and with 5 times the population—America is being asked by its leadership to support the repression of self-determination—to co-operate in a conspiracy against the results of a free election.

Consider another pitiful parallel. After all our sacrifice and all our effort in South Vietnam, we are confronted with a so-called "democracy" that is ruled by a military elite which still cannot conduct a "free election"—which calls an

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

election "free" when it eliminates all significant opposition. Meanwhile, in East Bengal—less than 2,000 miles from Saigon—we ignore the results of a free election only to help a group of generals suppress an electoral mandate and, in the process, to subvert all the principles for which we have sacrificed so much for so long.

You may say that we have no business getting involved—that we cannot police the world. That may be true. But the cold fact is that we already are involved in East Bengal. Our guns are involved. Our money—invested over two decades of economic assistance—is involved. It is not a question of whether we should be involved but, rather how we should be involved. It is not a question of whether we should spend funds but rather, how are we spending funds. Whether we supply more guns, or invest in the humanitarian programs to bring peace and relief to a desperately troubled area.

There is irony in the voices of the leaders of East Bengal with whom I talked and who now constitute themselves as the Government of Bangla Desh. These leaders will not come to America to ask for assistance. As one Awami League official said: "Many nations and people come to America to ask for billions of U.S. dollars for more guns, more supplies. We Bengalis ask only that you provide nothing—no guns, no money to either side—that you simply remain neutral." To me this seems both sound from a political as well as moral view. Neutrality, rather than the mindless and fruitless practice of following old habits in our dealings with military cliques in South Asia, may provide us with leverage which is real and effective.

The nations of that region are struggling today against heavy odds to achieve, democratic government. We in America do not fully realize how the spirit of democracy flourishes there. India a few months ago held, for the fourth time the largest free election in the world. For Pakistan it has taken a longer period to arrange free elections. But the significance of last December's vote was not missed even by the martial law authorities in West Pakistan. They proudly and rightly, proclaimed it as a milestone in Pakistan's history. It had presented Pakistan with its first real opportunity to bridge its regional divisions and develop democratic institutions.

So it was that civilian leadership emerged in Pakistan, capable of pulling together the forces of history—of preserving the unity of Pakistan and the stability of the region. The full folly of the West Pakistan army's bid to undo what a whole people had set in motion—to suppress its best hope for unity—can only be understood in this context.

If some political solution is not found soon—if some mechanism is not established for cooling tempers and furnishing relief—the situation in East Bengal threatens to develop into terminal cancer both for Pakistan and Eastern India. For no issue has had more disruptive impact on the subcontinent since partition in 1947.

The implications for American foreign policy are clear.

First, we must arouse America to the real human tragedy now taking place in Pakistan and India. The tragedy of East Bengal is not only a tragedy for Pakistan. It is not only a tragedy for India. It is a tragedy for the entire world community, and it is the responsibility of that community to act together to ease the crisis. If America is to fulfil its role as the leading humanitarian nation of the world community, then America must take the lead in bringing international aid and relief to the millions of refugees and other victims of this international conflict.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We know, however, that the response of the United States and the international community has been far short of the need. To date, the United Nations has given less than $ 150 million for relief. Of this total, the United States has pledged about $ 80 million.

To be sure, as the Administration pointed out with pride, we have pledged a larger share of the total than the rest of the world combined. But the pride is quickly dispelled by the vastly greater burden now being carried single-handy by the government and the people of India. When we realize that India herself faces the prospect of a budget for refugee relief of $ 500 million to $ 1 billion in the next year alone, we realize how little the outside world is really doing, and how paltry the American contribution really is.

Simple humanity demands that America and the United Nations must accept the truth that this heavy burden should be borne by the entire international community, and not by India alone. Consistent with the financial support we have traditionally given to United Nations aid and relief activities in the past, as well as with the level of support we are currently giving as a member of the international consortium for aid to that part of the world, the United States must be prepared to contribute at least 30 to 40% of the relief effort for East Bengal. If a billion dollars is needed through the United Nations, then America must have the courage not only to demand that the U.N. meet the need, but also to provide the $ 300 to $ 400 million that will be required as the American contribution to the effort. When Congress returns in September, I intend to offer appropriate legislation to achieve this goal.

Second, we must do an about-face in our relations with the nations in the area. Most important, our government must stop preaching "restraint" to India and start showing "restraint" ourselves towards Pakistan. We must end immediately all further U.S. arms shipments to West Pakistan. We must end all other economic support of a regime that continues to violate the most basic principles of humanity. We must demonstrate to the generals of West Pakistan and to the peoples of the world that the United States has a deep and abiding revulsion of the monumental slaughter that has ravaged East Bengal.

My experience in the field last week has strengthened these views immensely. No American who has seen the faces of children too weak to cry, too tired to live, too shocked to care, could settle for less. No American would recommend less against a government that tries a political leader in secret—and, as many fear, may put him to death—for the crime of winning a free election.

No American would support a regime that is alien to the principles for which so many of his fellow citizens have given their lives in virtually every corner of the world.

I do not, at this time, suggest a break in our diplomatic relations with Pakistan. Let us continue to talk urgently. Let us express our candid views. Let President Nixon makes personal representations to President Yahya Khan about every aspect of the crisis. To the beleaguered Government of India let us reaffirm our faith in the ability of men of good will, everywhere to work together to end the crisis.

Third, I believe that the United States should work strongly within the framework of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization to bring as much pressure as possible to bear on the Government of West Pakistan to modify its cruel policy of repression toward East Bengal. If no alleviation of these policies is immediately forthcoming, the United States should lead the other SEATO nations in seeking to terminate the participation of Pakistan in the organization.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Similarly, we should re-examine every other bilateral and multilateral relationship we have with Pakistan. No forum of this nation, no forum of the world community, should hesitate to focus the bright light of informed opinion on the nightmare of terror and inhumanity now being perpetrated in South Asia.

As Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committe on Refugees, I plan to file a formal report on the findings of my recent field investigation. Our Sub-Committee will conduct further hearings at the end of September. These hearings will be an effort to document what our government is doing, what it is prepared to do, and what it is capable of doing to provide the leadership necessary to bring peace and relief to South Asia.

The prayers and dreams of people like those in East Bengal were stated eloquently a generation ago in the magnificent verse of Tagore, Bengal's greatest poet and philosopher. As Tagore wrote in an immortal ode to peace and freedom in words that could describe the aspirations of East Bengal today.

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held
high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
by narrow domestic walls...
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

With words like these as our inspiration, America can find the will to help these dreams come true.

III. INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE: NON-OFFICIAL — (ORGANISATIONS)

Text of the Statement issued by the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, on April 13, 1971

Following is the full text of the statement issued by the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples on April 13, on the situation in East Pakistan.

After the expulsion of all foreign journalists and the introduction of strict censorship, the official statements made by the Pakistani Government claim that the situation in East Pakistan has come back to normal.

However, the reports of world news agencies and press team with news based on statements made by eye-witnesses, to the effect that a civil war is still going on, that the sufferings of the civilian population increase with each day, that the violence of the Pakistan Army persists and that the mass killing of East Pakistan people has not stopped.

At the recently held elections, the people of East Pakistan expressed, with an absolute majority of votes and unequivocally, their will to settle their relations with West Pakistan in a democratic manner, on the basis of autonomy and full equality of the two parts of Pakistan.

The situation created in East Pakistan by proclaiming a state of emergency and by the attempts of the army to prevent the people from realizing their aspirations for autonomy, causes serious concern in the world.

Military force has never succeeded in solving difficult economic, political and social problems, but has always made them worse. Violence in East Pakistan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

provokes new hatred, deepens the chasm and makes impossible a peaceful solution of the problems of relations between the peoples of West and East Pakistan.

Supporting the right of every nation to self-determination the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples considers that this right should be recognized to the people of East Pakistan, the more so, as the attempts to settle the problem of relations between the peoples of Pakistan by military force cannot lead to a lasting and stable settlement, but embodies a danger of graver complications which may jeopardize peace in that part of the world.

Statement by International Committee on the University Emergency.

A group of International Scholars today charged the Pakistani army with carrying out a premeditated massacre of most of the leading professors at the University of Dacca, together with their families and many students on the night of March 25-26.

The incident is said to have occurred when West Pakistani forces entered East Pakistan to crush an attempt to set up a secessionist Bengali State.

Charging that the alleged killings at the University of Dacca were "Genocide in its cruellest and most object sense," the Scholars added in a statement, "Though our Governments may believe themselves limited in actions they can take, there should be no further delay in public recognition that an inhuman deed was planned and executed in Dacca."

The allegation was made by the 8-man Steering Committee of the International Committee on the University Emergency (UCUE), an organization set up last autumn to defend academic freedom.

The approximately 100 charter, members of the ICUE include professors from the U.S., Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Sweden and Britain. Among them are a number of Nobel Laureates.

The Steering Committee based its charge against the Pakistani army on what it said was an eye-witness report from a Professor of the University of Dacca who recently returned to the U.S. after fleeing from East Pakistan.

The statement said that according to the eye-witness who has refused to permit disclosure of his identity, "The army attacked on the night of March 25. By one o'clock the next morning the University was ablaze. Shooting continued for 36 hours.

This professor made his way into the streets when the curfew was briefly lifted on the 27th. Screaming people were all about. The University looked like a graveyard with thousands of dead bodies in view. Freshly dug graves pockmarked the campus."

The statement continued: "It was obvious that the University had been a major target. A premediated massacre appears to have been conducted from a master list of victims prepared possibly as early as last fall.

That list presumably contained the names and addresses of leading teachers and students as well as artists, musicians and writers associated with Bengali literature and culture.

The mass murder apparently proceeded on schedule; senior professors were brought out in the open and shot. Their families including women and children, were also killed. The sudden attack obviously sought the extermination of the intellectual class, particularly the bearer of Bengali culture and a large part of its audience."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The statement listed the names of the Chairmen of seven departments at the University of Dacca who were said to have been among those killed.

(REUTER, New York—April 22, 1971)

Resolution on Colonialism and Racial Discrimination adopted by the Assembly of the World Peace Council in Budapest on May 10, 1971

The large scale massacres and acts of mass killings perpetuated by the Pakistan armed forces against the unarmed civilian population of East Pakistan is among the gravest and most tragic developments recently:

The 75 million people of East Pakistan constituting 56 per cent of the entire population of Pakistan have been fighting for many years against gross injustice, national and linguistic suppression and humiliation and near colonial economic exploitation in the hands of a military dictatorship and monopolist business houses, all belonging to the other Wing of the country over 1,200 miles away.

When general elections were held last December for the National and Provincial Assemblies the Awami League representing the people of East Pakistan won almost all the seats from East Pakistan as well as an absolute majority in the National Assembly on the basis of an election programme demanding autonomy for East Pakistan and ending Pakistan's participation in imperialist military alliances.

Instead of transferring power to the elected representatives for framing the constitution the military dictatorship created a deadlock and long-drawn negotiations were begun.

In the end when agreement was apparently in sight the military junta suddenly banned the Awami League outright and let loose a process of mass killing against the entire population. In spite of this cruel attack the people have stood together and declared themselves as the people of their new state of Bangla Desh.

Massive military actions using tanks, artillery, aerial strafing and incendiary bombs are being taken by Pakistan forces against Bangla Desh and the country has been closed to the World Press and even the International Red Cross. Meanwhile over two million refugees have been forced to flee in to India from across the border.

World public opinion and the forces of peace everywhere should act immediately to put a stop to this blood-bath. International relief must be rushed both to Bangla Desh as well as to India which cannot meet the requirements of the vast number of refugees alone from its resources.

International intervention can and must succeed in making the Pakistan Government allow the Red Cross and other international relief organisations to rush aid to the victims in Bangla Desh. The lives of the leaders of the Awami League and the elected representatives of the people, specially Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the universally acclaimed elected leader of Bangla Desh now in the custody of the Pakistan Government must be safeguarded and no harm must come to them.

The scorched-earth denial policy now being followed by the Pakistan Government devastating vast areas of Bangla Desh must be put to an immediate stop. The forces of peace world over must succeed in putting an end to Pakistan's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

massive war against the people of Bangla Desh and the refugees now in India must be enabled to return to the homes.

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION PASSED BY AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

At its annual National convention last week-end, the Americans for Democratic Action unanimously adopted a resolution urging the U.S. to change its present policy towards Pakistan. Following is the text of the resolution:

"Whereas, because the tragic situation in East Pakistan is still marked by violence, martial law, and the systematic elimination of Bengali leaders.

"Whereas, peace is threatened on such a massive scale in the Indian sub-continent involving Pakistan, India, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

"And whereas, the United Nations has an overriding obligation to do everything possible to settle the bloody conflict in East Pakistan.

"Now, therefore, A.D.A. urges the United States Government to alter its involvement in the Pakistan civil war by immediately making several policy changes.:

"1. Stop completely all military assistance and sales, lethal and non-lethal, to the Pakistan Government, and do what is feasible to stop arms transfers from other Governments and sources.

"2. Suspend all economic assistance, bilateral and multilateral, to the Pakistan Government, necessary because foreign assistance enables the Pakistan Government to conduct its present military operations in the East. When the violence and destruction have ceased and the Pakistan Army has returned to its pre-November 21, 1970 position in East and West Pakistan, and the duly and freely elected leaders of the East, such as Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League Party have returned to Dacca to set up civil rule and the National Assembly has met in the National capital of Islamabad, then the United States Government should reconsider and reevaluate its economic assistance programme to Pakistan, especially its humanitarian programs such as food deliveries and medical research and supplies.

"3. Provide aid and comfort to those Bengali people who presently reside in America and who one day will safely return to participate actively in the affairs of their homeland.

"4. Propose to the Secretary General that he establish a U.N. fact-finding-team to go to the urban and rural areas of East Pakistan to find out the extent of the damage, destruction, and violence which have occurred and report to the General Assembly on what they have observed."

(GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS—May 15, 1971)

Resolution passed by Socialist International Council Conference in Helsinki on May 27, 1971

Socialist International Council Conference in Helsinki on May 27, passed a resolution on Pakistan which reads as follows:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The Socialist International expresses its profound concern about the present tragic situation in Pakistan. It calls for an immediate ceasefire and for the commencement of negotiations which would achieve a settlement taking fully into account the views of the people of both East and West Pakistan as freely expressed in the recent general elections. The Socialist International wishes to register its concern about the fate of political prisoners including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The Socialist International urges its members parties to exert pressure on their governments to use their influence with the Government of Pakistan to bring about a speedy and to all fighting and to ensure that all possible help be offered in order to alleviate the immediate misery and suffering of the people of East Pakistan and the longer term economic and social consequences of the conflict. The Socialist International notes the tremendous burden now falling on the Indian Government as a result of this conflict and urges the United Nations to launch immediately an international appeal to raise funds from member governments to enable the international community to share the burden which is now carried by India alone."

The Conference was attended by the Chancellor of West Germany, the Prime Ministers of Sweden, Norway and Israel, and leading socialists from various West European countries, U.S.A. Canada, countries in Africa and Asia, as well as Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. Denis Healey.

International Islamic Organisation calls upon Muslim countries to help East Bengal refugees: statement, dated June 9, 1971

Mr. H. H Marzuki Jatim, Secretary-General of International Islamic Organisation, has called on the Indonesian Government to help in providing relief to East Pakistani refugees in India. In the statement issued in Djakarta on June 9, 1971, Mr. Jatim urged the Indonesian Government to give particularly medicines to East Pakistani evacuees most of whom are now infected with Cholera. Mr. Jatim also urged the various national groups of the International Islamic Organisation in different countries, specially, the Indonesian National Group, to suggest to Muslims in their respective countries to extend material assistance to evacuees into India from East Bengal.

Argentine Intellectuals urge Government to rush aid to East Bengal refugees: Memorandum-dated, June 11, 1971

A delegation representing well-known Argentine intellectuals called on the Argentine Foreign Minister, Mr. Luis Maria de Pablo Pardo on June 11, 1971, and presented a memorandum requesting urgent relief assistance to the East Bengal refugees who have come to India. The memorandum was signed by leading Argentine writers, academicians, painters, jurists and other intellectuals of national and international standing, including the eminent authors, Madame Victoria Ocampo and Jorge Luis Berges, and the Reverend Father Ismael Quiles, Vice-Chancellor of El Salvador University.

Following is the text of the memorandum which was prominently published in the Argentine Press:

"As a result of the recent tragic events in East Bengal, an enormous number of people—men, women and children—have fled the country to neighbouring India creating a gigantic human problem. Loyal to her own traditions. India dedicated as she is to peace, co-existence and spreading of understanding among

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

peoples—is struggling hard to feed, clothe and shelter these unfortunate refugees who are said to be already four million. The task is, however, of such a magnitude that India cannot be expected to shoulder this alone particularly when she is fully engaged in her own nation-building efforts.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM

"Human tragedy should know no national barriers; suffering, death and destitution anywhere in the world should be the concern of entire humanity. Yet it is unfortunate that international conscience does not seem to have awakened sufficiently to the happenings in East Bengal. Nor has there been enough response to help India in the solution of a humanitarian problem created by occurrences elsewhere over which India had no say or control. She has to meet the demands of these helpless refugees and has to do it risking her own development needs, It is true that some international organisations and some Governments have a certain amount of help but the magnitude of the situation demands the assistance of humanity as a whole to solve a problem which is neither caused by India nor belongs entirely to her because it is an international and not national problem.

In this particular case, the answer cannot be merely academic solidarity or a simple testimony of admiration, it has to be positive and direct help either in cash or goods not excluding a contribution to the formation of an international awareness of the obligation to help with a sense of common responsibility.

"It is to be hoped that our Government—faithful to her own universalism and solidarity tradition—will respond to the maximum extent possible and with an urgency that the situation demands to solve the predicament that circumstances have imposed on the Republic of India".

League of Red Cross Societies expresses grave concern for health of refugees in West Bengal: News Release, dated June 18, 1971

Following is the text of a news release, dated June 18, 1971, issued by League of Red Cross Societies.

A medical expert sent to India by the League of Red Cross Societies, Dr. Lars Troell of the Swedish Red Cross, has expressed his grave concern with the health situation among the Pakistan refugees in West Bengal.

Dr. Troell reported back to the League headquarters in Geneva today after a two-week mission to India during which he visited refugees camps in West Bengal and had discussions with the Indian Red Cross, Government Health Department and World Health Organisation officials, and representatives of relief agencies. particularly the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Dr. Troell reported that while the Indian health authorities seconded by the Red Cross and other agencies, appeared to be keeping pace with outbreaks in fight against cholera and other diseases such as typhus and typhoid, the situation remained grave because of the very bad sanitary conditions in the camps, the continuing influx of refugees and the onset of the monsoon rains.

FIRST CLASS JOB

The Indian doctors and nurses working against the refugees were doing a first class job, but were strained to the limits, he said. There is a continuing need for medicaments and medical equipment, for example, tubes for oral giving

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of rehydration fluid, and special needles for injections of fluid into child cholera victims.

Dr. Troell pointed out that while the Indian health authorities were very experienced in fighting cholera, there was a definite need for continuing shipments of medicaments, as production capacities in the country could no longer keep up with the demand.

He also said there was a need to create more hospital facilities in the refugee camps.

On the basis of Dr. Troell's report, the League is studying how best the Red Cross can contribute to improving the health situation.

French Episcopate calls for Political Solution in East Bengal on June 22, 1971

The Permanent Board of French Episcopate which met in Paris on Tuesday, June 22, 1971, published on the same day a statement on refugees of East Bengal.

Following is the full text of the statement which was carried by the Catholic daily "La Croix" on June 24.

"Local problems must not let us forget the situation of our distant brothers. There is a region in the world which is at the moment being particualarly tried East Bengal the province of East Bengal. After a deadly cyclone a civil war caused an exodus of six million refugees to India. A cholera epidemic, the prospect of long months ahead which will have to be faced without a sufficient stock of food places this region in a very critical situation. At the same time every man's right to justice and freedom is flouted. In some areas repression assumes the aspect of a massacre. Numerous Bengali Muslim cadres were executed or forced to flee their country.

The Permanent Board of French Bishops considers it its duty to alert Christians. In the immediate, it is necessary to make an exceptional effort to aid the millions of victims and refugees. However, it will not be possible to content oneself with sending assistance. The amplitude of this tragedy calls for political solutions. This is an appeal to the different nations to involve themselves with determination in this problem. It is a matter of restoring such conditions that will make it possible for the refugees to return. This demands respect for the lives of all the citizens of East Bengal and for their fundamental rights.

It is a hardship for us to think that the arms sold by various nations including France to Pakistan perhaps contributes towards a violent repression.

It is the duty of the French citizens, whatever their political beliefs, to inform themselves to become aware of what is involved, to feel themselves bound to the people afflicted by this tragedy and to collectively seek an acceptable issue."

Resolution of East Pakistan adopted by Tenth Executive Committee Session of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation held in Damascus (Syria) on June 23-24, 1971

The Executive Committee of A.A.P.S.O. in its tenth session held from 23rd and 24th June 1971, in Damascus having considered the situation in East Pakistan and the regrettable problem of refugees:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

—Being aware of the significance of the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples against imperialism and exploitation.

—Deploring the great human clamities that colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism are inflicting to the militant peoples of the Third World.

Calls for the realisation of the following:–

1. That a just and humane solution be found to the problem of refugees so that they can return to their homeland as soon as possible in order to enable the whole people of Pakistan to fight unitedly against colonialism, imperialism.

2. That the Secretary-General of A.A.P.S.O. be requested to follow up the development of the situation.

Demand to end Genocide in East Pakistan by Venezuelan Council for World Peace and Human Rights : Statement, dated June 24, 1971

In a Press Declaration on June 24, 1971, the Secretary-General Dr. Ricardo Molina Marti, on behalf of the Venezuelan Council for World Peace and Human Rights, condemned "Massacres Perpetrated in East Pakistan" and accused "Reactionary Circles and Militarists of West Pakistan" of genocide through "Fascist forces sent across".

The Council reiterated sympathy for victims and demanded end to imperialist genocide.

International Social Welfare Council expresses shock at refugees' plight

In the course of a statement issued on the conclusion of its regional meeting held recently in Singapore, the International Council of Social Welfare has expressed its "deep shock and anguish" at the plight of the refugees who have crossed over to India from East Bengal. The statement had described them as "victims of widespread bloodshed in the area".

The Council has referred to "this unfortunate episode in Pakistan" and has said that it was very difficult for any one to remain "unstirred by this tragedy and loss of human life". It has appealed to its various committees for help in terms of clothing, medicine and food for the refugees.

The countries which attended the regional meeting of the Council at Singapore were Taiwan, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, the Phillipines, Malysia, Australia, Korea and India.

(GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS Note—dated July 7, 1971)

Statement on Pakistan by Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, Approved by Executive Committee Meeting on July 9-12, 1971

The plight of the Pakistani people has been a major concern of the Executive Committee of the Commision of the Churches of International Affairs during its twenty-sixth session held in Geneva, 9-12 July, 1971, and ours is a reflection of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the deep concern of the member churches of the World Council of Churches, especially those of India and Pakistan. The appalling loss of lives, the full extent of which may never be known; the continued suffering of refugees and others whose lives have been disrupted are but one tragic manifestation of the violence inherent in the poverty which the Pakistani people share with their neighbours of the subcontinent.

It is an obligation laid upon Christians to stand alongside the poor and oppressed. Therefore our concerns lie with those whose brothers and sisters have died, with those who have been driven from their homes, with those whose undeterminable future will be spent in make shift refugee camps in a foreign land, and with those who have remained to face increased poverty and a struggle for minimal existence.

We would appeal for responsible actions by the Pakistani authorities, by the nations who have the power and resources to act and by the churches to minimize and eventually bring an end to the part of the suffering which is still reparable. It is urgent that continuing repression in East Pakistan cease as a precondition for repairing the damage wrought and for allowing refugees to return to their homes. This must be done by those now in power in Pakistan, and we urge them to do so.

This will necessarily be a long process and it behoves those who can to provide much greater assistance than they have up to now, through the United Nations and other responsible agencies, to relieve the suffering of the refugees in India. The churches have been called upon to bear their part of this load, and we urge them to respond generously.

Emergency relief does not stop with the hoped—for return of refugees to the homes in a land of peace. It must continue when it is possible to contribute to the eradication of misery and its causes. It is clear that aid must be given on a longterm basis in the form of grants. This is a responsibility of those who have funds to give. They ought not take advantage of this tragedy as an occasion to exercise political or economic pressure in order that their own ends might be achieved.

Recognizing the responsibility of the government of Pakistan for its internal affairs, we believe that there are important international implications in the present crisis and we strongly insist that the people should be free to determine the destiny of their nation. We believe that the Government of Pakistan should demonstrate its often-stated willingness to return this right to its people. At the same time, the elected leaders of the people must take seriously their responsibility to the whole nation, especially to those citizens in both East and West seeking to provide for all their most basic right to a decent human standard of living.

Accordingly, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs:

Calls upon Christian churches everywhere to give their moral support to the right of the Pakistan refugees to return to their homeland with guarantees against recrimination or imprisonment for political dissent;

Appeals to the Churches to respond generously to the appeal already made by the Commission of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service for aid to alleviate the suffering of the refugees in India and those left without food or shelter in Pakistan.

Urges its national constituents to influence their own governments to press the Government of Pakistan to negotiate a just political settlement with the leaders of East Pakistan including gurantees against future victimization ; and to press their governments to contribute generously to the reconstruction of the devastated

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

areas and the development of new economic opportunities in East Pakistan when that political settlement has been reached.

Human tragedy of East Pakistan must concern humanity: Appeal by 29 intellectuals and artists of Venezuela, published on July 14, 1971

The following is the text of an appeal by 29 intellectuals and artists which appeared in the daily *La Religion* on July 14, 1971:

Time marches on and the hardships of millions of refugees from East Pakistan recur, multiply and aggravate. Thousands of doctors and nurses are fighting a daily battle, without repose, in trying to check epidemics, stop the death of thousands and thousands of old men, women and children. Problems of all types —housing, food, transport etc.—become every hour more overwhelming and to resolve them neither are sufficient the efforts of a few governments and international organisations nor the traditional human solidarity of the land of Gandhi, the Jesus-like man of non-violence, applauded and blessed by all, whose memory makes in these painful circumstances, his mission and message more vivid than ever before.

In Venezuela our Cardinal Jose Humberto Quintero has already raised his vibrant voice as have done in the sister Argentine Republic, the intellectuals and artists headed by Victoria Ocampo, Jorge Lyis Borges, Eduardo Mallea, Ernesto Sabato, Fryda Schuktz de Montovani Hector Basaldua, Adolfo de Obieta, etc. to underline that human tragedy must have no frontiers and that suffering, death and insecurity in any part of the world must concern humanity.

But it is really inconceivable that the universal conscience has not yet reacted, with unanimity and with the most honourable and benevolent intention towards the heart-rending events of East Bengal and that it has not yet given to India, at such a critical juncture, a massive, ample, human, manly support that the magnitude of the problem requires with the most anguishing urgency. It is necessary to remember always that here we do not deal with a specific problem of India, but a humanitarian problem of international character and that this problem has nothing to do with spiritualist and materialist fields but with human beings, just as one does not deal in romantic declarations or contriving superfluous formulae but in forming a strong and straightforward international conscience face to face with the unflinching duty of struggling concretely for the refugees from East Pakistan, guided by the sentiment of democratic unity and common responsibility.

We remain confident that the Government of the Republic, in consideration of the firm expressions of opinion and sensibilities of the Venezuelan individual and true to the Bolivarian international policy of solidarity, justice and peace, will not limit itself only to giving material aid but would obtain from the United Nations through its delegation, not only a manifestation of the existence of human values but a resolute and cooperate unity for an immediate and steady economic and protective action, really vast, persistent and progressive. The United Nation which cannot absolve itself from its high duties and dignity must lead this crusade of the XX century in India, a crusade not of war, not with egoist or dark zeal but one of generosity to urge the peoples of the world to rescue from sickness and death millions of needy refugees who see their historic destiny frustrated.

A profound consciousness of international responsibility demands real and total aid to India, to this India, leader of humanitarianism in the plenitude of her piritual strength, which has raised her sacred voice and her most noble ideas

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of justice in the midst of most extraordinary difficulties and has put her entire heart and stretched her hands with the greatest affection and respect towards the millions of East Pakistanis, famished without clothes, without roofs and without bread, prematurely grown old, who weep without consolation.

Philippines Catholics appeal for restoration of peace in East Bengal: Statement released on July 16, 1971

The following statement was released to the Press in Manila on July 16, 1971, by the Catholic Bishops Conference of Philippines which represents thirty-one million Catholics :

* * * *

"We, the Catholic bishops of the Philippines representing nearly 31 million Catholics, have heard the two fervent appeals made by the Holy Father urging aid to the six million East Bengali refugees driven out of their homes by violence and internecine conflict, who are presently being sheltered in India. We have also taken note of the appeal made by Archbishop L. T. Picachy, the Archbishop of Calcutta on behalf of the Asian brothers and sisters. We, the bishops, have also taken note of the appeal to the international community made by the Prime Minister of India Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the fervent public satatment and appeal made by His Excellency Mr. Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Republic of the Philippines, as well as, the statements made by His Excellency U-Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, by His Excellency Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees and by His Excellency Mr. Willy Brandt the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

"Deeply moved by the terrible sufferings of the six million East Bengali refugees many of them wounded, starving without shelter during these torrential monsoons and now ravaged by a raging cholera. We also note with deepest sorrow the tragid death of thousands in East Bengal, the victims including several priests. While expressing commiseration we pray to the Almighty God asking for eternal peace for these unfortunate victims.

"It is clear that humanitarian aid to the refugees, although most welcome, is not a complete solution. It is also clear that a peaceful settlement between the opposing parties is essential and indispensable for the restoration of peaceful conditions for security without fear of molestation, persecution and death.

"This desideratum has been aptly and clearly expressed in the words of the Holy Father as follows :

'We appeal for love and peace particularly to those who hold public power so that the refugees can return to their homes and live in peace in an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation without hostility and suspicion. In the name of humanity, in the name of democracy, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, we reiterate the appeal and prayer His Holiness Pope Paul VI and urge upon the leaders of nations who have within their competence the power to, avert disaster to restore peace and order in East Pakistan'.

"As a token of our fraternal concern and sympathy we are asking our people of the Philippines to make voluntary contributions to help alleviate the miseries of their brothers in East Pakistan. In fine we the Catholic bishops of the Philippines also call on all their brethern and on all men of goodwill in the international community to use all their influence and persuasion for the restoration of peace."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IV. INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Copy of Press Release of International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, dated April 14, 1971, regarding ICJ's opposition to special tribunals in Pakistan

The international Commission of Jurists yesterday sent a telegram to President Yahya Khan of Pakistan in the following terms :

"Further my telegram 2 April International Commission of Jurists deplores reported intention establish special Military Tribunals to try Awami League Leaders. Respectfully urge proceedings before normal civilian courts will alone satisfy International opinion that rule of law is observed".

MACDERMOT,
Secretary-General.

The International Commission of Jurists has always disapproved of the establishment of special tribunals to try political opponents for alleged political offences. There is nothing easier than to give a semblance of legality to the assassination of political opponents by having them condemned by special tribunals which lack the independence the respect for legal principles of a properly constituted court of legally trained judges. If Sheik Mujibur Rahman or other Awami League Leaders have committed any offence under the law of Pakistan, there is no reason why they should not be brought before the internationally respected civilian courts of the country.

The above telegram is a follow-up to a telegram sent to the President on April 2, reading as follows :—

"International Commission of Jurists deeply anxious about tragic events East Pakistan. Request all possible steps to reduce death toll and urge moderation and respect for Law in treatment of political prisoners".

MACDERMOT,
Secretary-General.

The International Commission of Jurists, whose headquarters is in Geneva, is a non-governmental organisation having consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe. It is on the International Labour Organisation's Special List of N.G.Os. Essentially, its task is to defend the Rule of Law throughout the world and to work towards the full observance of the provisions in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a strictly non-political organisation and has carried out its work, for more than fifteen years, in complete independence and impartiality. It is supported by jurists from all continents and has built up an authority which has gained recognition and respect in legal and international cricles.

Statement by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, about refugees from East Pakistan, at a Press Conference in Geneva, on May 5, 1971

Now, I am sure you must all be extremely interested in the recent developments in that part of the world, and I can tell you that following the influx of uprooted people from East Pakistan into India, which has been widely reported in the press and which I believe, was mentioned inter alia by the Secretary-General when he met you a few days ago during his visitt to Geneva, we received a request from the Government of India transmitted through the Ministry of Rehabilitation, asking my Office to promote and organize assistance to help

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

these people who have been displaced and who find themselves now in India. In the light of this I immediately decided to send a mission after assessing the request very carefully and discussing it with other UN colleagues, particularly the Secretary-General himself. This mission is leaving tonight for New Delhi headed by the Deputy High Commissioner, Mr. Charles Mace, and composed of Mr. Jamieson my Director of Operations who has been to India before quite frequently to deal with the Tibetan refugees, and of my Legal Consultant, Dr. Weis. They will be discussing the problem in Delhi with the Indian authorities to see in what way the Office might be instrumental in seeking some kind of permanent solution in due course to the problem of the uprooted who find themselves in India. I want to stress here, that as in all previous requests and as in all previous action this Office will be stressing very much once more the humanitarian non political role of UNHCR This may be a political problem, but the role of my Office here, and I believe I can say this also of the other United Nations humanitarian agencies like Food and Agricultural Organisation, the World Food Programme UNICEF, the World Health Organisation, all these agencies will be dealing with the problem in a humanitarian and non-political spirit. There is a need for coordination here obviously, we know how any kind of relief operation depends largely on coordination. We have seen how in countries like Nigeria or even recently in East Pakistan with the natural disaster of the cyclone, lack of coordination can be extremely counter-productive and what I hope very much to achieve by sending this team to New Delhi, is better coordination of the United Nations system, to try to see what the others are doing and what we can do and assess the problem in a very precise way. We also will be, of course, extremely interested in trying to do what we have always done in any problems of uprooted peoples, i.e. to promote voluntary repatriation. My Office tries to look towards permanent solutions. We cannot afford to just set up huge feeding programmes and temporary housing which tend to become permanent. We have seen what this has produced in other parts of the world. We have to find out quickly what the ultimate solutions will be, and no one has to be a prophet to see that the best solution would be to help these people to return to their homes if and when the situation allows this to take place. It seems to me that the various sources of good-will should try to initiate measures which provide people with an incentive to return to their homes rather than to suffer all the terrible tragedy of being permanently uprooted living in temporary housing, make-shift arrangements, camps or what have you, for too long. There is a demographic problem on both sides of that border and if people can return home then that should certainly be encouraged. My Office can play a role here as we have in so many other situations, like in the case of the return of the Nigerians particularly the Nigerian children after the end of the conflict in Nigeria. The role of the Office would be here most valuable in trying to initiate a dialogue, to be an intermediary of good-will. We should try to encourage conditions in East Pakistan to return to normal, possibly initiate some sort of arrangement where people who want to come home can do so and be received in such a way that they are given the necessary relief that they require, even in their own homeland. These are all measures which obviously can only be assessed on the spot. Now I am in very close contact with both Governments concerned here and certainly with all my other UN colleagues, executive heads of the various agencies, and I will certainly keep you informed of the results of this mission. These are the main points which I wanted to raise with you today and once more I would like to thank you for your understanding and your constant support in a job which could not be done if you did not assist us in getting public opinion to understand the problem and help us to solve it. I would like now to open the floor to discussions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Voice of America: Have you an idea of how many refugees there are? What sort of coordinating role will you be playing?

High Commissioner: Well, first of all in answer to the first point, I think in any refugee problem, whether it happens to be in this situation or in any other situation like those we faced in Africa, it is extremely hard to have a very precise estimate of the figures involved. I know that the Indian authorities are now in the process of distributing identity cards to people; that presumably is going to give them a chance to have more of a precise census. One also has to be extremely careful I think, to distinguish what particular groups we speak of when we say refugees. You know that there has always been a huge problem of displaced persons in both India and Pakistan, going back to the days of partition of India when Britain granted Independence to the sub-continent. The refugees are something that both countries have learned to live with now for more than 2 decades and therefore when we speak of refugees we must find out whether we mean people who came a long time ago, people who came during all the disturbances during the recent elections, people who came since the developments in March. It is very difficult to establish a head count because most people are living in the same areas and anybody who had been to India and particularly to the area of Calcutta, will know that many people there are still refugees in the sense that they have not been permanently resettled. The question is, when did they come? So I think in terms of the figure, I have heard many different estimates: the one you referred to, the one mentioned on the BBC, I think yesterday, which was 600,000. It is very hard to assess and especially from Geneva. This is why I am sending a mission to India. Now, on the second point, I know through this co-ordination which has been established, that the Indian Government has appealed to individual U.N. agencies. The Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Food Programme, have been approached. I know that, UNICEF has an office in Delhi, and they have also been in contact and some supplies are already in the process of being sent, some have already been sent, some food stocks which were available locally are being made available on an emergency basis. I know that there has been some bilateral assistance both offered and provided from Governments including the United States. I know that some private agencies which have considerable resources have made themselves available but in all this I think the Indian authorities are very anxious to establish their own effective co-ordination and to have all these various offers very carefully discussed and co-ordinated with them, which is perfectly natural. I think Pakistan would feel the same way for relief in East Pakistan. I think this a tendency which is developing. You all recall the difficult situation in the Nigerian crisis, where the problem of the many agencies, too many operational volunteer groups, too many people running around the country created problems, sometimes problems for the efficiency and the distribution of relief, and political problems. So I think we must be aware of this and if funds or supplies are provided I am quite sure that it will have to be co-ordinated very carefully with the governments of the countries where help is required.

Voice of America: What would be the budget implications for your Office?

H.C.: We have an emergency fund of $ 500,000 in my Office, it is small in relation to that kind of problem and obviously it would not go a very long way, but this is the only amount we have which is available for emergency situations. In Delhi my team will be able to assess what proportion we can provide and what the United Nations contribution as a whole will be. You know that U-Thant has been approached directly by the Indian Government, before UNHCR was. It was an appeal addressed by the Ambassador of India in New York, so it is clear that the UN Family, will have a role to play in this.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Finnish Radio: Sir, I have been doing some additions and I want you to confirm whether two and two really make four. I am referring to your recent trip to India and Pakistan.

High Commission: I think it is very early to say, quite frankly. My team is leaving tonight, they will have substantial talks in New Delhi and it will be there presumably that we shall be able to assess what everybody's role will be. As far as the United Nations is concerned we are keeping each other informed. Most people realize that this is a problem of displaced persons so they get in touch with us to tell us what they are doing or ask us for our advice as to what they should be doing.

Finnish Radio: Asks whether UNHCR will be co-ordinator.

High Commission: I think it is premature to define our "good offices" as the role of co-ordinator. First of all what do we mean by co-ordinator exactly. I think we have to find out what the Indian Government really wants. This has not yet been very clearly established and I think that can only be done in New Delhi.

Austrian Radio : Asks how the distinction can be made between refugees and others.

High Commission: I am very glad that you asked that question George, because it is very fundamental. It may be difficult to assess precisely what made these people leave. There may be people who are fleeing because they are afraid of famine. Right now, the situation in that part of the world becomes very difficult with the monsoon. Many people are afraid for their lives, always for political reasons. Now obviously for this reason the Office cannot and will not proceed on the basis of individual eligiblity to decide whether a man is a refugee under the UNHCR mandate or not. With these numbers of people, with the distances involved, it would be absolutely futile to try to determine whether or not people left because of well founded fear of persecution and therefore come under the mandate. This is a purely humanitarian "good offices" action. The League of Red Cross Societies has also sent a fact finding mission. As you know they announced it in a Press release. We are going to go to see what the United Nations can do just as the League has gone to see what the League can do. It is not going to be on the basis of deciding exactly what categories these people belong to, it is a basically humanitarian approach.

O, Clobo, Rio de Janeiro : Asks whether the High Commissioner has been in touch with the Pakistan authorities.

High Commission: Once again it would seem to me that one of the most satisfactory solutions from every point of view would be for people to go home, if they want to go home and if they can go home. That obviously means that we have to be in touch with the Pakistan authorities. My Office has always been very anxious to maintain the best relations with all governments, governments of the countries from where the refugees come and the governments of the countries where the refugees go. This is essential if you want to play a role, a really humanitarian role, to try to facilitate repatriation if it is possible. Now I am very much in touch with the Pakistan Government and am always available to send either a personal representative there or to go myself. This will be vital if we can effectively assist in promoting conditions for people to go home.

O, Clobo, Rio de Janeiro : Asks a question about the role of the Red Cross.

High Commission: The International Committee tried at one point as you know, to send a plane at the beginning of the outbreak of unrest to East Pakistan and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the plane came back. Now the League of course, will be active if the Indian Red Cross requests the League for an important programme, but so far I think their mission to New Delhi is largely a fact finding mission. They want to find out what the Indian Red Cross expects from them. This is a very large problem, and I think it is a very difficult for the Red Cross alone to deal with it. Since Indian Government has appealed to the Secretary-General and to other agencies including mine, we at least have to see precisely what they expect from us and what we can provide. I think our partnership with the League of Red Cross Societies will continue in this situation as in many other parts of the world.

Agence France Presse : If my informations are correct, I believe you have waited for a week to send this mission ?

High Commissioner: The Secretary-General has communicated a week ago to us, to AAC in Berne, the request of the Ambassador Sen who represents India in New York and who had sent a letter to U Thant after meeting him and had with him preliminary talks, requesting him to promote and encourage and aid on behalf of the family of the United Nations. In that letter it was also mentioned about us. That letter was sent to the Secretary-General. Firstly, this had taken place a week ago. Secondly we have an office in Delhi with a representative who is in touch with the Indian Government and who had talks with the Ministry of Rehabilitation which looks after the co-ordination of aid to the uprooted people who are in India and those contacts have always been preparatory contacts, requests of clarification about what we were able to do. That had never been really a formal request. That formal request had come only to us two days ago and that request should have been examined, I should have spoken about it with the Secretary-General to see to what extent he was going to proceed with his own effort. I would like to know what other specialised institutions are doing and to what extent we are able to co-ordinate our efforts. Regarding their immediate assistance the Indian Government has assumed full responsibility in the immediate future. The various means which were available in India and probably a bilateral aid, had afforded to give an immediate aid to those who came. I believe that they will continue to do that. I believe that this is an operation which will remain an operation of the Government of India. It is quite normal the Government would like certainly to remain in the control of all operations. We are there to assist to the extent where we are able to make respond to its request but till now all the operations were conducted and co-ordinated by the Indian authorities.

Figaro : Have you any contacts with Pakistan ?

High Commissioner: My contacts with the Pakistan Government have always been constant. I had never taken initiative, especially revolutionary, since I was there myself some few weeks ago. We have spoken about this problem all the time. I continue to have contacts and I am convinced that the only solution is to arrive in facilitating the repatriation of the people. There was even an article in the Herald Tribune noting a statement of Madam Gandhi. I do not know whether you have read it. The Prime Minister of India hopes that is a temporary problem. She hopes also that the people will return home.

Finnish Radio : Remarks that UNHCR appears to have taken the lead.

High Commissioner: Because, it is a situation of displaced persons. You see everybody has been talking about a refugee problem so people think of this Office. It is perfectly normal. But we have to find out first of all what the Indian Government wants, and I certainly do not want to speak of our Office as a co-ordinating point until we know exactly what the situation is and what the Indian Government wants. As far as the United Nations is concerned, certainly people have been keeping us informed and we have been an ad hoc way as a kind of focal point.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A Correspondent: Asks whether other members of the United Nations Family will take part in the discussions in New Delhi.

High Commissioner : As far as I know, most of them are represented in New Delhi. UNDP has a resident representative there, Mr. Mc. Diarmid, who represents the specialized agencies. Some specialized agencies have people there. I know, that WFP, UNICEF have people there. I do not know whether they intend to send separate teams or whether they want to handle it with their local staff taking advantage of the visit of my team, to join in on talks with the Indian authorities. This is a matter for them to decide, but I think that it is probably the case.

Figaro : Have you not got a financial problem ?

High Commissioner : I have really the impression that this problem continues also to be important, that there is no stability at all, that the people are not going home then at that time probably there would be sort of appeal sooner or later but I believe that is too early to speak about it. It is a matter to know also what will be the bilateral help. One should not labour under a delusion. I have the impression that the majority among you know very well that the resources of the United Nations are limited. It is clear on the financial side. The resources are very limited and from the two things one or other that the Indian Government should get an aid much more important from other sources which appears to be the case under the bilateral plane—specially or otherwise United Nations should arrange to obtain extraordinary contributions let it to be FAO, UNICEF, HCR but the thing should be co-ordinated and only the Government of India could do it. We should also consider the needs, observe to what extent they can cover them and to cover the expenses which cannot be covered by themselves make appeal to the international community. But to make an appeal to the international community that means to say many things that means to pay several contacts with the Embassies, chanceries which are in Delhi. That means to say missions of Ambassadors of India with governments at Washington or elsewhere to seek some sort of aid and that may be also the United Nations, Red Cross League all benevolent agencies what we call them fundamentally as all international community. It is a problem which concerns certainly every body. It is for the Indians to decide to what extent aid should come from such and such source. But obviously you are perfectly right to say that we are going to face financial problem. At present as far as United Nations are concerned, the resources are limited. If we are in need of more important resources, we should depend at that time on the exrtraordinary contributions.

Agence France Presse : You have got political problems in general with the countries of which they are natives.

High Commissioner : That depends. Yes, at times. That depends mainly on the policy context. There are governments which treat problem mainly on the humanitarian grounds. There are other governments which look at the problem at a political angle. Our part is finally to remove the problem as far as we can from the sphere of politics. I believe that there are enough political problems which we do not give further a political aspect to refugees, giving political aspect of a problem to refugees. Even in the interest of the human beings who are the victims of events, and who are not initiated really to the complexity of the political situation. It is rather useful to remove from the political aspect the issue and I believe that is our philosophy everywhere. You are asking me whether the governments are opposed nor not. That depends on the governments. We have at present, for instance, in Africa problems of refugees. In the whole of the African continent.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Governments of the native countries wherefrom refugees come, appreciate the action of the organisation because they know thoroughly that our action tends to resolve the political tension, to improve the situation at the borders, to promote an agreeable and free repatriation, to give to those who cannot or who do not go out of the work, land to settle and finally our action removes from the sphere of politics and specifies. That is what we are trying to do, i.e., to remove the assistance to refugees from the sphere of politics.

Agence France Presse : In the topic which we are preoccupied with, have your contacts with the Pakistan authorities given the idea that you will not have political problems ?

High Commissioner : It is clear that India and Pakistan have both of them political problems at present and naturally those who have directly or indirectly mixed up with the problem on the humanitarian ground should be conscious of the political realities of the problem, but till now I had extremely useful and productive contacts with Pakistan. There is no reason this changes.

Journalist not Identified : Whether the refugees from Biafra have returned home ?

High Commissioner : The people who have been uprooted during conflict have gone to the neighbouring countries, five thousand children who have been repatriated are resettled in their families, they were taken home and they have been repatriated. I believe that we can affirm that the situation has become quite stabilized. Obviously, as in several African countries now it is preoccupied with its development but the political aspect of the civil war is quite resolved.

Statement by Ambassador S. Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations in the Social Committee of the Economic and Social Council on Agenda item 5 (a) Report of the Commission on Human Rights on May 12, 1971

Mr. Chairman,

My delegation considers it appropriate to participate in the discussion on this important subject. The current report of the Commission indicates in a most explicit manner that the problem of adequate protection of all human rights is still a serious one. Indeed, the report reflects the concern expressed in paragraph 8 of the Commemorative Declaration adopted at the 25th Session of the General Assembly. The relevant sentence reads : "Although some progress has been achieved, serious violations of human rights are still being committed against individuals and groups in several regions of the world. We pledge ourselves to a continued and determined struggle against all violations of the rights and fundamental freedoms of human beings, by eliminating the basic causes of such violations, by promoting universal respect for the dignity of all people without regard to race, colour, sex, language or religion, and in particular through greater use of the facilities provided by the United Nations in accordance with the Charter".

The Charter itself, in Articles 1 (3), 55 (c) and 56, speaks of international co-operation for ensuring greater exercise of human rights. In 1968, which was declared as the International Year for Human Rights, the United Nations, published a booklet entitled "Human Rights—A Compilation of International Instruments of the United Nations". In the last page of this booklet is given a list of 34 instruments dealing with Human Rights. Apart from this list, during the last three years various other documents, declarations and resolutions have also been adopted. For instance, I should mention the Declaration of Social Progress

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and Development adopted in 1969, the Declaration of the 25th session to which I have already referred, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations—all these were adopted about only six months ago. Furthermore, the Proclamation of Teheran on Human Rights is also relevant. So also is the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the protection of civilian persons in times of war. In addition, the General Assembly adopted last year four resolutions 2674, 2675, 2676 and 2677, all of them dealing with the question of human rights in armed conflicts. India has been a member of the Human Rights Commission all throughout the Commission's existence and has expressed concern to the Commission and to the other appropriate forums of the United Nations about all large-scale and organised violations of human rights. All the instruments I have cited make provisions for discussing the violations of human rights wherever they may occur. The Proclamation of Teheran, adopted unanimously in May 1968, in paragraph 5 says :

> "The primary aim of the United Nations in the sphere of human rights is the achievement by each individual of the maximum freedom and dignity. For the realisation of this objective, the laws of every country should grant each individual, irrespective of race, language, religion or political belief, freedom of expression, of information, of conscience and of religion, as well as the right to participate in the political, economic, cultural and social life of his country."

Unless, therefore, the international community is prepared to examine violations of such obligations undertaken by States and take whatever remedial measures may be necessary, all that we have said for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms becomes a mockery. This view has repeatedly been expressed in different forums of the United Nations on many occasions and I am particularly glad to see that Pakistan, through its distinguished representative Ambassador Agha Shahi, while speaking on violations of human rights in colonial Africa and Palestine, stated on this very item of the agenda at the meeting of the Social Committee held on May 20, 1970 :

> "There would be and have been other situations in which massive violations of human rights take place which call for examination, investigation and report, if the obligatory provisions of the Charter of the United Nations in regard to human rights and fundamental freedoms are not to become a subject of mockery and purely of academic debate."

It is in this context and with the greatest anguish the Government of India wish to bring to your attention a current example of violation of human rights on an unprecedented scale in our age of many millions of people. In bringing this to your notice, the foremost consideration which my country has in mind is the need for urgent humanitarian relief measures for these millions of people—many of whom have been coming into India in ever-growing numbers as refugees. The problem has assumed such proportions and the sufferings of these people have been so enormous that it cannot but be a matter of international concern.

In order to understand this tragic human problem it is necessary to explain its causes. This will make it possible for the world community to appreciate the consequences that have followed and to consider urgent measures in order to reduce, if not remove, the suffering of millions of people.

I

The Government of Pakistan have accepted or supported most of the Declarations, Resolutions and Conventions on Human Rights and it must be a matter

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of deep concern to the international community that in recent weeks these international obligations have been breached as a result of massive military actions taken in East Bengal. I do not consider it necessary, at this stage at any rate, to analyse in depth and detail, the unfortunate events that have taken place in that region. The facts are well-known, and basically it is the accumulated frustration of the East Bengalis and the inequalities which they have suffered over the years that have brought about a most tragic situation. These frustrations and injustices, which by themselves could constitute major violations of the many documents I have cited, have led to the present chain of gruesome events in East Bengal. Until late in March this year our hope was that these man-made difficulties would be removed by taking into account the freely expressed wishes of the East Bengalis. But this was not to be the entire democratic process was reversed and a military campaign was launched to wipe out the political consciousness and activities in East Bengal. In a broadcast statement on March 26 the President of Pakistan said, among other things:

> "I have decided to ban all political activities throughout the country. As for the Awami League it is completely banned as a political party. I have also decided to impose a complete press censorship. Martial law regulations will very shortly be issued in pursuance of these decisions."

In this context I should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the main provisions of the Declaration of Human Rights, a document fully accepted by Pakistan. Article 3 of this Declaration reads: "Everyone has a right to life, liberty and security of person". The repressive measures adopted in East Bengal have denied this right. Article 5 reads: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". The reports which have appeared in the international press prove conclusively that this right has been flouted. Provisions of articles 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 have similarly been brushed aside. I could, Mr. Chairman, select any document relating to Human Rights to which Pakistan has given its support in different degrees and show without a shadow of doubt that almost all its principal provisions have been broken.

The wild destruction of life and property of the people of East Bengal who belong to different ethnic, linguistic and cultural background, by the West Pakistani army has been in contravention of Article 2 of the Convention approved and proposed for signature and ratification by the General Assembly on 9th December 1948 [Resolution 260-A–(III)]. Pakistan is a party to this Convention without reservations. Similarly the declaration of Martial Law, with its most stringent regulations which would inflict death penalty almost on any East Bengali who does not strictly adhere to their draconian severity, has extinguished freedom of opinion, freedom of association and other freedoms which have been considered fundamental by the United Nations.

Article 3 of the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 deals with protection of civilian life in conflicts not of international character. It specifically prohibits violence to life of any person in particular, murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture. It also forbids outrage of personal dignity in particular inhuman and degrading treatment. It further bans "the passing of sentences and the carrying out executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognised as indispensible by civilized peoples". All these provisions of the Convention have been callously violated. It is strange that the Government of Pakistan have not even paid the slightest heed to the appeal made in this regard by the International Commission of Jurists. I should like to read to the Committee texts of their telegrams. The telegram of April 2, 1971 states:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The International Commission of Jurists deeply anxious about the tragic events in East Pakistan. Request all possible steps to reduce death toll and urge moderation and the respect for law in the treatment of political prisoners".

The telegram of April 15 states:

"Further to (our) telegram of the 2nd April, the International Commission of Jurists deplores the reported intention to establish special military tribunals to try the Awami League leaders. Respectfully urge that proceedings before the normal civilian courts will alone satisfy international opinion that the rule of law is observed.

The International Commission of Jurists has always disapproved of the establishment of special tribunals to try political opponents for alleged political offences. There is nothing easier than to give a semblance of legality to the assassination of poltical opponents by having them condemned by special tribunals which lack the independence and respect for legal principles of a properly constituted court of legally trained judges. If Sheikh Mujibir Rahman or other Awami League leaders have committed any offence under the law of Pakistan, there is no reason why they should not be brought before the internationally respected civilian courts of the country".

In these circumstances we consider that international opinion, which has already been incensed and shocked, should be expressed in no uncertain manner through this Committee, as the Economic and Social Council is the properly constituted organ of the United Nations concerned with human rights and fundamental freedoms. The large-scale massacre, senseless killings of unarmed civilians, including women and children, brutalities and atrocities committed on a massive scale, widespread burning and destruction of property and the multitude of indignities inflicted on the people of East Bengal constitute a problem of such magnitude that international conscience must be roused and international effort must be made to restore some semblance of civilised existence in this part of the world.

II

But there are other consequences of this massive suppression of Human Rights which also should be brought to the attention of the Committee. As a result of the military action taken in East Bengal, the number of refugees into India has already exceeded 1.8 million people. The precise figure as reported to Delhi on May 3 by the Indian authorities near the frontier was 1,481,101. This figure has since increased considerably. By May 3, 141,588 refugees have entered Assam and Meghalaya (an Eastern State in India); 102,205 of these are in camps while 39,383 are outside camps. 1,200,962 refugees have entered West Bengal; 532,675 of these are in camps, while 668,287 are outside camps. 136,532 refugees have entered Tripura; 101,532 of these are in camps while 35,000 are outside camps. 2,019 refugees have entered Bihar. Thus the total number of refugees in camps is 738,431 and outside camps 742,670 on May 3. We have set up 156 camps and have approached the Secretary-General and other U.N. agencies such as the UNHCR, UNICEF, World Food Programme, World Health Organisation. Apart from these, the Catholic Relief Organisation, CARITAS, is initiating action.

I am glad to say that other efforts, both national and international, are being made to help the refugees. Many of these refugees are women and children who have been forced to leave their homes and villages under severest pressure and in most difficult conditions. This large influx which continues to grow daily is as I have already pointed out, the result of Pakistan's atrocities in East Bengal; such a large number would not leave their homes and come to India unless they have no other option but to undertake a perilous journey with little food and hardly any personal belongings. Until the return of normalcy to East Bengal, we have, purely on humanitarian grounds, given shelter to these hungry, helpless and oppressed refugees—a very few of them have even adequate clothes and many of them are

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

suffering from disease and starvation. It is the duty of the Pakistan Government to stop their repression and create normal conditions under which the safe return of the refugees could be ensured. Until then Pakistan should be held responsible for their safe return to East Bengal. Meanwhile, we shall do our best to look after them while they are fleeing from an oppressive regime and are in need of food, shelter and medical attention. But the amount of relief needed is of such a magnitude that no Government in the world can be expected to bear the strain alone. A most sustained international effort becomes, therefore, necessary to look after these unfortunate people. We are most anxious that these refugees should return home as soon as possible. In order to look after them, while they are still with us, we will gladly accept such aid as may be offered by other Governments and national as well as international organisations. This again is a matter of direct concern of the Economic and Social Council and we hope that the Council will appreciate this problem and endorse this appeal.

III

Yet another consequence of the action taken by the Pakistan Government in East Bengal relates to the disruption of economic life there. With the expulsion of all the foreign press correspondents since the end of March—now I believe 5 or 6 selected pressmen have been allowed to go to East Bengal for escorted tours—details of the economic conditions will not be known to the outside world for many months to come. The outbreak of violence has caused complete disruption of transport and distribution systems and other essential services. Since East Bengal depends on the import of a substantial quantity of foodgrains to sustain its large population even at a purely subsistence level, the disruption in economic life evident during the present crisis has only compounded the havoc already caused a few months back by a disastrous cyclone. Since the military action also coincided with the planting season, the coming harvest would be adversely affected. Under these conditions famine is a possibility and this would usually be accompanied by a further increase of epidemics and diseases. Famine conditions in East Bengal would lead to several more millions of refugees fleeing to India. Famine and epidemic in East Bengal can have their repercussions in India as these do not respect any international boundaries. A situation where millions of refugees continue to pour into India with all the attendant problems and sufferings can only lead to tension and instability in the region. It should, therefore, be a matter of urgent international concern to put an end to the further influx of refugees from East Bengal into India. This can be achieved only if the Council can ensure that Pakistan accepts international relief organisations to help the needy East Bengalis urgently and in a most effective manner. Organised international relief operations alone would be able to remove the consequences of the large scale disruptions of economic life caused by the current crisis.

It is extraordinary that in these circumstances the Government of Pakistan has not only disallowed the International Red Cross team which went to Karachi from proceeding to East Bengal but has not to the best of our knowledge responded to many offers of help. As early as April 1, U. Thant said that he was "very much concerned about the loss of life and human suffering resulting from the recent developments in East Pakistan", and added that "if the Government of Pakistan asked the Secretary-General to assist in humanitarian efforts, he would be happy to do everything in his power to help". The response to this gesture by the Secretary-General has just been released—briefly it says 'NOT YET'. In this context we agree with comments made in the New York Times editorial this morning. It says *inter alia* "Contrary to bland assurances which continue to emanate from West Pakistan spokesmen, the situation is unquestionably desperate, and will require large scale international relief effort if a tragedy of major propor-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tions is to be averted. We also believe that many other Governments and international organisations have offered to help but without any reaction from Pakistan Government which continues to say that there is enough food in the country". Only a few months ago, a most violent cyclone devastated some parts of East Bengal. At that time, in many Committees and other forums of the United Nations, resolutions were passed for working out a machinery for emergency relief in natural disasters. Then, Pakistan appealed widely for help: many countries, including my own, generously responded to this appeal. Yet it is ironical that when tragedies have accumulated, Pakistan claims that it has enough food.

In the face of this, the first essential step would be for the Economic and Social Council to ask Pakistan to immediately indicate its consent so that concrete plans for organised and well co-ordinated action programme for relief work can be finalised under U.N. auspices. Since the Secretary-General, U. Thant, has already offered to extend all possible humanitarian help, he should have a vital responsibility in the organisation of such an international humanitarian relief effort.

We hope and trust that there would be no temptation to deny the basic necessities of life and services to the East Bengalis in order to crush their desire to achieve their legitimate aspirations. They have suffered enough and in their hour of trial, they will doubtless remember who cared, and deeply cared, and who simply stood and stared.

Statement by Ambassador S. Sen, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, at the Social Committee of the ECOSC on Agend Item 5 (a) Report of the Commission on Human Rights, on May 17, 1971

Mr. Chairman,

Five days ago, on the 12th of May, I spoke before this Committee about the great humanitarian problems which have arisen as the result of the tragic events in East Bengal. I believe that in spite of many provocations and prevaricatons, we were able to concentrate on the business before the Committee, human rights and human tragedies which followed the army action violating all the human rights.

Since then many reports have appeared which confirm what we have been saying from the beginning. These reports come from newspapermen who were taken on conducted tours and were supposed to send censored messages. However, some of them were able to file their dispatches from Bangkok and other far away places and were so able to avoid the Pakistani censors. The sum and substance of these reports are to be found in the editorial comments in the Baltimore Sun of the 14th May. I shall not read the entire article, not because it would detract from what I have to say and have said all along but simply to save the Committee's time. I shall read however two paragraphs as it relates directly to the humanitarian problem we are discussing :

"The deaths, by Mr. Rosenblum's rough estimate, may number half a million. The devastation, he says, defies belief. Millions of people face starvation, from famine and from the halted distribution of relief for earlier, and natural disasters. The picture could not be more grim . . . . . ."

"The fact still seems to be, as it seemed to be at the first, that the government of Pakistan was determined not to let the East Bengali Awami League assume the power it had won in a National Assembly election, and that from this determination stemmed the carefully planned onsulaught of March."

Indeed, the reports conforming these conclusions are so widespread and so numerous that we do not have to look for fine prints, take quotations out of context or discuss the mechanics of press reporting or deficiencies of the Indian

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

press to realise what is happening and to support some theories without any foundation or data whatever. The picture is clear enough to anyone who takes the trouble to read any newspaper anywhere in the world for a connected account.

Meanwhile, the number of refugees coming to India continues to grow enormously. The figure today has reached nearly 2½ million people, young and old, women and children and broken down men. There are probably scores of members in the United Nations who have a smaller population ; for instance Paraguay has a population of less than 2½ million people and it is as if the whole population of Paraguay has been added to the Indian population. India is a poor country and we cannot obviously look after this ever-growing number of refugees from a neighbouring country because that country has made conditions intolerable for its own citizens. These facts cannot be concealed or skirted round by sophistry or specious theories. These men and women must be looked after and sent back home as soon as possible. While they are with us we shall of course look after them as best as we can and welcome whatever help is forthcoming from outside, but the final solution of the problem can only come about by conditions returning to normal H is far from normal now—in East Bengal so that these temporary refugees (evacuees would perhaps be a better term) can return to their own country and live normally and hopefully and exercise some of their human rights. If this cannot be done, this Committee and ECOSOC, and perhaps in course of time the other appropriate organs of the United Nations would indicate how and for what period India would continue to be burdened with this problem created by political short-sightedness and military repression in Pakistan. In this context, the Committee will be interested in an analysis of the situation in East Bengal which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of May 12 —a newspaper not noted either for sensationalism or radicalism. Since the general debate on this subject is coming to an end, I thought I should place before the Committee the latest developments. I should in addition place before the Committee in concrete frm the suggestions I made in course of my first statement 5 days ago. These are :

(1) The Government of Pakistan should be requested to restore human rights to the people of Pakistan as early as possible and in accordance with the international obligations and declarations that Government have subscribed to or supported.

(2) The Government of India should immediately be given all kinds of assistance, bilateral or international, official or non-official to look after the refugees from East Bengal until they are able to return home. The Government of India will establish co-ordination of all relief aids in co-operation and consultation with the international orgaoisaions primarily concerned in this field. All other organisations extending relief should also be brought wihtin the purview of this co-ordinated system of relief.

(3) In order to tackle the problem at its roots, relief and rehabilitation measures require to be undertaken forthwith in East Bengal itself. The Government of Pakistan must be asked to take these immediately and in close and effective co-operation with appropriate international agencies which should assess the needs of all sections of the people of East Bengal on a continuing basis until the present economic dislocations and disruptions have been fully removed.

(4) The Government of Pakistan continues to be responsible for the refugees and their early return home.

(5) The Secretary-General of the United Nations will constantly keep this subject under review and render such advice and assistance as may be necessary to solve these problems.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This subject is of international concern and international action alone will solve it. It is not an Indo-Pakistan problem, although India is immediately affected by the large influx of refugees and the various difficulties and tensions such a number of poor people suddenly coming to our country inevitably create. We hope it will be possible for the Social Committee to take suitable steps for the solution of these humanitarian problems.

Statement by Mr. J. V. Scott, New Zealand delegate, in the Social Committee of Economic and Social Council, on May 17, 1971

"In the report before us there are a number of matters which are of deep concern to my Government. However, the New Zealand delegation to the recent session of the Human Rights Commission set out our attitude to them on that occasion and I would not wish to take the time of the Council in covering the same ground. I wish instead to refer briefly to one subject which is not in the Report but which has been raised under this item by the distinguished Observer of India.

There is no doubt that the events referred to by the Observer of India concerned fundamental human rights. It has been New Zealand's consistent policy that violations of human rights wherever they occur on a scale that could call into question the obligations of Member States under the Charter may be discussed in the relevant United Nations bodies. In the view of my Government, it is not inappropriate for the humanitarian aspects of the situation in East Pakistan to be raised in this forum in relation to Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter.

Events in East Pakistan during recent weeks have aroused deep concern in New Zealand as they have in other countries. It is the human aspect of the situation, the bloodshed and suffering, that has distressed New Zealanders most, but we are also increasingly worried about its implications for the peace of the sub-continent.

In a statement issued on 14 April, the Acting Prime Minister of New Zealand, Rt. Hon. J. R. Marshall, expressed New Zealand's concern at the situation. Recalling that New Zealand and Pakistan have long enjoyed a friendly relationship as fellow members of the Commonwealth, SEATO and the Colombo Plan, he said that we have followed with interest and sympathy the efforts made in Pakistan to establish and sustain a unified nation on a democratic basis. We had, therefore, been grieved to learn of the violent conflict in East Pakistan and of the toll it is taking.

This toll so far in lives, in widespread distress and destruction has been an immense one. And recent reports indicate that the amount of human misery caused by the conflict is still not fully known. Because of our concern for the human suffering we would be prepared to take a sympathetic view of calls for assistance made both on the United Nations system and on Member States."

U.N. Secretary-General's appeal for emergency help to refugees from East Bengal on May 19, 1971

The following is the text of the appeal of U.N. Secretary-General U-Thant for emergency assistance to refugees from East Bengal in India, released on May 19, 1971.

* * * *

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The international community has been seriously concerned at the plight of the sizable and continuing influx of refugees including a large proportion of women and children from East Pakistan into adjacent states of India. I fully share this concern. Mindful that one of the purposes of the United Nations is 'to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of a humanitarian character', I am convinced that the United Nations and its family of Organisations have an important role to play in alleviating the serious hardhsip and suffering which these refugees are undergoing.

In order to ensure a speedy and co-ordinated response to appeals for assistance addressed by the Government of India to me and to various United Nations Agencies, I decided following discussions with the Executive heads of the various agencies and programmes whithin the United Nations system that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees despatched a three-man team led by his deputy in order to assess the nature and magnitude of the needs of these refugees and to discuss with the Indian Government the modalities of assistance from the United Nations system. The High Commissioner also established standing consultative machinery comprising his office and the United Nations agencies and programmes directly concerned in ordes to assist him in these tasks.

While in view of the fluid situation it is not possible at this stage to assess with accuracy the total number of refugees involved there is conclusive evidence of the presence of very large numbers of people from East Pakistan in the neighbouring states of India who are in immediate need of assistance. I earnestly hope that these unfortunate people will be voluntarily repatriated at the earliest possible time. It is evident, however, that pending such repatriation massive external assistance will be required on an emergency basis. The Indian Government's preliminary estimates indicate that such assistance might be of the order of Dollors 175 million for the next six months for food, clothing, shelter, medical supplies and other essential relief items.

Several organisations of the United Nations system have already initiated action within their limited resources to provide all possible emergency relief for the afflicted people. At the same time it is clear that these resources will fall far short of the level and scope of the needs to be met.

On behalf of the entire United Nations family, I therefore, earnestly appeal to governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations as well as private sources to help meet the urgent needs for humanitarian assistance in the present tragic situation. I am certain that in responding possitively and generously to this humanitarian appeal for contributions in cash and kind, donors, governmental and non-governmental alike, will make use to the greatest extent possible of the established channels and procedures of the United Nations family, in particular, the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for eefugees, the World Food Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Health Organisation. I also hope that they will keep the office of the High Commissioner for refugees informed of all action thus taken or contemplated and will utilise the arrangments made by him to ensure the co-ordination and to maximise the impact of external assistance .

U.-N. Secretary General's appeal for assistance to East Bengal on June 17, 1971

The following is the text of the appeal of the U.N. Secretary-General, U-Thant on assistance to East Pakistan released on June 16, 1971 :

It will be recalled that on 22nd April, I addressed a letter to President Yahya Khan expressing my great concern at the situation in East Pakistan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and that on purely humanitarian grounds I offered on behalf of the United Nations Family of Organisations all possible assistance to help his Government in its task of bringing urgently needed relief for the plight of the population of East Pakistan. President Yahya Khan in a letter to me dated 3 May 1971 stated that he was touched by my concern for the well being of Pakistan and added that whilst the existing situation was that adequate supplies of medicines foodstuffs and other daily necessities of life were available, an assessment of future possible international assistance which might eventually be required was under preparation. On 17 May, the Economic Adviser to the President called on me to explain the extent of relief requirements which were subsequently set out in a communication from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan dated 22nd May.

In the meantime and reflecting the serious concern of the International Community at the hardship of the sizeable and continuing influx of refugees including a large preperation of women and children from East Pakistan into adjacent States of India. I appealed to the Governments, the Inter-Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations, as well as private sources, to help supply the urgent humanitarian assistance which was needed to alleviate that tragic situation. I also decided that the United Nation's High Commissioner for Refugees should act as the focal point for the coordination of assistance from the Organisations and Programmes of the United Nations System. I much appreciate the very positive and generous response that my appeal has evoked and I am satisfied that the arrangements made to channel the assistance given by the International Community are proving effective. As soon as I received the letter of 22 May from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan, I asked the Assistant Secretary General for Inter-Agency Affairs to travel to Pakistan to discuss with the Government authorities the modalities of relief assistance to East Pakistan from and through the United Nations. He was received by President Yahya Khan and held discussions with senior authorities of the Government both in Islamabad and in Dacca. There was full agreement on the manner in which the operation should be organised and the President shares my concern that the United Nations must be in a position to assure the International Community and the donors in particular that all relief assistance will reach its intended destination—the people of East Pakistan. The President welcome the arrangements envisaged by the United Nations for the operation and I have appointed a Representative in East Pakistan to act as the focal point for ensuring proper co-ordination of the work of the Agencies and Programmes of the United Nations. The President of Pakistan has conveyed to me the readiness of this Government to extend full cooperation at all levels to the United Nations personnel who will be associated in the planning and implementation of the relief operations.

The assessment of assistance requirements contained in the letter from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan and further appraisals of such needs currently being conducted by the Government of Pakistan and the United Nations Agencies concerned point to the urgency of mobilising substantial external resources notably food and transport for relief action. Although this is a separate operation from the programme of assistance to refugees from East Pakistan in India for which the High Commissioner for Refugees is acting as a focal point, the two operations are of course related to the extent that as conditions in East Pakistan are improved there will be a better possibility of arresting and reversing the flow of refugees.

I am sure that Governments, Inter-Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations and private institutions and sources are conscious of the need to alleviate the suffering which has befallen the population of East Pakistan and I, therefore appeal to them to contribute in cash and in kind to this challenging humanitarian effort. I hope that donors will avail themselves for this purpose to the largest extent possible of the established procedures of The United Nations

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Family, particularly those of the World Food Programme and UNICEF, whose association in the planning and organisation of the task of relief has been expressly welcomed by the Government of Pakistan. I trust that the World Community will once again rise to the occasion in a manner consistent with the Principles of Human Solidarity and International Co-operation embodied in the Charter.

Record of Press Conference of U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees held at U.N., on June 23, 1971

Following is the record of the press conference held by Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on June 23, 1971, at U.N. on his mission to India and Pakistan:

"In an opening statement the UNHCR said he welcomed the meeting with the press because it was absolutely fundamental to enlist the support of the mass media on any refugee question. Efficient relief needed the understanding of public opinion which affected the generosity of Governments and the vast network of voluntary bodies and agencies.

The problem regarding the Pakistani refugees was one of colossal magnitude and a challenge to the U.N. system. He wished to speak to the Press because he wanted to avoid any misunderstanding about his role and that of the U.N. in the great human tragedy involved.

He said India had appealed for assistance to the Secretary-General. This request had been discussed by the ACC in Berne and he had been designated as the Gocal point regarding all relief emanating through the U.N. system. A three man mission had gone to India to make an assessment and had visited the areas of the refugees and had reported to him who in turn had reported to the Secretary-General. The mission had received the initial requirements for six months from the Indian Government which were now being revised because of the further influx of refugees. There did not appear to be any immediate prospects of a solution to the problem.

A standing body had been created in Geneva which covered all the U.N. agencies involved in relief in order to avoid any overlapping in channelling the assistance. He felt that this was the first time in U.N. history that those involved humanitarian project had worked together in such cloe harmony. He felt this was appreciated by the Indian Government which insisted that it should be in full control of co-ordination of international relief. India's resources and administration had been taxed to deal with the great problems of the refugees. However, India had insisted that it was its responsibility that was involved primarily through the Ministry of Rehabilitation. The focal point representative in Delhi Mr. Jamieson was in daily contact with the Indian Government and also with all U.N. partners representatives in Delhi.

Prince Sadruddin recalled that the President of Pakistan had in May said that all bona fide Pakistanis could return to Pakistan. He himself had felt it essential that he go to Pakistan to discuss Pakistani intentions in the light of that statement. Pakistan had invited him to go and he had had substantial discussions with the Government and had met the President. He had discussed Pakistan's intended decisions on the return of the refugees and how these could be implemented. He had then gone to Dacca where he had seen the East Pakistani authorities. He had gone to the east and west borders and seen some of the reception centres and had assessed the chances of people returning and the role of the High Commissioner for Refugees regarding voluntary repatriation.

The High Commissioner stressed this word "voluntary". He said it was fundamental to the role of his office that no refugee should be returned to a country from

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which he had fled or where he feared any persecution. Repatriation had to be free and voluntary. He said he felt very strongly as did the Indian Government and the International Community that the best solution was return of the people to their homes provided conditions allowed this to take place.

Prince Sadruddin said the Indian Government had stressed that the refugees could not stay in India. The generous assistance was being given on a temporary basis. There was no question however of their rehabilitation in India and they could not be considered people who would remain in Indian territory.

Therefore he continued he had had to examine purely on a humanitarian basis with Pakistan the modalities of the return of the refugess. He had received the full co-operation of the East Pakistan authorities.

He said that in the Helicopter in which he had travelled over the area he had been able to ask the Pilot to change course frequently and to go to areas not in the original plan. The helicopter had been Hedgehopping and he had been able to see people cultivaiting their paddies and in the markets people were selling and buying products. In these parts he could see that life was slowly returning to normal. However he said he could not vouch for all parts of Pakitsfan since he did not go to all parts.

He said that he had also seen villages in which houses had been burned and traces of the unheaval. He did not see large deployment of troops or concentrations of poeple moving in any direction. He had travelled in a helicopter which was clearly marked as being belonging to the Pakistan army. Villagers came out to wave and had not scattered at their approach. Children came out and waved to the helicopter as they would do anywhere.

The High Commissioner said he could not however claim to give any guarantee for the overall situation in East Pakistan. He could say that the reception centre he saw were well equipped and staffed by Civilians with medical supplies and there seemed to be a well organised infra structure to prepare for the voluntary return of the Refugees.

However while the building of Reception Centres the Declaration of an Amnesty an appeal by the Pakistan President for return were excellent these were not enough per se to bring about the return of refugees. In all cases of refugees he said what brought people back was a political solution. He was certain that Pakistan would also agree that this was the case.

There were he said of course different interpretations of what was a political solution. It would have to be one which gave confidence and faith in the future and this was the only real incentive for the return of refugees.

He said he had made this very clear while emphasizing his purely humanitarian role while in Pakistan.

Prince Sadruddin said he had gone directly from Pakistan to Delhi at the invitation of the Indian Government. There he had discussed the whole question of relief the need for more assistance by the International community his role as focal point for U.N. assistance the need to improve and streamline the delivery of assistance and the problems relative to needs in cash and or in kind.

He had stressed that his mission was purely humanitarian with nothing to do with the political aspects except that of course uprooting was closely correlated to the need for a political solution.

He said he was not responsible for the press which in India was very free and active. He had seen headlines that he had been on a peace bid and his aim was to mediate

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in the problem. He said he did not know what he was supposed to mediate and he saw no need for a mediator between Islamabad and East Pakistan and Islamabad and Delhi.

He said he had been deeply shocked by the refugee problem in India. He had never seen one of this magnitude which was occurring in an areas which already felt the worst possible demographic explosion. There was a need for constant relief and there was the constant threat of cholera, gastroenteritis and malaria.

Of course relief depended on the generosity of U.N. member Governments. The U.N. could have an efficient working machinery but it could not supply goods unless they were given.

In the short time since the Secretary-General's appeal he said he had found the results quite encouraging and this was recognized by the Government of India. Some dollars 45 million in assistance had come to the focal point and there was another dollars 30 mission worth of assistance in associated relief. (He hoped that the U.N.'s Role in India and Pakistan would ultimately be conducive to creating peace and security in an explosive situation.)

Prince Sadruddin then answered questions.

A correspondent said the High Commissioner said he had seen evidence that life was returning to normal. Yet he said close to a Mission further refugees had been moved out by the army since the High Commissioner had left East Pakistan. He asked why the army was still pushing the refugees into India at the rate of 575,000 between 5 and 12 June and 400,000 between 12 and 19 June.

Prince Sadruddin said he had these figures and his office had to rely on figures given by both sides. He said that when fear had been instilled it took a long time for normalcy to return. The situation had not returned to normal. He had not said the situation was normal in the whole country. He had said that in areas he had seen at the time he had seen them the situation appeared to be slowly returning to normal.

"I deplore any further action which would create more refugees. How can the High Commissioner for Refugees be happy at the creation of refugees?" The situation had to be watched closely. Help had to be given to India and a political solution regarding the refugees was necessary.

Asked to give details of his visit to East Pakistan he said he had been there on 11, 12, 13 June. He had gone from Dacca to the western border to the centre at Chaudanga where he saw the centres to Jessore and to Benapol. After returning to Dacca the next day he had gone to Comilla to Feni and Noakhali.

A correspondent said that a Reuters dispatch from Dacca yesterday had said that civil war was continuing in Comilla and that foreign dilpomats were saying the situation was still one of civil war. Prince Sadruddin said the situation might change one day to another. He could only say what the situation was in Comilla when he was there.

Asked if there had been eight bombing incidents while he was in Dacca the High Commissioner said there had been a curfew in Dacca but it had been lifted while he was there. There was still problem in Dacca linked to what had happened on 25 March. His feeling was while he was there that the situation in Dacca had not returned to normal and that a proportion of the population was not in the capital. But this city looked very much affected by events.

A correspondent asked if he had seen any bombing while he had been in Dacca and if he had contacted the diplomatic community, he said he had heard what

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

certainly was a bombing on one occasion. There had been rumours of other incidents The local authorities said these were caused by elements who had broken out of Jail during the troubles. He reported that the curfew had been lifted while he was in Dacca. He said he had met some members of the diplomatic community and all representative of U.N. Bodies. However he had only been in East Paskistan for three days and for two to the days he had been in the country on His helicopter trip.

He was asked what was the evidence of the diplomats he, said that their points of view varied. Some felt that the situation was becoming normal others felt the situation remined very tense. They had different assessments about the events of 25 March. All however agreed that a political solution was essential.

Asked how long the Dollars 45 million given to the Focal point would last he said it was all now used up having arrived in India or being in the pipeline. The amount was well below what India needed.

Asked for an estimate of the needs he said India had mentioned an initial requirement for six months of Dollars 175 million. This assesment had been made when there were far fever refugees and in any case the six month period was rapidly coming to an end. The new requirements were being discussed in Delhi. India said that more than 5 million refugees were involved.

Asked how many victims of cholera there had been he said that while he had been there India had said the numbers ran into the thousands.

He was asked if Pakistan acknowledged the danger of cholera. He said Pakistan did and was very much concerned about the matter. Cholera vaccines were available at reception centres. Asked if there was cholera in Pakistan, he said Pakistan had not said so. He was asked if he had asked Pakistan about cholera in Pakistan. He said the matter had been discussed but no precise estimate of cholera in Pakistan had been given to him.

A correspondent said it was clear that cholera had come from Pakistan. Prince Sadruddin said it was his job to look after relief in India. There was no significant repatriation of refugees to Pakistan. His office was facing an emergency in India. He had discussed what was necessary if the refugees were to return. The question of cholera had been discussed but not in detail. If there was cholera in Pakistan that was a problem for Pakistan not for the High Commissioner for Refugees.

A correspondent said that one U.S. assessment was a minimum requirement of 50 per cent for each refugee a day. This would amount to Dollars 90 mission on a month regarding the refugees in India. Was there any hope of such aid? Prince Sadruddin said this depended on the response of the international community. The figures pointed out again the need to have a solution involving return of the refugees.

The High Commissioner was asked where the refugees were coming from if he had not seen any displacement. Prince Sadruddin said he would have wanted to visit all refugee areas not just West Bengal but he did not have the time. He hoped to be able to return to the area. It was quite possible that the movement of refugees was in parts he had not seen. He did not contest that there had been further movements of refugees. He could only say that in the limited areas he saw he did not see any new influx that Day. He was however quite certain that the situation was unstable and movement of refugees was taking place.

A correspondent said that East Bengalis in London had accused the High Commissioner of partiality since he and his family had large investments in Pakistan. Would he care to comment. He said he was an international civil servant. He hoped his role would be objectively assessed by the international community. He had been involved in refugee work for 10 years and had been High Commissioner for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

five years. Three General Assemblies had adopted resolutions on the work the High Commission for refugees by acclamation. He had been elected and re-elected unanimously. He said his record must speak for itself. There had not at any time any questioning of his objectivity regarding refugees from Nigeria, Chzechoslovakia, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Portuguese territories and elsewhere. He said his family and his community had interests in both India and Pakistan. Those interests might even be greater in India. He was not a Pakistani but an Iranian. He said his brother had served as Pakistani's permanent representative in New York. But then there were many Indian and Pakistan Ambassadors and other Senior Officials who are brothers or relatives. This was a consequence of the partition of the sub-continent he said. "I am not pro-Pakistan not pro-India I am pro-refugees.....my constituents are the refugees and.....

A correspondent said that the High Commissioner had said the amount 75 mission in assistance was encouraging. However given the magnitude of the problem were not the figures for assistance the very reverse ? Prince Sadruddin said he was going to Washington tomorrow and other capitals next week to try to get more assistance. But the machinery moved slowly and contributions often came under pressure of public opinion. He was encouraged that so much had been given after less than one month had gone by since the Secretary-General's appeal. But in relation to the problem the Assistance was certainly not enough.

Prince Sadruddin was asked if after talking to the President of Pakistan he thought it was realistic to expect a political solution. He said that depended on what was meant by a political solution. Asked how soon he thought the refugees would get back he said he personally felt that Pakistan was trying its best within the possibilities but the situation was highly complex. The President of Pakistan was to make a declaration on 28th June. He hoped the President at that time would sketch out some kind of political solution. The refugees would only return if there was a political solution creating confidence.

Asked if the U.N. would contribute to a political solution he said the Secretary-General was very concerned precisely with this problem. It was however, a small step in the right direction that the Pakistan authorities had accepted a representative from his office. There had been no obligation on Pakistan to do this. He hoped that this would contribute to a feeling that there was a U.N. presence and may be that presence could be increased. This might encourage people to return home.

Asked what would happen if the assistance did not come, Prince Sadruddin said there would be untold misery for missions and this might escalate an already dangerous situation.

He was asked if the President of Pakistan had expressed sorrow that 5 mission of his countrymen had found it necessary to leave Pakistan the High Commissioner said that nobody could be pleased by this or ignore it. He had a very clear impression that what had happened in East Pakistan and the refugees exodus had created a major burden on the President and the Government and they were trying their level best."

On another matter Prince Sadruddin was asked if he wanted to be the Secretary-General he suggested that not everything be believed that was read in the Press. He had neither directly nor indirectly at any time hinted at his candidacy. He would like to continue to serve the U-N. under U-Thant.

He was asked if he would accept the Office of Secretary-General if invited by the Major powers. He said his answer would have to be what he had just stated.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Record of U. N. High Commissioner's Press Conference held in London on June, 30, 1971

MR. IVAN SMITH:

I would like to present Sadruddin Aga Khan, the High Commissioner for Refugees. First, however, a few points of explanation. The High Commissioner is here for a very limited time. We have invited voluntary agencies who are interested in this work to this press conference, and I will be making time available towards the end of the meeting for voluntary agencies to ask questions. But it would be appreciated if at the beginning the questions be confined to the working press.

As you know, the High Commissioner has an added function in that the Secretary-General asked him to act as Focal Point for the United Nations aid to refugees from East Pakistan in India. There is one other point that should made clear: there are two separate United Nations operations in relation to problem in East Pakistan. In East Pakistan itself there is an operation being run under the direction of the Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs. He is represented in Dacca and they are doing their field work in East Pakistan. Side by side with that effort is the operation being run by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees as the Focal Point for aid to refugees in India. The High Commissioner will be speaking about his operation and questions should be related to that. You will find you have a press release which is slightly out of date as it gives an amount of $ 43-million as having been channelled through the Focal Point. The High Commissioner will be updating this figure.

I have great pleasure in introducing the High Commissioner. At the table with him is his Representative for the United Kingdom, Mr. John Kelly. The High Commissioner.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER:

Thank you very much George. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I welcome the opportunity to have this personal contact with you because in my ten years of work for refugees it has been clear that in any refugee problem we depend very much on the mass media to gain the support of the public opinion that is so essential in our work. You know very well that this particular problem is one of tremendous magnitude. I would say that it is one of the greatest crises which has hit the United Nations in terms of the relief required, and therefore it is particularly important, I think, that this particular problem should be well understood. There should be a very close and very productive contact between the United Nations agencies that are trying to meet this tremendous problem and the distinguished representatives of the press, television and radio. Indeed, I think it is important that we should all be able to explain to the public what problems we face, what we are doing about them, how the international community is responding. One should try to avoid misunderstandings and confusions and this is why I am looking forward very much to your questions.

Mr. Ivan Smith has mentioned that we have been chosen as Focal Point in Geneva to channel international relief to the refugees from East Pakistan in India, and we remain available as a channel for multilateral assistance. So far the response has been very encouraging if you consider U Thant's appeal was launched on 19, May. Since that time nearly $ 46-million has been channelled through the Focal Point. In addition, a lot of contributions have been made outside the Focal Point; for example in the form of bilateral aid or from the voluntary agencies. The approximate total since U Thant launched his appeal either through the Focal Point or outside it comes to $ 160-million. We have reached this figure in large part as a result of a new contribution of $ 70-million from the United States

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

announced during my visit to Washington last week at the time when I had talks with the Secretary of State Mr. Rogers.

Now if we consider the response of the United Kingdom, I think it is very important to stress that the Government and the people through the voluntary agencies have already contributed very generously. So far, the United Kingdom Government has contributed through the Focal Point a total of £3 million, while outside the Focal point £5 million have been channelled directly to India, bringing the total U.K. Government contribution to £8 million to date. In addition to this, as you know, there has been an appeal launched by the voluntary agencies in the United Kingdom and so far this has produced over £1 million and I believe that the results have not yet been completely added up and that we may still see some contributions coming forth in the future.

Now why has the Focal Point been set up? Well first of all this is the greatest humanitarian problem we have faced. Certainly as far as my Office is concerned, although we have been dealing with refugee problems in Europe, in Africa, in Asia and Latin America, at no time on previously have we been faced with such a massive number of uprooted people at one time. Consider the fact that there are millions of people involved, the fact that this is a part of the world where there is already a very explosive demographic problem and the fact that we are working against all kinds of imponderables such as the political situation and the constant danger of disease—and in this connexion you all know how very much concerned we all were about the outbreak of cholera which appears for the time being to be under control. Another imponderable is the climate especially now when the monsoon has set in. These are the imponderables that we face, and unfortunately these problems are so very serious that they cannot be solved by words alone and this is what the United Nations has been facing. It is a very great challenge, and I think in the light of these difficulties, the response so far has been good.

It is significant to note that the day after U Thant launched his appeal, flights were already being organized from Geneva to airlift medical supplies to the area. At an earlier stage, I think it is also significant that we received India's appeal on a Sunday and by the next Wednesday we had a team in West Bengal, in Tripura, in Assam, looking into the problem on the spot, assessing the needs of the refugees with the Indian Government and reporting to me and of course to all the other United Nations agencies on what this United Nations global action should be. The Focal Point was the response to India's request in that India wanted to deal with one United Nations channel rather than with a large number of United Nations components each implementing its own separate programme in India. Also on the part of the major donors there was a feeling that for a problem of such vast magnitude, the United Nations should be very well co-ordinated. It was the first time in the history of the United Nations that this joint approach was so heavily emphasized. For the first time there was a standing consultation unit set up in Geneva in which all the United Nations agencies concerned were represented meeting at least once a week, sometimes more frequently, discussing what every agency was doing, what every United Nations component was supplying. In that way overlapping, duplication, inefficiency could be eradicated. This co-ordination has worked, it is producing very encouraging results.

I think it is important also that we have been able to tackle this problem in a humanitarian way using the United Nations channel to have contributions remitted in India without any strings attached purely on a humanitarian basis. Now this being said, I know that so far although response could be considered encouraging, it is nowhere near what is needed. Certainly distress signals must remain hoisted. There is no doubt at all that India will continue to face a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

very very serious problem and that it is up to the international community and especially governments to respond to this tremendous emergency. We in the United Nations can only transmit what we are given. We can only channel to India what the international community decides to contribute to our Focal Point. This is why we must keep the interest and sympathy of the international community very much alive in the coming weeks. As you know, I have been to the area. I visited both India and Pakistan. I have been able during my visit to Pakistan to obtain the agreement of the Pakistan Government to open an office in Dacca. We feel that our presence in Dacca will be useful if and when refugees should be able to go back.

Recently I have been to the United States to report to the Secretary-General on my visits to India and Pakistan and to hold discussions in Washington with the State Department about the U.S. interest in our programme. I am in London for talks with the Secretary of State Lord Home and other officials of the Foreign Office. I am proceeding back to Geneva this afternoon to report on the Focal Point to a meeting of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, which will bring together all the executive heads of the United Nations specialized agencies. I will bring them up-to-date on what we have been supplying to India and discuss with my colleagues what future steps we can take to alleviate this great human suffering.

This being said, ladies and gentlemen, I would welcome questions.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Working Press

Mr. Nasim Ahmed (Dawn, Karachi): There are reports about the United Nations presence in East Pakistan. Could you enlarge on that?

High Commissioner: Well first of all, as Mr. Ivan Smith said at the outset, there is already a United Nations presence in the sense that the Secretary-General sent Mr. Kittani to Pakistan. As you know an office has been set up in Dacca which is responsible for the co-ordination and the distribution of United Nations assistance and relief to East Pakistan. In addition to this, my own representative should be proceeding to Dacca in the very near future. That is for the time being the extent of the United Nations presence in Pakistan as reported. How this presence will be developed in the future, though, what its precise role will be in the light of developments is difficult to assess at the present time. I hope very much that the presence will be useful and that it will contribute to establishing a climate of confidence and understanding in East Pakistan.

Mr. Ahmed: Have you been able to estimate the accurate number of refugees? They seem to vary from spokesman to spokesman and newspaper to news paper and reports vary between 4 million and 8 million.

High Commissioner: We of course can only go by the estimates given by Government sources. As you know in an area where there are so many people we cannot possibly count the refugees. I do not have that kind of staff, we do not have that kind of operational presence in the areas where the refugees are located. Therefore, we must go by the figures given to us by the Government of India in the case of the refugees, and by the Government of Pakistan as far as returnees are concerned.

Mr. Venkatasubbiah (The Hindu): What are these figures.....given by the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India and what is the difference between them?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

High Commissioner: The latest figure given by the Government of India is over 5 million. It changes every week as India reports further influxes. Pakistan provides figures on the returnees, people who have come back and who have apparently arrived in reception centres, some of which I visited when I was in East Pakistan. I believe at one point 15,000 had been mentioned by Pakistan sources, but this should be updated and I am not aware of the latest Government figure.

Miss Hella Pich (The Guardian): Under what circumstances do you see a meaningful presence being esablished? How far have you got in the discussions?

High Commissioner: It is clear that this goes beyond my function as Focal Point for relief to refugees in India. This is a matter which depends very much on the Member Governments of the United Nations in the sense that the big powers and other governments are able to discuss problems in the appropriate U.N. organs like the Economic and Social Council or in other organs of the General Assembly. I personally feel that it is up to the governments and especially the major powers to consider very seriously if this should be something that the international community wishes to pursue. It is not up to the Secretariat to take initiatives without very close consultation with Member Governments and, obviously, essentially with the Sovereign Governments, the main parties concerned. The presence for the time being is simply humanitarian in connexion with the distribution of relief to refugees if they should go back. That is the extent of the presence which I have discussed with governments so far and which comes within my terms of reference.

Miss Pick: Is it your impression that the British Government wants to...? (inaudible)

High Commissioner : We discussed the United Nations role in general in this great crisis which all governments are concerned about. I am not in a position to say what policy will actually develop out of these discussions.

Mr. Christopher Wain (ITN News): Obviously the short-term response has been magnificent but this is surely a long-term problem. How do you see this problem being successfully tackled in the long-term?

High Commissioner: India has repeatedly stressed in statements from the Prime Minister and other officials that it cannot keep the refugees. This is the reason I spent so much time in Pakistan, trying as High Commissioner for Refugees, to work out the possibility of a permanent solution. Everyone agrees that in time this should be the return of the refugees. Now everyone agrees also that a political solution is needed before this happens and that it would be very difficult to restore a climate of confidence and understanding which would really be the only true incentive to go back. People have different ideas about what a political solution might be. But as I see it, one has to try to encourage voluntary repatriation and I stress voluntary repatriation since people cannot be forced to go back if fear still remains. I see this as my essential responsibility to try to seek ways and means to get the refugees ultimately to be rehabilitated in their own home land and this of course depends on many problems which still have to be worked out.

Mr. Wain: When you speak of a political solution, agreement, do you mean an agreement between the military faction and the opposing political faction in East Pakistan?

High Commissioner: I mean the kind of political solution which would establish the climate of confidence which is needed for people to go home. This could be developed in many different directions, but I think when we speak of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a return to normalcy, we mean ultimately a return to civilian administration which is also what the President has very much stressed in his statement of 28 June.

Mr. Wain: One other question, Sir,—Could you comment on Indian criticisms on your own position and that the large following in Pakistan which you are alleged to have has compromised your own position?

High Commissioner: Well, first of all, when you refer to the following you must be thinking of my nephew's community which is in Pakistan and India. If anything the numbers are larger in India. This is not my own following, but of course, I am very much concerned about the well being of the community which is headed by my nephew Karim Aga Khan.

As you know, I am an international civil servant and my performance in this particular situation as in other refugee problems has to be assessed by the international community which elected me to my present office through the Governments of the United Nations. For three years in the General Assembly our Office has received the unanimous support of all Member Governments. We have dealt with very controversial problems in the past in many different parts of the world. I was elected and re-elected by acclamation by the General Assembly. It seems to me that my contacts with both countries in this instance and the fact that my family has been associated with both India and Pakistan, should not be considered a liability. I am not pro-India, I am not pro-Pakistan, I am pro-refugee. These are my constituents and my job is to find solutions to alleviate their plight. I am confident that the Governments of both countries consider me an international civil servant and would judge my performance here, as in other cases, on the basis of my United Nations record.

Mr. David Tindall (BBC TV): Following on from that, how true is it that you are alleged to have claimed that normal conditions have returned to Pakistan when other observers at about the same time spoke completely differently of the situation?

High Commissioner: I am afraid that you are referring to some of the statements which were reproduced in the Indian press during my visit to India. I am not responsible for the Indian press, it is very free and very active. It is perfectly understandable that feelings are running high in India at the present time in the light of the emergency which India has been facing. I was misquoted or quoted out of context on a number of occasions, and I think this has been clarified since. What I said—and my statement was recorded by "All-India Radio" so we have a transcript—was that during my visit to East Pakistan I received the full co-operation of the authorities. I visited first the western border areas then the eastern border areas but of course I had only two days to do this. In some of the areas that I visited and flew over, the situation appeared to be returning back slightly to normalcy. When speaking to the press I elaborated on this and gave my own personal eye-witness assessment of what I had seen either flying low in a helicopter or travelling by car. But of course, I also carefully pointed out that I had not visited the whole country. Nor could I speak for what had happened before or after my visit. Although obviously the reception centres were well equipped and well staffed and although there have been declarations by the President calling on the people to go back and declaring an amnesty, it was clear to me that what was really needed was a restoration of confidence, a feeling of reconciliation, and understanding which would be the only incentive for the people to go back. And for this I stressed repeatedly a political solution was needed.

Mr. Jilani (Daily Jang, Karachi): Have you got the latest reports from the representative in Dacca?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

High Commissioner: As was pointed out, there are two distinct operations in Dacca. One is under the Secretary-General's Office which is responsible for the supplying and distribution of international relief for rehabilitation of East Pakistanis. Now the reports from that particular focal point in Dacca headed by Mr. El-Tawil come directly to United Nations Headquarters in New York. We are informed in Geneva of particular points of special interest to us. My representative has not yet gone to Dacca. We are in the process of sending him now. He should be taking up his post in the near future. As far as I am concerned, the information which I will be getting will be supplied by my representative who has not yet reached Dacca.

Mr. Y. Syed (Morning News, Karachi): It is reported that about 3,000 people who crossed are held in Indian jails? Their people want to find out if they are in jails? Can your association help find out about these people?

High Commissioner: I have not been directly approached either governmentally or private on this particular aspect that you refer to. It occurs to me that both India and Pakistan have been in close touch on the problem and since diplomatic relations have always been maintained, this is a problem that should be approached on a bilateral basis between the two Sovereign Governments.

Mr. Venkatasubbiah: The Military Governor of East Pakistan was shown on the television here in England. He was asked a few questions by the British Parliamentary delegation and one of the questions was...how many of the people are expected to return? He said he was confident.....that 99 per cent would go back and when asked why they were not going back, he said.....because India is obstructing it.

High Commissioner: I have absolutely no evidence either in this case, or in any other refugee situation which my Office has faced, that the host government has any interest in obstructing the refugees if they wish to go back. It seems to me when a government is faced with such a very complex crisis of so many uprooted people that its interest is to alleviate the position by any available means. I would certainly hope that the refugees should in due course be informed very clearly of the conditions at home so that they can make a free choice as to whether they wish to go back or not. The important thing is to keep these channels of communication open and to make sure that refugees in this situation as in other situations should not become the innocent victims of propaganda.

Miss Pick: Since you yourself have said that a political solution is essential to the return of the refugees, what role do you think you will really play.....in bringing about a solution?

High Commissioner: Well my role is a very difficult one. My main responsibility is to try to look after the effects rather than to eradicate the cause of a conflict that creates refugees. My role as High Commissioner is to try to assist the victims of these upheavals. It is very difficult for me, unless I get a measure of co-operation from the governments concerned, to try to eradicate the cause. The roots of the problem are bound up with political questions of major interest to the parties concerned and to other governments, particularly the big powers. That is why there is a need for concerted action. I have stressed concerted action on the part of Governments in the United Nations organs and close co-operation between major powers and the United Nations agencies and the United Nations Secretariat. I think U Thant would very much stress this also. It is together—Governments, United Nations agencies and Secretariat—that we may come to what you mention. As far as conditions in East Pakistan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

are concerned, the United Nations has a role to play in restoring an atmosphere of confidence and reconciliation but of course it must be acceptable to the parties concerned and essentially to the Government of Pakistan itself.

Mr. Bahtt (Hindu Times): Do you have a time-limit for your mandate? I ask this because certain figures have been mentioned giving a maximum of six months.....do you think the international community can contribute for an indefinite period?

High Commissioner: Initially when our team went to India to assess the need following India's appeal the Government based its calculations on two million refugees for a period of six months. You are absolutely right. At that time the Indian Government through the Ministry of Rehabilitation estimated $ 175 million for that number of refugees for that period of time. Since then the flow has increased and India has been reassessing the need, in the right of new statistics. Six months are fast coming to an end. My own feeling is that there is no time or mandate, it is a question of "on-going needs". India expects—and has made it clear through the voice of its Foreign Ministry and particularly through the Prime Minister's statements that it expects—the international community to assist India and respond generously. My job is to make sure that this interest is maintained and kept alive, that the generosity of the international community continues in the future. I hope and believe that this interest will remain alive because if it doesn't then India and indeed the whole world may face a more serious emergency and it will of course bring about tremendous suffering to a very large number of people.

Mr. Philip Whitefield (BBC "World at One"): If your job is to continue to raise money, is it not in conflict with your seeking a political solution at the same time?

High Commissioner: I think we are all conscious of the need to seek a political solution. The question is that within the United Nations different people have different mandates. The Secretary-General is constantly stressing great concern for the political aspects of this problem and the humanitarian aspect also. The political problems have been emphasized by U-Thant repeatedly. As you know, a lot of what the Secretary-General does cannot be publicized, and a great deal of U-Thant's effort in this particular crisis as in all others has been through quiet diplomacy. As far as my Office is concerned, and particularly the Focal Point, our main priority is the continual channelling of relief and assistance to the refugees. The concerted efforts of others, the Secretary-General, the major powers, the parties concerned, India and Pakistan, and also my Office and myself personally should take place at the same time. It is a concerted approach. This is what I tried to do when I went to the area but I have some limitations obviously because my mandate is very clearly determined, very precise. It is very difficult for me to tackle the political aspects since I have to place my priorities on the humanitarian and relief aspects.

Mr. Whitefield: When you saw Sir Alec Douglas Home, did you ask for more money then?

High Commissioner: Well first of all, I thanked the United Kingdom Government for the contributions that it has made available to date, and I also gave details on the operation and what priorities still have to be covered. I am sure that the United Kingdom as in the past will continue to help in the future. I did not ask Sir Alec for any contribution at this stage, I simply kept him informed of what we had done to date with contributions pledged and paid so far and of what was still needed. We discussed all the other related aspects of the problem including the political aspects.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Whitefield: Because of Britain's historical position in this situation, what part could she play in bringing about a reconciliation of the parties?

High Commissioner: I think Britain has a very important role to play, first of all as you say because of the historical background and the fact that the partition of India and Pakistan was very closely linked with Britain's withdrawal from the sub-continent and the handing over of autonomy and independence and also because Britain is head of the Commonwealth. It seems to me that of al major powers involved in this situation, Britain has a key role to play and it is very much with this in mind that I had my meetings yesterday with the Foreign Secretary.

Mr. Whitefield: There have been no indications that she has been taking an important posture, political posture in this. Are you suggesting that the British Government has not done sufficient to bring about a solution?

High Commissioner: That is not my assessment at all. I had the feeling on the contrary that tremendous interest was expressed on both sides of the House and the Government's interest in the area is obvious. I did meet with the High Commissioners both in India and in Pakistan, and my impression was that the Government was following this very closely and I think we will see this again at the meeting of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva.

Mr. Ahmed: Do you think, Sir, that the published statements made by Sir Alock Douglas Home, highly critical of the Pakistan Government, have been helpful either to a political solution or to Britain's own role in this matter?

High Commissioner: As my function is purely humanitarian, I am not in a position to start discussing the attitude of individual Member Governments towards this problem. This is clearly very much a political issue. I am not sure I agree with your assessment in terms of what Sir Alec has been saying. I shall look again at this question, but I believe that this is not an area which I can comment about.

Voluntary Agencies

Miss Margaret Quass (UNA): U.N. Agencies work together obviously when there is a crisis. Is this true in this situation as in others? How about the role of the World Bank?

High Commissioner: In the United Nations there are many different organs and departments and agencies. Sometimes the agencies with humanitarian interests like FAO, UNICEF, and UNHCR work together. Obviously, when there is a crisis this is true. The long-term development agencies and financing agencies like the World Bank or the Monetary Fund or the UNDP have a separate mandate. They are not concerned with short term relief emergencies but with long-term development, and this is not a matter directly related to the emergency that we facing today. The co-ordination you speak of is between the humanitarian agencies not between the World Bank and my Office at this stage.

Miss Joyce Pearce (Ockenden Venture): It has been reported in the British Press that there is always a problem of children among the refugees, and that there was a centre for 500 being set up. Could you say something about that?

High Commissioner: So far this has been a global problem, and in the camps which I visited children have usually been with their parents or in groups. So far as I know, through my office in Delhi, the Indian Government has not particularly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

separated children from their families or from adults. If there should be a problem we shall follow it of course. So far for the time being it has been a global problem of massive proportion and families have been considered as a unit in which groups of children have not been singled out as far as I know.

Miss Hella Pick (The Guardian): What is your view on the idea of sanctions in the form of cutting aid to Pakistan, either development assistance or military assistance?

High Commissioner: You raise a very difficult problem here because one has to differentiate between what this might provoke from a Government and the effect that is might have on the people. I believe that there are many ways of influencing Governments. I am not convinced that the best way is by trying to affect the people of the country. That is why I think the international community has differentiated between humanitarian relief assistance and long-term development aid. The two things have been clearly separated. I am not absolutely convinced personally that maintaining people in a state of under development really influences the Government. That is the unfortunate thing about using aid as a means of pressure to influence Governments. One should differentiate between Governments and the people of the country.

Miss Tigger Stack (Oxfam Press): Did you make any assessment of the overall food position in East Pakistan both now and in the immediate future?

High Commissioner: Once again this really is the job of the Secretary-General's team in Dacca. I am concerned about those people who will want, hopefully, to be able to return to Pakistan. This food aspect of the problem in East Pakistan is the on going concern of the United Nations team under the Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs already in Dacca. My impression though after talks with the authorities and United Nations staff was that it was not so much a problem of food shortage as a problem of distribution especially during the monsoon. My understanding is that the food shortage could be very easily covered through stocks to replenish the buffer stocks which could be used. This is why Pakistan has asked for these so called coasters to transport the food through water-ways to some areas which are not easily accessible through ordinary communications.

Mr. Roderick Ede (Society of Friends): The heading of the press release distributed is "Contributions through United Nations for Relief of East Pakistanis in India..." Are you free to use the money for returnees to East Pakistan?

High Commissioner: Not unless it was ear-marked by the donors. In some instances governments have indicated that if there should be a beginning of a substantial repatriation we should have the flexibility to use part of the donations to facilitate the return of the people and their rehabilitation in their home land. Basically the funds are being used for relief in India.

Mr. Louis Fitzgibbon (BCAR): Yours, I think, is the smallest office of the United Nations family and you have been asked to take on the task. Will it have any effect on the many other operations throughout the world which your office is currently carrying out?

High Commissioner: Well, our main problem has been because of the very small size of our office to avoid our other operations grinding to a stop as it were. We have had to deplete our office considerably sending staff first to Delhi now to Pakistan and as a result we have a very serious crisis. I had talks in New York about this problem, and I hope that the Secretariat will help us by providing people as a stop-gap measure until the Focal Point function has been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

covered. I am confident that we shall not have any problems of breakdown. We will be able to continue our regular activities in Europe, Africa and other parts of Asia and in Latin America, but we must separate the two things very clearly. One is the regular on going job of UNHCR. The other is the Focal Point Function for the whole UN system which is obviously entirely individual and separate from our usual programme.

Mr. Irven Smith: I would like to thank you ladies and gentlemen and the High Commissioner.

U.N. Secretary-General's Statement at 51st Session of the Economic and Social Council, on July 5, 1971

Following is excerpt from statement of Secretary General U.N. on July 5, 1971 at ECOSOC (51st Session) relating to East Pakistan refugees made under reference to focal point in the secretariat concerning co-ordination of international assistance in connection with national disasters and similar emergency situations:

Nevertheless recent disasters have revealed a growing sense of frustration in an international community anxious to help and a sense too that international efforts at the time of such catastrophes fell considerably short of the needs. These concerns have been actually intensified by the tragic and unprecedented situation stemming from the sizeable influx of refugees from East Pakistan into the adjacent States of India and from the need to alleviate the plight of the population of East Pakistan itself. There is thus no doubt as to the necessity for a major strengthening of existing arrangements within the UN system and for ensuring that international action in emergency situations measures up to the resources and technical capabilities of modern society. Indeed the Council may wish to consider whether these considerations do not call for an upward revision of the very modest proposals contained in my report.

Text of the statement of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Econmic and Social Council, 51st Session, on July 5, 1971

Mr. President, as you can well imagine, I have listened to all intervention with very great attention. There is, it seems to me, a clear procedural problem here which has been referred to by a number of speakers. The outline of the decisions taken by the economic and social council in 1969 has been stressed here and the High Commissioner, of course, remains responsible under that decision to what I consider to be one of the most important Legislative organs of the United Nations. If the High Commissioner is called upon to comment on his report or answer any question which may be directed to him on the basis of the report, he can appear in front of the economic and social council. I did so, in fact, since this decision was taken in 1969 by going into some details about a specifit problem of refugees in Africa. However, as far as the procedural question is concerned, raised by the distinguished representative of Pakistan which clearly outlined the role entrusted to me as focal point by the Secretary-General following his appeal issued to the International Community on 19th May, this particular function is simply not reported at all in the document before you: first of all, because that was not undertaken, strictly speaking, under the usual terms of reference of the High Commissioner for refugees but as the channel for all United Nations components channelling aid to India and secondly because this particular

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

crisists erupted as was rightly indicated by other speakers, after the end of the particular period covered by the report. Therefore, Mr. President, though I would very much like to contribute in a very concrete way to the progress and the development of your debates here this afternoon. The fact of the matter is that, as far as the procedural aspect of the problem is concerned, I am in the hands of the economic and social council. I am, of course, prepared and quite willing to report to you on any aspect of my functions either under my mandate an statute or under my good offices but for this I have to get clearance on the procedural aspect of the problem from the economic and social council which is a sovereign body.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Record of Press Conference of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugee in Paris on July 9, 1971

Introduction by Mr. Luc Ven Bellinghen, the Director of the Information Centre of the United Nations in Paris

I wish to thank you for joining us this evening to hear the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, and to ask him questions. The subject of this conference is the urgent multilateral aid for the East Pakistani refugees who are in India.

Allow me to remind you that on 19th May last, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U-Thant, in reply to the appeals for help which the Indian Government had made to him, as well as to various institutions belonging to the United Nations system, entrusted the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Refugees with the central role for co-ordination of everything related to aid supplied to the refugees of East Pakistan through the different branches of the family of the United Nations.

Of course, the United Nations are also giving aid to the population of East Pakistan, but this is quite distinct from the operation supervised by the High Commissioner on behalf of the refugees. So it is the problem of the refugees which we shall discuss this evening; we can sum up the dimensions of this drama in two sentences: first of all, the number of the Pakistanis who have crossed the border is such that it represents one of the largest population migrations in contemporary history. Further, the multilateral programme for aid to the refugees exceeds every other similar multilateral programme established since the end of the Second World War.

The High Commissioner, who has his Head Office in Geneva, recently paid a visit to India and East Pakistan and was able to assess the situation for himself.

On his right is Mr. Andre Alphand, delegate of the High Commissioner in France. And now, High Commissioner, will you please take the floor.

High Commissioner : Ladies and Gentlemen, the principle aim of this meeting is so that you might ask me questions. But first and foremost, I should like to give a brief resume of the problem of the East Pakistan refugees in India. We are dealing with a collossal problem. The figures given to us by the Indian government at the present moment put the estimates at six million refugees. That gives us an idea of the proportions of the demographical situation in regions of India which are already over-populated. We are working in these dramatic conditions. There are food distribution problems as well as health problems.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Cholera, which is under control for the moment, could break out again. There is also a danger of other epidemics such as malaria or gastro-enteritis, especially now that the Monsoon season has hit Bengal. Finally there are things we are unaware of on the political side,—the problem of aid administration which the Indian Government has taken entirely upon itself, and their enormous logistic problems. These are all incalculable difficulties which the United Nations must face; for all these reasons it was imperative to create an efficient system of co-ordination. This is the first time in the history of the organisation that we have been able to assemble such machinery for co-ordination from the beginning directly following the Indian Government's appeal. All the humanitarian organisations, the Childrens' Fund, (UNICEF), (which is being represented here by one of my colleagues, Mr. Twigt), the world Food Programme (PAM), and the Food and Agricultrual Organisation (FAO), based in Rome, the World Health Organisation (OMS) in Genova, have grouped together with the High Commissioner for refugees so as to create a centre for the administration and forwarding of aid. We immediately sent a mission to assess on the spot the dimensions of the problem together with the Indian Authorities. Then a team was set up in Delhi to transfer the total aid sent to India through the multilateral network, in collaboration with the national authorities who in turn assume the responsibility of distributing the aid. Since the Secretary-General made his appeal to the International Community on May, 19th, we have been able to re-direct through the United Nations more than 550 million new francs, that is to say, about 100 million dollars. When one considers that the appeal was issued less than two months ago, the results are spectacular although they still fall far below what remains to be sent to India. In fact we received quite recently from the Indian Government on June 26th, a new requirements estimate. Reckoning on the figure of six million refugees, the Government considers that for the next six months, they will need 400 million dollars in cash and kind, that is today, 2,208 million francs. This means our task is far from finished. We must continue to count on governments generosity:—firstly the governments should provide us with the necessary means, then the private sector. The Red Cross, and benevolent agencies sueh as CIMADE, Catholic Assistance, or CARITAS, are also concerned with the problem. But we depend above all on the governments. It is for this reason that, after my trip to Pakistan and India, I went to Washington where I discussed matters with the Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, and the high dignitaries of the State Department; then to London where I saw Sir Alec Douglas-Home. Finally, I went to Paris where I recently talked with Mr. Schumann to discuss the problem as a whole. The French Government, like the other governments who are members of the United Nations, is conscious of the fact that this is one of the most serious problems which exist today on the international scale. I shall next return directly to Geneva to give my report to the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations which has its assembly at the present moment.

We shall continue to send help, as far as it is possible, while still counting on government generosity. At the same time, we shall continue to explore the possibilities of creating an atmosphere which will be conducive to the voulntary repatriation of the refugees.

I was able to obtain the accreditation of a representative of my office who will be going to Dacca (East Pakistan), very shortly. So we shall be on the spot to be able to take stock of the state of the reception centres which the Pakistani Government has erected, and we shall determine if this voluntary repatriation may be launched. If the case arises, we shall be on hand to help the returning refugees and speed up reinstallation in their native villages for all those who wish to return home. This is the aim of our action.

I wish to say in conclusion that it appears to me that the United Nations has a very important task to fulfil. We are faced with what is primarily a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

humanitarian problem, whatever the political aspects on the other hand might be. The International Community cannot remain indifferent to the latter either. Now the aid distributed by us has no political ulterior motives, and is free from all obligations. I also wish to remind you that the substantial 550 million francs which uptill now we have been able to re-direct to India through the United Nations network, is only a part of the International Community's contribution. All in all, both in the bilateral and multilateral sphere, contributions to date total about 165 million dollars, that is to say, almost 1,000 million francs. It is generous, but the fact is that India expects an even greater effort from the International Community.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I throw open the floor.

Mr. Dilep Padgaonkar (Times of India): Your were recently in East Pakistan. Did you find after your stay that living conditions have returned to normal—and that your work in the country will be able to continue unhindered by Pakistani Powers?

High Commissioner: It's extremely difficult to assess the situation. I was there on hand, but I didn't see all of the country. I first went to the Western, then the Eastern border. I only visited two or three places where the situation seemed to be slowly returning to normal. We must re-establish an atmosphere of reconciliation; that is what will make the refugees decide of their own free will to return to their homes.

Same Reporter: Did you get the impression that there were many refugees who wanted to return?

High Commissioner: Conditions in Indian camps are difficult. You have seen pictures on the television. It is normal that people should want to return to their homes. Besides, every refugee has the desire to return to his native land, in Europe, Africa, Latin, America, everywhere where there are exiles. So I think one can say that the refugees want to go back but that for the moment, they haven't made up their minds. One cannot force them to go back, but the situation is really serious: I was particularly struck by the over-population due to the fact that it is only possible to accommodate the people on a short-term basis. As far as African refugees are concerned, there is enough room for them in the continent: one can re-accommodate refugees, one can give them a means of living, but in India, there are too many people and it really isn't possible. This is the reason why the Indian Government is trying to clear a part of the border states, in Tripura or West Bengal to send the refugees to the regions of Madhya-Pradesh or Assam. So to reply to your question, it is not likely that the people wish to remain in the camps. They surely want to go home but, obviously, they want to return to safety.

Mr. Caudron (Caholic Life): I have just come back from there myself. Six million refugees? I think there are more like 7 million now. When I left three weeks ago, 100,000 persons a day were still crossing over and of the six million in question, 4·5 million were Hindus who, I believe, have left East Pakistan for good. I think that you are aware of this problem. What is to become of the 4.5 million Hindus?

High Commissioner: The figures present problems. It is the government who gives us the figures. It is impossible for us to verify them. This is also true of the figures given by the Pakistani Government regarding repatriation. The same is true of the proportions stated between the number of Moslems and Hindus: we were given figures just as you were.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Same Reporter: One realises that there is a Hindu majority when one is walking about the camps with an interpreter. Three-quarters of the camps are filled with Hindus. All the same, it's a strange phenomenon.

High Commissioner: I can only refer to the declarations made by the two governments. Mrs. Gandhi, whom I saw on several occasions, declared that the refugees cannot stay in India. She never said: "The Moslems must go home or the Hindus must go home". What she said was that the refugees should go home when the situation allows. The same is true on the Pakistani side: President Yahya Khan declared that everyone could return to their homes. He even made an appeal to the minority groups. These two positions are ever-present for us. What our job is to do, is to facilitate the solution. We ourselves, as the High Commission, a humanitarian organisation, cannot comment directly on the political or religious aspects of the problem. Having said this, I may well add, that it would be deplorable in a continent which has already suffered through religious differences, that this situation which is dramatic enough as it is, should give rise to yet another religious confrontation in one or the other country.

Mr. Jean Peyzieu (O.R.T.F.): I should like you to tell us what sort of intervention the governments you contacted, in Washington, London and Paris and also with Mr. Schumann, intend to do concerning Islamabad to create an atmosphere of security which will allow the refugees to return. And, finally, what Mr. Schumann's opinions are, as far as you may be permitted to say, of course.

High Commissioner: There is one fundamental problem: that is respect due to state sovereignty. This is unfortunately a fact which one must be reminded of often. For people like myself, who are mainly preoccupied with the humanitarian aspect, I must say that that is often difficult to comprehend, because one feels that the question of human rights concerns all individuals in all states. But in the domain of international relationships, the governments are forced to respect state sovereignty, as much as for Pakistan as for India. It is not for me to talk of any means which might be employed to influence a sovereign government. *All that I may talk about is the necessity for voluntary repatriation.* Everyone agrees that conditions must be created, so that such a repatriation may take place: Indians, Pakistanis, all the governments. Opinions may of course differ as to the method, as to the means of creating a situation which will make repatriation possible. Though I may have my own ideas on this point, it is not my place, as High Commissioner for the refugees, to talk about the poilitical aspect of the problem. For the moment, in reply to your question, and I do wish to reply to it, the governments are aware of the enormity of the aid needed in India, and that one must intensify this aid, because if ever there was lack of assistance, the situation, dramatic enough as it is, would become even more so and would bring with it even more serious political repercussions. This is exactly what the Indian Government has often given to understand. The International Community must be generous. There thus remains this aspect and it is obvious, because of the enormity of the problem, that we must be able to count on government generosity. That is the first aspect, and the second is the humanitarian role of the United Nations in West Pakistan. Mr. Van Bellinghen reminded us just now, that the United Nations had taken action on East Pakistan: food distribution, assistance in the logistic side of things, etc. Thus the United Nations have also a role to play in East Pakistan on the humanitarian level. It was all these problems that I discussed in Washington as well as in London and Paris.

Mr. Bernard Ullmann (French Press Agency): I have noticed that, according to the list of governments who have contributed to the refugees, either in cash or kind, there is not one socialist country mentioned. Did you solicit these countries in the socialist camp? Did they reply to your appeals?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

High Commissioner: Yugoslavia did, whereas the others reiterated their policy of bilateral assistance; you know that for natural disasters, just as for man-made disasters such as this, Governments can adopt different terms for bilateral and multilateral aid, through the Red Cross or other private organizations. Socialist Governments often show their preference for bilateral aid. That is why a Government like the Soviet Union contributed in cash and kind bilaterally. In my opinion, the question of the distribution network is not so very important. What is important, is that we come to India's aid.

Unidentified Reporter: To return to the question of repatriation, do you get the impression that things are beginning to return back to normal, or will it take yet another year before that is possible.

High Commissioner: I think that it is extremely difficult to say how long such things take. All I can say is that for a number of weeks the situation was very tense and was cause for fear to the civilian population. This fear resulted in great migrations. It always takes some time before things become stable again. We have seen this in other countries of the world. It was not so long ago that there was a crisis in and African Country which the Press was constantly referring to. Fortunately, this crisis has been resolved. The people have returned home but that took some time too. All refugee problems take rather a long time before they are settled. In the same way, this problem has existed in the Middle East for 20 years. We must not give up hope, but be patient and find through careful study, the means to allow the refugees' return.

Mr. Caudron (Catholic Life): Regarding the Middle East, there exists an organization of the United Nations which is a permanent organisation, for Palestinian refugees. Don't you think that the problem we are faced with is about to become a permanent problem since a large part at least of these refugees will no treturn to their homes? Consequently, you may be led to create a permanent organisation to take care of them as is the case in the Middle East.

High Commissioner : I do not want to be as pessimistic as you. I have the impression that it would be frightening if one were to create a permanent organisation. In the first place, we have seen the result in the Near East. There is no need for me to go into detail about the humanitarian and political aspects of the problem. *Living in camps is an awful thing.* It would be appalling with the numbers we are dealing with—many more than the Palestinians in 1948. The desire to create a permanent organisation is the desire to create permanent misery and despair, and that, I am sure, India would not tolerate. The International Community, as far as it is concerned, has no wish to start such a venture which will entail collossal financial repercussions. Every year, collecting funds for supporting the Palestinian refugees in the camps presents an enormous problem to the General Assembly. So I really cannot see such a situation arising in India.

Unidentified Reporter : Have you been able to probe the intentions of the Pakistani Government regarding the return of the refugees who are in India at the moment ? Were you told anything at all which might allow a certain amount of optimism?

High Commissioner : All I can tell you is that I was first in Islamabad, then in Dacca. In Islamabad, the President had already addressed an appeal to all the refugees, saying that the Pakistanis could return home. I was also informed of the declaration of amnesty issued by the East Pakistan authorities: this was followed by the President's appeal to the minority groups. I was also told about the speech the President made on the 28th June, but the fact is that our discussions were limited to these questions. What did encourage me was the knowledge that the Pakistani Government has accepted the accreditation of one of my representatives in Dacca. This is very positive and shows a desire on the part of Pakistan to collaborate with the United

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nations regarding the refugees. Besides, this was repeated in President Yahya Khan's speech on June 28th when he expressed his gratitude to the United Nations for their collaboration in the eventual repatriation of the refugees. We must try by every means at our disposal to do something.

Mr. Francois Roussel (La Croix): I should like to know how you distribute this aid to such a vast population, especially now that the camps are dispersed in different regions of India? That must require substantial teams. How do you set about tackling this business?

High Commissioner: To eliminate all confusion, I should like to repeat that it is the Indian Government which co-ordinates and distributes all the aid. The Indian Government insisted on the necessity to do it on the Governmental scale.

We have no operational responsibility in India. The Government has taken all this responsibility upon itself and has no wish at the moment to share it with international or private organisations. It is the Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation which takes care of the forwarding and distribution of aid. The Indian administration which is naturally terribly over-worked could, if it wanted to, appeal to foreign aid, but for the moment, it is in sole charge. Indian doctors are helped by a few foreign doctors, especially for administering anti-cholera vaccines with ultra-rapid apparatus. There are also terms though somewhat few, of voluntary foreign workers who were in India before and who are now working to help the refugees from Pakistan, but the organisation as a whole has remained in the Indian Government's hands. *We of course respect the Government's point of view.* We have a team at Delhi, but which is responsible only for redistributing the aid which is forwarded by the "Focal Point" which we represent and for discussing priorities with the Indian Authorities. Should we use money in Europe to buy tents, or should we buy part of the material in India? Do we need jeeps, lorries...? All this is discussed with my team in Delhi, but we are no longer responsible once the material arrives in India.

Mr. Caudron (Catholic Life): One thing is certain and that is that when one sees the camps, one notices there is a terrible lack of doctors: there is no milk, no proteins, and that has been the case for two months. The whole world is totally indifferent. Aid practically never gets through. That is what the situation is like. For weeks people have been dying in the camps through lack of food and medicine. I saw heaps of children dying because assistance was lacking. What do you intend to do?

High Commissioner: I can ask you what camps you were in?

Mr. Caudron (Catholic Life): In all the northern camps (of Bengal) and of course to Dum Dum where everyone goes. Dum Dum is pretty appalling, and there is need to build a large camp on another site to accommodate a million people. That means falling into a situation like Palestine. So.....

High Commissioner: I share your anxiety. I myself saw the same thing when I was there. I saw children dying, people in the hospitals, bodies that you had to step over and so on. For two months we have all been victims of this abominable situation, faced with huge demands which we try to resolve as best we can. I remember that we received a request from India and that already on Monday, the first of the vaccines left on freight aircraft from Geneva. But once they arrive, as you know, they still take some time. The Indians are snowed under with work: as you said, there is a lot of illness. I do not believe that it is the malnutrition in the camps which has caused this state of affairs, but more likely the diseases which people contract on route or on the spot. We send on tons of medicine but it is often very difficult to distribute them. The logistic problem is difficult. However, uptill now, the Indian Government's attitude has been to refuse to internationalise distribution of aid, to avoid having numbers of people wandering around in every

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

direction, who do not know the language and who are not used to the climate and the problem of the Monsoon, who are unfamiliar with the geography of the country and who risk further complicating the problem. This is New Delhi's attitude. It is not for me to say whether it is right or wrong. As far as we are concerned, we send on aid, in cash and kind as quickly as possible, but the problem of distribution is very thorny as you said yourself. I hope that by evacuating the refugees from the densely populated areas like Bengal or Tripura, we shall be able to alleviate the problem you refer to somewhat.

Mr. Caudron (La Vie Catholique): The refugees who leave the border regions to go into India's interior—doesn't this mean, in fact, that when they are 3,000 kilometers from East Pakistan, they are fated to stay there permanently? It seems to me that this presents a permanent problem.

High Commissioner: I have often asked the Indian authorities the same question, and their reply has always been absolutely formal. They have always told me that it was only a temporary measure due to the fact that they could no longer accommodate this over-population, this demographic explosion in the border states. But it is only temporary and one day the refugees will have to return to their homes. If one brings up the point of distance, the authorities say that, for example, when one crosses the line from Tripura to Assam, one is further from the point of departure perhaps, but no further from the Pakistani frontier. The Indian authorities add that if we can send off refugees by air in one direction, we can also bring them back the other.

Mr. Francois Roussel (The Cross): I am thinking of Mr. Kissinger who was over there, and who returned via Paris having discussed the possibility of a mediation. Do you think mediation would still be possible, and through the Americans?

High Commissioner: You are referring to a piece of news that I myself heard of in the press. I have no idea at all if any mediation took place during this trip. I talked about the problem as a whole when I was in Washington with Mr. Rogers. If there was to have been a possibility of mediation, it wouldn't particularly matter which side it came from. But if there is to be mediation, I think it can perhaps be useful. All mediation by definition is useful, but I feel that the two governments can very easily continue to have direct talks. They have not broken diplomatic relationships.

Mr. Caudron (Catholic Life): The victims of the cyclone are to be sent help up to the end of 1971. Are they receiving anything at the present moment?

I am convinced that they are receiving aid from India. I was in Pakistan when the team from the World Bank and the U.N. institutes were there to tour the regions which had been hit by the cyclone. They set up a programme for restoration after the civil war, and contined to administer help in the cyclone regions. The International Children's Fund, the Food and Agricultural Organisation and the World Food Programme are all there. Their representatives are free to go wherever they wish. The Pakistani Government has asked for flat-bottomed boats to be used during the monsoon season on the rivers and canals. United Nations personnel is on hand to see that aid is distributed to the regions where it is really necessary. Of course, this does not originate in my office, but I am convinced that the aid in the disaster-hit areas was being organised.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Extracts from the Statement by Ambassador N. Krishnan, leader of the Indian Observer Delegation to the 51st Session of the Economic and Social Council, on July 9, 1971

With these promising growth trends characterising the Indian scene during the last few years the country was poised for a breakthrough in several new directions leading to sustained and substantial progress. Indeed after the General Elections which took place in February this year, my Government was getting ready of a determined attack on our economic and social problems. Our plans for continuing an accelerated temmpo of development in the economic and social fields have however, received a severe jolt due to the tragic turn of events in East Bengal which have resulted in a massive influx of refugees from there into India. The influx still continues unabated and has already reached a phenomenal figure of 6.3 million by the end of June. It is clear that the task of providing food, shelter and medicines to them must receive high priority. Even the token provison of 80 million in our budget for the current year for this purpose has meant an additional tax burden of 30 Percent on our people. We are therefore appreciative of the sympathetic response of the world community in sharing this burden with us and the efforts of the UN system to channel this assistance. However, much still remains to be done to cope with the gigantic relif needs of the ever increasing number of refugees. At the same time, relief efforts, even on an expanded and accelerated scale, could at best be only a temporary palliative. The real and truely humanitarian solution, as the international community has come to recognise and accept, lies in stopping the flow of refugees and in expediting their return to their homeland, in conditions which would assure them full freedom and security and create in them confidence and faith for the future.

My delegation is grateful for the initiative taken by Yugoslavia and New Zealand in asking for a discussion on this item during the current session of the Council and the support expressed in their statements by the delegations of the Soviet Union, U.K., Hungary, Norway, and others. We await with interest the statement which the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees is expected to make before the Council next week. We are confident that the discussion will highlight the need to mobilise further assistance on a substantial scale to meet the pressing relief needs of these unfortunate refugees and focus attention also on the urgency of their speedy and voluntary repatriation. We do hope the ECOSOC during its deliberations will consider the problem in its overall perspective and endorse a viable and lasting solution.

Statement made by Mr. Ismat T. Kittani, Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs, at the Fifty-first Session of the Economic and Social Council, on July 16, 1971

Mr. President,

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to inform the Council of the efforts of the Secretary-General and the United Nations system to provide humanitarian assistance to East Pakistan.

It may be useful at the outset for me to outline very briefly the background of this endeavour, in which a number of organizations and programmes are working in a concerted manner. On 22, April the Secretary-General addressed a letter to President Yahya Khan expressing his great concern at the situation in East Pakistan and offering, on behalf of the United Nations family of organizations, and on purely humanitarian grounds, all possible assistance to help the Government of Pakistan in its task of bringing urgently needed relief to the population of East

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pakistan. The President of Pakistan responded to the Secretary-General's expression of concern for the well-being of Pakistan stating in a letter received on 3rd May that an assessment of possible future needs for international assistance was under way (released on 12th May). Subsequently, on 17th May, the Economic Adviser to the President of Pakistan called on the Secretary-General and, having formally accepted his offer of assistance, explained the extent of the relief requirements. These were set out in more detail in a communication from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, dated 22 nd May (released on 26 th May). In the same letter the Government of Pakistan informed the Secretary-General that foreign and United Nations experts and project personnel who had left East Pakistan could return to continue their work.

It may be relevant to note that in the meantime—that is, on 19th May—the Secretary-General had made an appeal for international assistance to alleviate the serious hardships and suffering of the sizeable and continuing influx of refugees from East Pakistan into adjacent States of India. Although that is a separate operation these two efforts of international assistance are, of course, related to the extent that as conditions in East Pakistan are improved, there will be a better possibility of arresting and reversing the flow of refugees.

Following consultations with the Permanent Representative of Pakistan in New York, the Secretary-General decided that I should travel to Pakistan for consultations with officials of the Government concerning the modalities of international humanitarian help to East Pakistan. I arrived in Islamabad in the afternoon of 3rd June and the following morning I was received by President Yahya Khan. There was full agreement on the manner in which the relief operation should be organized and the President asked me to convey to the Secretary-General that he shared the Secretary-General's concern that the United Nations should be in a position to assure the international community as a whole, and the donors in particular, that all relief assistance from and through the United Nations system would reach its intended destination—the people of East Pakistan.

In accordance with this agreement and as a first step in the planning of relief operations, the Secretary-General designated a Representative in East Pakistan who forthwith travelled to Dacca to take up his responsibilities. His main function is to act as the focal point for ensuring co-ordination of the work of the agencies and programmes of the United Nations family which will provide assistance in their respective fields. At the same time, a counterpart Pakistani Government inter departmental committee comprising senior officials of the Central and Provinvcial Governments was established, and the two groups have thereafter been working closely together in planning and organising the relief operations. A direct and reliable communications link was established between the Secretary-General's Representative in Dacca and the United Nations in New York and Geneva. On 18th June the Secretary-General appointed a Headquarters Co-ordinator who exercises his functions within the framework of the office for Inter-Agency Affairs. Since the end of June he has been operating here in Geneva. An inter-agency working group has been set up with a similar structure as that of the standing inter-agency consultation unit.

On 16 June the Secretary-General issued an appeal to all Governments, inter-Governmental and non-Governmental organizations, and to private institutions and donors, to alleviate the suffering which had befalllen the population of East Pakistan by making contributions in cash or in kind. He expressed the hope that donors would avail themselves to the largest extent possible of the established procedures of the United Nations family, particularly those of the World Food Programme and UNICEF, and stressed his belief that the international community

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

would once again adhere to the spirit of human solidarity and international co-operation which are enshrined in the Charter.

The basic framework for the provision of relief assistance from and through the United Nations has thus been established, and in the month that has elapsed since the Secretary-General issued his appeal, a sustained effort has been made, in co-operation with the Government, to evaluate and assess the nature and extent of humanitarian assistane required. The information gathered regarding the food, transportation and health conditions prevailing in East Pakistan and an indication of the assistance needed to alleviate the hardship of the people there, are contained in a report which is being released today. The Secretary-General has availed himself of this opportunity to renew his urgent appeal to contribute to this humanitarian endeavour which constitutes one of the major challenges that the United Nations system of organizations and programmes has faced.

Inasmuch as the afore-mentioned report is now available. I need not go into any detail about food, transportation and health conditions in East Pakistan and the magnitude of assistance requirements. A few points, however, merit special attention and I should like to take a few minutes to refer to them.

The people of East Pakistan have been affected by a major cyclone and floods that hit the delta area on 11th and 12th November 1970 and by the hardships resulting from the civil disturbances beginning in March 1971. Reports from the Secretary-General's Representative in East Pakistan indicate that there has been considerable movement of population to rural areas causing incalculable loss of crops and purchasing power as well as disruption of transportation. These situations will complicate food and relief operations now and in the near future but no mass concentration of displaced persons has been reported.

Preliminary assessments of the conditions suggest that the problem is primarily one of distribution of food and other relief supplies. Such distribution has traditionally been made through food stores and ration shops of which there are over 360 located in East Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan counterpart committee has informed the Secretary-General's Representative that the Government of Pakistan is undertaking major efforts to make the port at Chittagong fully operational and efficient. However, railway and road transportation capacities have been considerably reduced and it is clear that reliance must be placed on water transport for food and relief supplies.

The Secretary-General's Representative in East Pakistan and representatives of the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Food Programme, the World Health Organization and UNICEF, are working with the Pakistani Government counterpart committee to further plan and organise the establishment of a large scale international humanitarian effort in East Pakistan. The United Nations estimate of food stocks and funding required as a first step in providing such assistance indicates that an initial sum of $ 28,200,000 is required at this time.

The Executive Director of the World Food Programme is awaiting information from the FAO/WFP team now in East Pakistan before deciding whether to recommend to the Director-General of FAO that further emergency food aid be approved for East Pakistan. The FAO senior agricultural economist deputed to Dacca has made a few preliminary observations after visiting the port of Chittagong and its storage facilities. According to him disruption of transportation is still a limiting factor and crop estimates are difficult because of uncertainties about harvest and delivery. There are great fears for nutrition and resulting health problems. A more comprehensive report is expected from him after he has completed his assignment.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Together with East Pakistani health authorities a World Health Organization survey team, sent by Dr. Candau, Director-General of WHO at the request of the Secretary-General, completed an initial survey of current and anticipated medical problems between 29th June and 9th July. Specific plans have been drawn up for the initial phase of a programme to cope with major disease prevention, medical care and sanitation problems, including assistance in coping with the major anticipated infectious disease problems and in countering nutritional problems to the extent possible. In co-operation with the Government longer-term plans and estimates of needs are now being elaborated.

In response to a specific invitation of the Government, the UNICEF office in Dacca has studied the possibilities of organizing and providing supplies for a food distribution for pre-school and young school children. The Government proposed to use schools as feeding centres and it indicated that although existing staff would be able to handle the operation, there would be need for transport and special food supplies for an initial period of one year. The proposed programme in which UNICEF would be involved aims to reach pre-school and school age children through at least 25 per cent of all primary schools. It is hoped to reach about 1,200,000 young children and to provide a supplementary ration of about 100 grams per day of pre-cooked, high-protein children's food. The feeding programme would eventually have a nutrition education component and it is hoped would lead to a longer-term plan which could be maintained by the Government and non-UNICEF sources after the initial emergency period is over. Concurrently with the special feeding programme, UNICEF has agreed to accelerate currently-aided projects in East Pakistan, particularly in the fields of health, rural water supplies and education. Additional assistance may also be required for the displaced persons in the country and, at a later stage, for returning refugees from India, if, as it is hoped, the number increases and the recently established reception centres need to be strengthened and expanded.

Other efforts include those of private organizations such as the League of Red Cross Societies, which sent two representatives to East Pakistan to make a survey with the Pakistan Red Cross Society on the conditions under which their cyclone disaster projects could be resumed. CARE aid programmes continue to function in East Pakistan and are picking up momentum. A number of other private institutions have continued existing projects or initiated new programmes of assistance.

This, Mr. President, is a brief review of the humanitarian relief operations under way in East Pakistan. As I said, earlier, further details about conditions and needs as well as about contributions and pledges thus far received from individual Governments and institutions, are contained in the report which is being issued today. May I only underline that this operation is still largely at the assessment and planning stage. All estimates of assistance requirements, however, point to the urgency of mobilizing substantial external resources for relief action.

In conclusion I wish to convey to the Council the deep gratification and appreciation of the Secretary-General on the splendid manner in which all United Nations Programmes and Agencies have responded to this challenge and acted smoothly and in concert.

Statement By Mr. L. Mojsov, Yugoslav Delegate, at the 51st Session of the Economic and Social Council on July 16, 1971

Mr. Chairman,

The High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, has described in his impressive and comprehensive statement the difficult situation in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which millions of Pakistani refugees now find themselves in India and the measures he had undertaken on behalf of the United Nations to offer effective assistance to them. The HCR has described "a situation of stark tradgey effecting an immense number of human beings". The sudden influx of so many people in such a brief period of time is virtually without precedent in the recent past. The number of refugees already exceeds six million and may, unfortunately, even rise further. The expenses of the most basic accommodation, food and preventive health measures are huge and certainly cannot be borne by the Indian States bordering on East Pakistan. The enormous material outlays which India has been forced to make, naturally to the detriment of other programmes and priorities in its social and economic development, cannot satisfy the requirements of these unfortunate people. Furthermore, local and other authorities in India could not possibly have been prepared for such an influx, nor could they have anticipated that such dislocations would occur as would generate social problem of no mean proportions in their country. And while the material expenses could be compensated to some extent by the engagement of the entire international community, the question remains as to how to resolve or ameliorate the social and even the political consequences which are almost inevitable in such circumstances, having in mind, above all, the humanitarian aspect of this complex problem. And what are we to say of the tragic fate of those people, among whom there are many women and children who, by force of circumstances, find themselves in a situation in which they cannot provide even the basic necessities for themselves and whose lives are endangered by extremely poor conditions of health and sanitation.

For this reason, the Yugoslav Government and people, motivated by humanitarian considerations, have been following with feelings of great anxiety the drama unfolding on the Indian sub-continent and the evils that have befallen millions of men, women and children. We share the view of many international spokesmen that it is imperative to find such a solution as will enable the refugees to return to their homes, as this would be the most humane and normal approach to the problems of these people, and at the same time in the long term interests of both India and Pakistan.

The President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, moved by the same considerations, has just expressed concern for the fate of the refugees from East Pakistan in messages sent recently to the President of Pakistan, Yahya Khan, and the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi.

As the High Commissioner for Refugees acts as the focal point for the co-ordination of assistance from the organizations and programmes of the United Nations system, we expect that he will utilize his great experience and authority to find lasting, long-term solutions, taking account in the first place of the express wishes of the refugees themselves and of their interests. His contacts and talks with responsible persons in Pakistan and India make it justified to hope that this problem, whose gravity weights upon the international community and burdens the relations between the neighbouring countries involved, will ultimately be solved in a positive way. It is the duty both of the international community and of all those concerned to do everything in their power to enable the refugees to return to their homes. The successful implementation of this action would simultaneously mean the creation of conditions which would lead to a cessation of further inflows of refugees and to their voluntary repatriation.

For its part, the Yugoslav Government has approved the extending of assistance to the refugees, to the limits of its possibilities. This help has already been sent to India through the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. The Yugoslav Red Cross has also issued an appeal for the collection of help which will be forwarded later. The Yugoslav Government is ready to give the High

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Commissioner the necessary support and help in his efforts co-ordinate assistance by the U.N. system to the millions of refugees in the territory of India. We also endorse the activities undertaken so far along these lines by the High Commissioner. We are deeply impressed by his words that the relief action for the refugees from East Pakistan represents "one of the largest and most difficult actions of our time" and we are confident that, in organizing this large and complex action, the HCR deserves the full endorsement of the ECOSOC.

The favourable reaction of countries members of the UN. system, of non-governmental institutions and private organizations and individuals to the urgent appeal sent out by the UN. Secretary-General U Thant, holds out the hope that the humanitarian action will terminate in success and thus help create the appropriate conditions for a lasting solution to the problem of refugees. In this regard, we also express our gratitude to the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kitani, for his contribution in initiating the relief action and for his excellent report to the Council.

Statement by Mr. J. V. Scott, New Zealand delegate, in the 51st Session of the Economic and Social Council, on July 16, 1971

We have heard with interest and appreciation the comprehensive statement of the High Commissioner for Refugees on his role as the focal point for international assistance to the refugees from East Pakistan now in India.

We must all have been deeply impressed by the magnitude of the task he has described and with the tremendous burden that the sudden influx of nearly seven millions of refugees has cast upon the Government of India. We wish to acknowledge again the value of his interventions on behalf of the refugees and pay tribute to the response of the Indian authorities, of non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations, and of private citizens to the stark challenge of this incomparable human tragedy.

We are grateful to the High Commissioner for providing such a clear and detailed picture of the scope of the relief operations for which he is the focal point and for responding to the questions which my delegation asked some days ago. We can take confidence from his statement in his actions to bring about co-ordination of international relief activities. We can feel assurance that within the limits of his resources and abilities no effort is being spared to cope with the pressing requirements of the situation—a situation, in his words, created by the massive overwhelming arrival of millions of people in a state of destitution and physical exhaustion, a situation of great human misery. We were particularly pleased to hear his remarks about the climate of genuine co-operation and the feeling of common undertaking that exists among the United Nations agencies concerned.

But if much has already been accomplished much more still remains to be done.

We are all faced with the urgent need for additional assistance, for more adequate accommodation and shelter for transport, food and medical supplies to match the revised estimates of the needs of this growing human flood. The dangers are all too clear of the rapid spreading of epidemics and infectious diseases brought on by inadequate sanitation, malnutrition, the lack of clean water and of medical supplies and facilities. In this connection the actions of the specialised agencies, the WHO, UNICEF, FAO, the World Food Programme

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and the non-governmental organizations in conjunction with the Government of India are commendable in helping to meet this emergency situation.

The High Commissioner's statement sheds new light on the extent of the human misery that has been caused. The need for urgent assistance remains and, if insufficient is done, is certain to last for a very long time. The amount of help required has increased with the continuing flow of refugees across the border into India. This is not a situation from which the international community dare turn away their eyes.

The High Commissioner's responsibilities are crucial in channelling aid to alleviate the human misery that has undoubtedly been caused. All that he has said discloses the need for compassion and effort on the part of others in a situation fraught with great danger. His influence has been a restraining one in dealing with issues that have aroused the most intense feelings on either side. We hope that, with the encouragement of this Council, the High Commissioner's efforts will further promote an international atmosphere in which the problems that have given rise to the refugee crisis, and which have so far kept it from solution, can be dealt with.

I said in my general debate speech on 8 July that "It will not be fruitful to consider the reasons why this situation has arisen, nor is it necessary to consider in this Council the political conditions that need to exist before the refugees will be content to return to their homes". The need to avoid any action which would impair an already difficult situation is obvious. New Zealand itself has no wish to become involved in the internal affairs of either India or Pakistan.

New Zealanders, nevertheless, are deeply distressed at the suffering and loss of life caused by the refugee crisis and are conscious of its implications for the stability of the region. It seems clear to us that very little beyond immediate hand-to-mouth relief of the refugees can be achieved without the establishment of a climate of confidence in East Pakistan which will allay the fears of those who are at present taking refuge in India. The dictates of humanitarianism do not cease with the provision of food and shelter—and there remains enough to be done even in that sphere. They extend to the long-term future of the unfortunate refugees and particularly their right to return of their own free will to their homes in conditions which promise them a normal life as citizens participating fully in their society. This simple message a message of humane concern, not a blueprint for a solution which does not lie within the Council's competence is the one which my delegation hopes will emerge from the discussion in this Council.

The High Commissioner towards the end of his statement touched upon this crucial and central factor when he spoke of the urgency of voluntary repatriation of the refugees. He said and I quote.

"I have noted in this connection that the Government of India has stressed the urgency of an early return, as the refugees cannot be permanently settled in India. I have also noted the Government of Pakistan's position that the refugees should repatriate. I would like to assure the Council that I stand ready to facilitate, in any way possible, the voluntary repatriation of the refugees. That, indeed, must remain the humanitarian goal that guides our endeavours. I am only too aware of the complexities of the situation. The need above all is to ensure a climate of confidence, one in which the refugee himself will voluntarily wish to repatriate."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We endorse his view of the critical importance of voluntary repatriation as the best solution to the problem.

The fulfilment of this humanitrian purpose is itself dependent on the reduction of tension between India and Pakistan. We appreciate that in the present circumstances the creation of an atmosphere of compromise and negotiation is made especially difficult.

We all readily appreciate that the essential problems at the heart of the refugee crisis are not easy to solve, and have been made incomparably more difficult by the events which have marked recent months. None of us outside the region is in a position to offer suggestions on the nature of a solution. What can be done, however, through the Council is to focus attention on the need for an atmosphere of negotiation and compromise and for a longer-term settlement. The problem is already of unprecedented magnitude. If the international community do not face up to it now, they will have to do so latter when its dimensions are greater and more serious.

It is with that fundamental requirement in mind that I especially commend the efforts of the High Commissioner for Refugees. I can assure him of or full support in his continuing endeavours to attain the welfare and rehabilitation of the East Pakistan refugees.

U. N. Secretary General's Aid Memoire of July 19, 1971, to Governments of India and Pakistan

The repatriation of the refugees from East Pakistan now in India is a matter of the utmost concern and urgency. The Secretary is anxious to do everything possible, in co-operation with the Governments concerned and complementary to their own efforts, to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of the refugees in a secure and orderly manner which takes due account of their welfare. One possible method doing this might be to establish a limited representation of the High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border. The High Commissioner for Refugees is already acting as a focal point for the United Nations effort on behalf of these refugees. The representatives of the High Commissioner would be stationed at collecting points on the Indian side, at border crossing points on both sides, and in reception centres on the Pakistan side. It is the feeling of the Secretary-General that before attempting to make such an arrangements on a large scale, it would be desirable to test it in a limited way in order to ascertain whether in practice it would serve a useful purpose in facilitating the process of repatriation.

The Secretary-General therefore wishes to suggest to both Governments concerned that representatives of the High Commissioner for Refugees be accepted in two or three selected areas on both sides of the border, the areas to be suggested by the Governments in consultation with the High Commissioner. Were this arrangement to prove useful, it would then be possible to expand it gradually to include most, or all, of the repatriation points.

The Secretary-General expresses the hope that the Government of India will be prepared to give the necessary co-operation to make this initial endeavour possible. A similar suggestion has been made to the Permanent Representative of Pakistan on 19th July 1971.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Secretary-General's Memorandum to the President of the Security Council, dated July 26, 1971

(1) For some months now the members of the Security Council, and many other members of the UN have been deeply preoccupied with developments in East Pakistan and the adjacent Indian States and their consequences, or possible consequences. I myself expressed my concern over the situation to President Yahya Khan shortly after the events of March 1971, and have been in continuous touch with the Governments of Pakistan and India both through their Permanent representatives at the UN and through other contacts. In these exchanges I have been actually aware of the dual responsibilities of the UN, including the Secretary-General, under the Charter, both to observe the provisions of its Article 2, paragraph 7 and to work, within the framework of International Economic and Social Co-operation, to help promote and ensure human well being and humanitarian principles.

(2) It was with this latter responsibility in mind that I appealed for assistance both for the refugees from East Pakistan in India and for the population of East Pakistan. In order to channel the assistance given in response to these appeals. I designated the UN High Commissioner for Refugees as the focal point for assistance to the refugees in India and appointed, with the agreement of the Government of Pakistan a representative in Dacca, in order to make as effective use as possible of the international assistance made available for the relief of the population of East Pakistan. Both of these humanitarian efforts have been reported upon in detail elsewhere, and the Economic and Social Council held a full discussion on the both operations on 16th July 1971 based on statements to the Council by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the Assistant Secretary-General for inter agency affairs. I take this opportunity to express my warm gratitude to the Governments, the United Nations Agencies and programmes and to the voluntary organisations which have responded generously to my appeals. I also wish to express my appreciation to the Governments of India and Pakistan for their co-operation with my representatives in the field.

(3) As the weeks have passed since last March I have become increasingly uneasy and apprehensive at the steady deterioration of the situation in the region in almost all its aspects. In spite of the generous response of the International community to my appeals for assistance for the refugees from East Pakistan now in India the money and supplies made available are still nowhere near sufficient and the Indian Government still faces the appalling and disruptive problem of carrying for an unforeseeble period of time for millions of refugees whose number is still increasing. In East Pakistan international and Governmental efforts to cope with the results of two successive disaster one of them natural are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress toward a political reconciliation and the consequent effect on law and order and public administration in East Pakistan. There is a danger that serious food shortages and even famine could soon add to the sufferings of the population unless conditions can be improved to the point where a large scale relief programme can be effective. Equally serious is the undoubted fact that reconciliation and improved political atmosphere and the success of relief efforts are indispensable pre-requisite for the return of any large proportion of the refugees now in India. The situation is one in which political, economic and social factors have produced a series of victious circles which largely frustrate the efforts of the authorities concerned and of the international community to deal with the vast humanitarian problems involved.

(4) These human tragedies have consequences in a far wider sphere. The violent emotions aroused could have repercussions on the relations of religious and ethnic groups in the sub-continent as a whole and the relationship of the Governments of India and Pakistan is also a major component of the problem.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The conflict between the principles of the territorial integrity of States and of self-determination has often before in history given rise to fractricidal strife and has provoked in recent years highly emotional reactions in the international community. In the present case there is an additional element of danger for the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing, and unresolved, differences between India and Pakistan—differences which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago. Although there can be no question of the deep desire of both governments for peace, tension between them shows no sign of subsiding. The situation on he borders of East Pakistan is particularly disturbing. Border clashes, clandestine raids and acts of sabotage appear to be becoming more frequent, and this is all the more serious since refugees must cross this disturbed border if repatriation is to become a reality. Nor can any of us here in the UN the afford to forget that a major conflict in the sub-continent could all too easily expand.

(5) In tragic circumstances such as those prevailing in the sub-continent it is all too easy to make moral judgments. It is far more difficult to face up to the political and human realities of the situation and to help the people concerned to find a way out of their enormous difficulties. It is this latter course which, in my view, the UN must follow.

(6) I do not think that I have painted too dark a picture of the present situation and of its possible consequences. In the light of the information available to me, I have reluctantly come to the conclusions that the time is past when the international community can continue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and hoping the relief programmes, humanitarian efforts and good intentions will be enough to turn the tide of human misery and potential disaster. I am deeply concerned about the possible consequences of the present situation, not only in the humanitarian sense, but also as a potential threat to peace and security and therefore it was a bearing on the future of the UN as an effective instrument for international co-operation and action. It seems to me that the present tragic situation, in which humanitarian, economic and political problems are mingled in such a way as almost to defy any distinction between them, presents a challenge to the UN as a whole which must be met. Other situations of this kind may well occur in the future. If the organisation faces upto much a situation now, it may be able to develop the new skill and the new strength required to face future situations of this kind.

(7) It is for these reasons that I am taking the unusual step of reporting to the President of the Security Council on a question which has not been inscribed on the Council's agenda. The political aspects of this matter are of such far reaching importance that the Secretary-General is not in a position to suggest precise course of action before the members of the Security Council have taken note of the problem. I believe however that the United Nations with its long experience in peace keeping and with its varied resources for conciliation and persuasion must and should now play a more forthright role in attempting both to mitigate the human traged which has already taken place and to avert the further deterioration of the situation.

(8) The Security Council, the world's highest body for the maintenance of international peace and security is in a position to consider with the utmost attention and concern the present situation and to reach some agreed conclusions as to measures which might be taken. Naturally it is for the members of the Council themselves to decide whether such consideration should take place formally or informally in public or in private. My primary purpose at this stage is to provide a basis and an opportunity for such discussions to take place and to express my grave concern that all possible ways and means should be explored which might help to resolve this tragic situation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Non-Governmental World Bodies' Appeal to U.N. Sub-Commission on July 20, 1971

Twenty-two international non-governmental organisations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. petitioned the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, to take constructive action at its 24th session which commenced on August 2, 1971, "concerning the reports of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms occurring in East Pakistan".

In a statement released in New York on July 20, 1971, the organisations said that they were alarmed by these reports. In a reference to U-Thant's statement describing recent events leading to the flight of millions of refugees from East Bengal to India as "one of the most tragic episodes in human history", the statement expressed the "grave concern" of the organisations that no organ or agency of the United Nations "has pronounced itself on the implications of the events in the area for the human rights of the affected peoples".

The statement added that the organisations were convinced that the United Nations bore the responsibility to ascertain the facts of the situation "with the object of safeguarding the human rights of the population of East Pakistan including returning refugees", and called upon the Sub-Commission at the opening of its 24th session to:

(1) "Express its deep concern regarding the human rights implications of events in the affected areas with a view to assuring observance of the rights, the personal safety and the freedom of the people in the area;

(2) Examine all available information regarding the allegations of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in East Pakistan;

(3) Recommend to the Commission on human rights measures which might be taken to protect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the peoples of East Pakistan;

(4) Appoint the Working Group provided for under Economic and Social Council resolution and instruct it to keep under review communications on human rights regarding the situation in East Bengal; and

(5) Consider the extent to which events in the affected areas might be relevant to the contemplated studies of the Sub-Commission on minorities, indigenous populations and genocide."

The Sub-Commission has a membership of 26 including Pakistan. The other members include USA, UK, USSR, Canada, France, Philippines, Yugoslavia, Sudan, Romania, Nigeria, Kenya, UAR, Tanzania and Austria.

The organisations include the International Commission of Jurists, International Federation for the Rights of Man, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Student Christian Federation, World Union of Catholic Women's Organisations, International Federation of Women Lawyers and International Catholic Union of the Press.

India's Reply to U.N. Secretary-General's Aide Memoire, delivered on August 2, 1971

Government of India share the view of the Secretary-General that the repatriation of the refugees from East Pakistan, now in India, is a matter of utmost concern and urgency. Of even greater concern and urgency is the need to stop

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

military atrocities in East Pakistan and the consequent daily flow of refugees into India at the rate of 40,000 to 50,000 a day. The refugees already in India are unlikely to return as long as this further exodus continues. Government of India have noted with infinite dismay and grave concern that far from encouraging return of refugees or stopping or reducing the further flow of refugees from East Pakistan to India, their number has increased by nearly four million since President Yahya Khan made his statement on the 25th May that he would agree to allow these Pakistani citizens to return to their own country.

2. The root cause of the inflow of over seven million refugees into India and the daily exodus that still continues can only be explained by the total absence of such conditions in East Pakistan as would encourage or enable the refugees to return to their homes. The chaos and the systematic military repression and the decimation of the Bengali-speaking people in East Pakistan continue unabated, as indeed is clear to any objective reader of the international Press. This has been further corroborated by the recent reports of the World Bank and the public statements made by independent foreign observers who have visited East Pakistan and heard the tales of woe from refugees themselves in their camps in India.

3. The burden on the Government of India in looking after millions of refugees, whose number is still increasing every day, has been recognised by all. It has equally been recognised that in Pakistan efforts to cope with the results of two successive disasters, one of them natural and the other man-made, are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards political reconciliation and consequent effect on law and order and public administration in East Pakistan. An improved political atmosphere in East Pakistan is an indispensable pre-requisite for the return of the refugees from India. The conflict between the principles of territorial integrity of States and self determination is particularly relevant in the situation prevailing in East Pakistan where the majority of the population is being suppressed by a minority military regime which has refused to recognise the results of the elections held by them only in December last year and had launched a campaign of massacre, genocide and cultural suppression of an ethnic group, comprising 75 million people. Unless this basic cause for the influx of refugees into India is removed, all attempts to solve this problem by unrealistic experiments are bound to fail. Not only will they fail but they will tend to divert attention from the main issue and so encourage the continuation of military repression undertaken in so wide and horrifying a manner as in East Bengal.

4. Prince Sadruddin told the Prime Minister of India in New Delhi some time ago that the process and organisation of repatriation would be hampered by posting a number of personnel drawn from different parts of the world, speaking various languages with diverse backgrounds and following an assortment of techniques. UNHCR made no suggestion in the ECOSOC meeting held in Geneva on 16th July that the establishment of a limited representation of High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border would in any way encourage the return of refugees to their homes in East Pakistan.

5. In these circumstances, the Government of India are unable to understand what purpose the posting of a few men on the Indian side of the border will fulfil. Our conviction is that they can in no way help or encourage the refugees to return home and face indiscriminate and deliberate massacre by the West Pakistan military authorities. By attempting to subdue, through brute force, 75 million people of East Pakistan and by refusing to recognise political, economic, social and administrative realities of the situation prevailing there, Pakistan Government

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has not only made it impossible for the refugees already in India to return, but is deliberately forcing further inflow of refugees into India.

6. India has no desire to prevent the refugees from returning to their homeland, indeed we are most anxious that they should go back as soon as possible and as a fist step, conditions must be created in East Pakistan to prevent the further arrival of refugees into India. In this context, the Secretary-General must have seen the report and statement of 30th June by the UNHCR refuting Pakistani allegation that India is obstructing the return of refugees. Prince Sadruddin is further reported to have said there was absolutely no evidence for the host Government having obstructed the refugees if they wanted to go. Again in Paris on 10th July the Prince in reply to a question said that it would not be logical to say that India was in any way holding back their return. On July 19, at Kathmandu, two volunteers of the British organisation "War on Want" described as "rubbish" Pakistani allegation that India was holding refugees and preventing their return. At Calcutta on July 22, Mr. Manfred Cross, an Australian MP, described as "impossible" the Pakistani propaganda that refugees are being prevented in returning to Bangla Desh. Hon'ble Mr. Cornelius E. Gallagher, Member of the US House of Representatives, made a statement on the 10th of July in the House stating that "the response of the Indian Government to the crisis created by the action of the Government of Pakistan has been magnificent. They have demonstrated almost unbelievable restraint in view of the provocative effects of the army's brutal sweep, and they have shown inspiring compassion to the refugees. If it can ever be said that any Government is truly moral and humanitarian, the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has earned that distinction in the weeks since the first refugee crossed her border. The sheer number of refugees is irrefutable evidence of the brutal policies pursued by the Government of Pakistan to crush the people who won the election. Based on interviews I conducted with a cross-section of the refugees, I now believe that a calculated attempt to crush the intellectual life of the Bengali community occurred because of mass killings of professors, students, and everyone of any distriction by the army. This, in my judgment, gives credence to the charge of genocide". Apart from these and many other statements of this nature, not even a single responsible and reputable report has ever indicated that the return of refugees or their continued inflow is due to any other cause except the intolerable and tragic conditions prevailing in East Bengal.

7. In this background, Government of India must express their total opposition to the suggestion for the induction of a "limited representation of the High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides" and must categorically state that they resent any insinuation that they are preventing the refugees from returning to East Bengal. They allowed them to enter India purely on humanitarain grounds in spite of the most serious impact on her social, political and economic structure. Government of India are anxious that they return as soon as possible. The presence of the United Nations or UNHCR representatives cannot help in this. On the other hand, it would only provide a facade of action to divert world attention from the root cause of the problem which is the continuation of military atrocities, leading to further influx of refugees and absence of political settlement acceptable to the people of East Pakistan and their already elected leaders.

8. The UNHCR has a fairly strong team of senior officers located in Delhi and they have been given every facility to visit refugee camps. In fact, Mr. Thomas Jaimeson, Director of Operations of the UNHCR who is the Chief Representative of the UNHCR's office in India, has recently returned from a second tour of the refugee camps. He was allowed access to all the refugee camps and was given facilities to visit these camps including those in the border areas. Apart from this, 1,000 foreign observers have visited these refugee camps and most of them have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

publicly stated that the refugees have taken shelter in India from the military oppression in Bangla Desh and are not willing to return unless suitable conditions are created ensuring their safe return through a political settlement with the Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the acknowledged leader of East Pakistan and his already elected colleagues. In the light of the information available to Government of India and to the interested Governments and organisations, they have painfully come to the conclusion. that the time is past when international community can continue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and merely hoping that the relief programmes, humanitarian efforts, posting of a few people here and there, and good intentions would be enough to turn the tide of human misery and potential disaster.

9. While, therefore, the Government of India have no wish to lend their support to any proposal which will deflect attention from the basic problem or diffuse concern from the fate of the unfortunate refugees, they would welcome any action by the United Nations which would ensure and guarantee, under adequate international supervision, that the refugees lands, houses and property will be returned to them in East Pakistan and that conditions are created there to ensure the safe return under credible international guarantees without threat of reprisal or other measures of repression from the military authorities of West Pakistan. It is painful to note that even the handful of refugees who ventured to return to East Bengal have not only been not allowed to go back to their homes and villages but have been subjected to endless indignities and inequities and even made to do forced labour and face many other difficulties. Government of India should like to draw the Secretary-General's attention in this context to the New York Times report and photographs published on the 27th July, 1971. In these circumstances it is unrealistic to hope that these circumstances will begin to be changed by the posting of any personnel on the Indian side of the border. The Government of India cannot support such a facade of action in the full knowledge that it is unrealistic, Unhelpful and even dangerous. They find therefore the proposal totally unacceptable.

10. The crux of the problem is the situation inside East Bengal where an army from a distant territory is exercising control by sheer force and brutality. If the international community is serious about the need for return of refugees to East Bengal the first step that has to be taken is to restore conditions of normalcy inside East Pakistan through a political settlement acceptable to the people of East Bengal and their already elected leaders, and take such internationally credible measures as would assure the refugerous their safe return without reprisals, etc.

Copy of a telegram dated August 10, 1971 from International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, to President Yahya Khan

August 10, 1971
Ref. 2/103/2
NMD/ks

President Yahya Khan,
President's House,
Rawalpindi,
Pakistan.

International Commission of Jurists protests against secret military trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Justice has nothing to hide.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Statement by Mr. John Salzberg, representative for the International Commission of Jurists, to the Sub Commission on the Prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, dated August 16, 1971.

Following is text of statement delivered on August 16, 1971, by Mr. John Salzberg, representative for the International Commission of Jurists to the U.N. Sub-Commission on the prevention of Discrimination and protection of minorities. The Sub-Commission met at the U.N. Headquarters in New York. The statement was made on behalf of 22 international non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the U.N. which had submitted a statement (U.N. Document No. E/CN.4/SUB.2/N.GO,46 dated July 23, 1971), Urging the Sub-Commission to consider the reports of violation of human rights in East Pakistan.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to introduce the document submitted to the sub-commission by twenty-two international non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the economic and social council. (Document E/CN. 4/SUB. 2/NGO 46). The international non-governmental organizations submitting this document constitute a variety of religious, legal, educational, civic, and social organization with affiliates throughout the world. My own organization, the international commission of jurists seeks to promote the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in all parts of the world and has national sections and affiliated groups in more than sixty countries.

The subject of the non-Governmental organization statement concerns a most grave and urgent matter: The tragic developments in East Pakistan which are reported to have resulted in death of perhaps as many as 200,000 persons, the destructions of countless homes and villages, and the creation of more than six million refugees. The Secretary-General has referred to the situation as "one of the most tragic episodes in human history". Only last week the Secretary General stated that the efforts to cope with the relief problem". Are increasingly hampered by the lack of substantial progress towards a political reconciliation and the consequent effect on law, order and public administration in East Pakistan the situation is one in which political, economic and social factors have produced a series of vicious circles which largely frustrate the efforts of the authorities concerned and of the international community to deal with the vast humanitarian problems involved, these human tragedies have consequences in a far wider sphere. The violent emotions aroused could have repercussions on the relations of religious and ethnic groups in the sub-continent as a whole and the relationship of the Governments of India and Pakistan is also a major component of the problem". **(U.N. PRESS RELEASE, SG/SM I 5162, August 1971).**

The Secretary-General concludes that "The time is past when the international community can continue to stand by, watching the situation deteriorate and hoping that relief programmes, humanitarian efforts and good intentions will be enough to turn the tide of human misery and potential disaster. I am deeply concerned about the possible consequences of the present situation, not only in the humanitarian sense, but also as a potential threat to peace and security and for its bearing on the future of the United Nations as an effective instrument for international co-operation and action. It seems to me that the present tragic situation, in which humanitarian, economic and political problems are mixed in such a way as almost to defy any disinction between them, presents a challenge to the United Nations as a whole which must be met. Other situations of this kind may well occur in the future. If the organization faces up to such a situation now, it may be able to develop the new skill and the new strength required to face future situations of this kind."

How can the sub-commission on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities respond to the Secretary-General's urgent appeal? The Secretary-General has referred to the inter-relationship between the humanitarian, economic and political

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

problems of the situation. I believe that none of these problems can be successfully resolved without the respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the peoples of East Pakistan.

The sub-commission is to be commended for establishing a working group to review communications sent by individuals and groups to the U.N. alleging the violation of human rights, and for drafting the rules of admissibility of communications. This historic step will remove a serious deficiency in the United Nations machinery for the protection of human rights which has existed ever since its founding in the future persons with valid grievances against their governments will have an effective right of petition to the U.N. This machinery for the review of communications, however, will not become operative until the summer of 1972 just prior to the next session of the sub-commission. The urgency of the situation in East Pakistan as was expressed so clearly by the Secretary-General requires the sub-commission to take action at this session.

The sub-commission can act at this session under authority granted to it by its parent organs, the commission on human rights and the economic and social council. The commission on human rights in resolution 8 (XXIII) of 16th March 1967 invited the sub-commission "To bring to the attention of the commission any situation which it has reasonable cause to believe reveals a consistent pattern of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, in any country, including policies of racial discrimination, segregation and apartheid, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent territories. "Furthermore, in the same resolution, the commission authorized the sub-commission in making such a recommendation to prepare a report "containing information on violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms from all available sources." The economic and social council approved these decisions by the commission in resolution 1235 (XLII) of 6th June 1967 and in addition, authorized the commission to make a thorough study of situations revealing a consistent pattern of violations of human rights and to report, with recommendations thereon, to the economic and social council.

What information is there available to support the allegations of violations of human rights in East Pakistan? The members of the sub-commission have access to the communications on human rights sent to the U.N by persons who allege they have been victims of violations. The members also have available to them press reports authored by journalists who were eye-witnesses to certain atrocities or were told of such incidents by eye-witnesses non-governmental as well as inter-governmental organizations have prepared reports on the situation on the basis of field investigation finally, the Pakistan Government has issued a white paper alleging certain violations of human rights. These sources of information might not in every instance, or in most instances, be acceptable in a court of law, but the sub-commission is not a court nor is it responsible for making a final judgment on the situation. The sub-commission is only authorized to report that a situation appears to reveal a consistent pattern of violations of human rights on the basis of available information. Clearly there is sufficient information available for the sub-commission to investigate the situation and make recommendations for action.

What are the violations of human rights which are alleged to have occurred in East Pakistan and to which the members of this sub-commission should consider? Reports indicate that the following violations have occurred, killing and torture, mistreatment of women and children, mistreatment of civilians in armed conflict, religious discrimination, arbitrary arrest and detention, arbitrary deprivation of property, suppression of the freedom of speech, the press and assembly, suppression of political rights, and suppression of the right of emigration.

A report by a mission of the International Bank for reconstruction and development, excerpts of which appeared in the July 13th edition of the New York Times, described the punitive action taken by the West Pakistan army against

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the civilian population. The World Bank report stated, for instance, that in the town of Jessore the population was down from 80,000 to 15,000–20,000. Twenty thousand people were killed. The report stated that "The Army terrorizes the population, particularly aiming at the Hindus and suspected members of the Awami League."

Another authoritative report is presented by Mr. Anthony Mascarenhas in the Sunday Times of London, June 13, 1971. Mr. Mascarenhas was one of eight Pakistani journalists invited by the Pakistan Government to fly to East Pakistan and observe first hand the developments in the area. Mr. Mascarenhas has been a Pakistan citizen since the founding of that country in 1947. He has been a leading Pakistani journalist, at the time he wrote the account of his trip to East Pakistan he was the Assistant Editor of the Morning News of Karachi. The Sunday Times checked the veracity of his account with refugees in a position to have had a wide knowledge of events in East Pakistan as well as with objective diplomatic sources. I would like to quote one passage from Mascarenhas' report which is representative of the killings and other inhuman acts which he observed committed by the Pakistan Army against the civilian population.

"For six days as I travelled with the officers of the 9th division headquarters at Comilla I witnessed at close quarters the extent of the killing. I saw hindus, hunted from village to village and door to door, shot offhand after a cursory "short arm inspection" showed they were uncircumcised. I have heard the screams of men bludgeoned to death in the compound of the circuit house (Civil Administrative headquarters) in Comilla. I have seen truckloads of other human targets and those who had the humanity to try to help them hauled off "for disposal" under the cover of darkness and curfew. I have witnessed the brutality of "kill and burn missions" as the Army units, after clearing out the rebels, pursued the pogrom in the towns and the villages."

"I have seen whole villages devastated by "Punitive Action" and in the officers mess at night I have listened incredulously as otherwise brave and honourable men proudly chewed over the day's kill."

"*How many did you get?*"

"The answers are seared in my memory".

Mr. Mascarenhas, as well as other responsible journalists, have asserted that the Government of Pakistan is pursuing a policy of genocide against the Hindu population as well as against university students and faculty and members of the Awami League. Recently fourteen diplomats resigned from the Pakistan Embassy in Washington DC and the Pakistan Mission to the United Nations asserting that their Government "violates elementary norms of civilized conduct and commits crimes against humanity". Many other eye-witness accounts are available to the sub-commission which indicate that a consistent pattern of violations of human rights is occurring in East Pakistan.

The white paper issued by the Pakistan Government alleges that "the Awami League reign of terror, unleashed from 1st March onwards claimed the lives of a hundred thousand men, women and children besides causing incalculable damage to public and private buildings, transport and communications and industrial establishments. Unmentionable brutalities were committed, with the active assistance of Indian Armed infiltrators.

A campaign of intimidation was unleashed against the Central Government personnel and institutions. Awami League militants went on the rampage in almost every city of the province. The raided fire arms shops and looted them. The laboratories of educational institutions were also looted and acids, chemicals and explosives appropriated. Attacks on Government property especially of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Central Government, and communications centres became the order of the day... Trains were derailed and passengers pulled out and killed violent mobs.

Led by Awami League storm troopers attacked and burned down entire colonies of non-conformist together with hundreds of inmates. "I want to make it clear that all reports and allegations of the violations of human rights in East Pakistan should be investigated by the Sub-Commission.

There are some who may argue before this sub-commission that this organ should not discuss the situation in East Pakistan.

They may assert that no violations of human rights have occurred—That the killings that did occur were necessary to maintain law and order. However, even the Government of Pakistan has asserted that 1,00,000 were killed, in this case by forces opposing the Government. Those who oppose the Sub Commission's consideration of this situation may argue that human rights matters are matters of domestic jurisdiction and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations. The General Assembly, however, in Resolution 2144 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 called upon the economic and Social Council and the Commission on human rights "To give urgent consideration to ways and means of improving the capacity of the United Nations to put a stop to violations of human rights wherever they may occur", and the Sub-Commission at this very session has adopted procedures for reviewing communications on human rights in conjunction with its mandate to report situations which reveal a consistent pattern of violations of human rights.

The United Nations has clearly established that situations which reveal a consistent pattern of violations of human rights are not exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of a member state, but are also within the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

We believe that the reports of violations of human rights in East Pakistan requires this Sub-Commission to exercise its authority regarding situations which appear to reveal a consistent pattern of vilations of human rights. The Sub-Commission should set up a committee of inquiry to review the various reports of violations of human rights in East Pakistan or it should recommend to the Commission on human rights that it establish an investigatory body Mr. Mohamed Khalifa, the distinguished member of the sub-commission from the United Arab Republic, delivered at this session a very eloquent and moving statement which the sub-commission members might wish to bear in mind in considering this question. In commenting on this agenda item on the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms Mr. Khalifa stated that the discussion of this item "had reminded the members of the sub-commission of their fundamental responsibilities, which were the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities. The safe guarding of individuals and the principle of human dignity were inseparable. Individuals could not be considered to be Government property. Yet they were defenceless in the face of authority and sometimes their only recourse was to appeal to the conscience of mankind. Although the principle of non intereference in the domestic affairs of states limited the possibilities for intervention on behalf of petitioners the United Nations could at least listen to them and given them its moral support which, in the last analysis, might be the only way of educating world opinion and causing Governments to hesitate before adopting inhuman discriminatory policies based on religious prejudice or on nations of racial superiority."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The International Commission of Jurists has already expressed its view on certain developments in East Pakistan. In our telegram of April 15th, the International Commission of Jurists stated that it "Deplores the reported intention to establish special military tribunals to try the Awami League leaders respectfully urge that proceedings before the normal civilian courts will alone satisfy international opinion that the rule of law is observed. The International Commission of Jurists has always disapproved of the establishment of special tribunals to try political opponents for alleged political offences. There is nothing easier than to give a semblance of legality to the assassination of political opponents by having them condemned by special tribunals which lack the independence and respect for legal principles of a properly constituted court of legally trained judges. If Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or other Awami League Leaders have committed any offence under the Law of Pakistan, there is no reason why they should not be brought before the Internationally respected civilian courts of the country".

The International Commission of Jurists protests the Pakistan Government's decision to try Sheikh Mujibur Rahman before a secret Military Court for "waging war against Pakistan" and other offences. The International Commission of Jurists urgently appeals to the Pakistan Government to discontinue the military trial of Sheikh Rahman and recommends to this Sub-Commission that it makes a similar appeal. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has already expressed his own deep concern with respect to this trial and its effect on the possibility for peace in the area.

The International Commission of Jurists and the other twenty-one international non-governmental organizations who have cosponsored the statement before this Sub-Commission urgently appeal that this organ take constructive action at this session on the question of the respect for human rights in East Pakistan".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER IX

INDIA'S RESPONSE

TEXT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVENTION DURING THE DEBATE IN LOK SABHA ON MARCH 27, 1971

The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Planning, and Minister of Information & Broadcasting (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):

Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all, if I may say so, you gave the House some news we have received...

Mr. Speaker: I thought the office had sent it to me to announce it. I do not know.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: The point is that this news has come through Radio Pakistan and, therefore, I cannot say whether it is true or not. But we should not take it as true because it could be a just propaganda.

Sir, the strength does not lie in words. If my colleague Sardar Sahib has not spoken with passion, it is not due to lack of feeling either on his part or on the part of the Government but because of the fact that we are deeply conscious of the historic importance of this movement and the seriousness of the situation. Something new had happened in East Bengal—democratic action where an entire people had spoken with almost one voice. We had welcomed this, not because we wanted any interference in another country's affairs, but because these were the values, as one of my hon. friends pointed out, for which we have always stood and for which we have always spoken out. And we had hoped that this action would lead to a new situation in our neighbouring country which would help us to get closer, which would help us to serve our own people better and create an entirely new situation. As our statement has said, this has not happened and a wonderful opportunity for even the strengthening of Pakistan has been lost and has been lost in a manner which is tragic, which is agonising and about which we cannot find strong enough words to speak because this again is a new situation.

It is not merely the suppression of a movement, but it is meeting an unarmed people with tanks. We are in close touch, as close touch with the events as is possible in such a situation. I am sure hon. Members will understand that it is not possible for the Government to say very much more on this occasion here. I would like to assure the hon. Members, who asked whether decisions would be taken on time, that obviously is the most important thing to do. There is no point in taking a decision when the time for it is over. We are fully alive to the situation and we shall keep constantly in touch with what is happening and what we need to do. But I agree with him also that we must not take merely theoretical view. At the same time we have to follow proper international norms. But there are various other suggestions made here, about genocide and so on, about which we are fully conscious and which we also discussed with the leaders of the opposition. I think at this moment I can only say that we do fully share the agony,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the emotions of the House and their deep concern over these developments because we have always believed that freedom is indivisible. We have always raised our voice for those who have suffered, but, in a serious moment like this, the less we, as a Government say, I think the better it is at this moment. I can assure the House that we shall keep in close touch with the situation and also we shall keep in close touch with the leaders of the Opposition so that they can continue to give us their suggestions and we can also give them whatever knowledge we have.

TEXT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVENTION DURING THE DEBATE IN RAJYA SABHA ON MARCH 27, 1971

The Prime Minister, Minister of Atomic Energy, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Planning and Minister for Information & Broadcasting (Shrimati Indira Gandhi):

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we have watched the happenings in Pakistan, earlier, that is the election in East Bengal, with great admiration and hope, hope that it was the beginning of a new future for the whole country, a future which would make them more united and strong. But, as my colleagues Sardar Saheb, has said, far from leading into this brightness they have turned along a dark path, a tragic path, bringing suffering—in fact, perhaps, suffering is too small a word—to an entire people. I am sure hon. Members will appreciate that however heavy our hearts may be, however deeply we may be sharing the agony of the people there, it is not possible for the Government to speak in the same words as hon. members can do. In fact, it is because we are so deeply conscious of the historic importance of this moment that we are, at the same time, aware of the seriousness of the situation when a wrong step, a wrong word, can have an effect entirely different from the one which we all just intend.

The House is aware that we have to act within international norms. It is good to see that the Parties here have expressed certain views. For instance, the Swantantra Party has expressed admiration for the socialist programme of Shri Mujibur Rahman. The Jan Sangh has supported his secular policy and have also said that the people of East Bengal are their brothers. I hope they will extend the same sympathy to all the people of our own country too. As I said earlier, we are not unaware of what is taking place in East Pakistan and of what it means not only to the people there but the danger that it holds for us, not for any one part of our country but for the entire country. So we are interested in this matter for many reasons, firstly as one Member has said, that Shri Mujibur Rahman has stood for the values which we ourselves cherish the values of democracy, the values of secularism and the values of socialism. We are also concerned with the truly wonderful and unique way in which the people there had stood behind him and behind these values. We are no less full of sorrow and grave concern and even agony at what is happening there but I can only appeal to the Hon. Members that this is not a moment when the Government can say anything more and whatever the Government may or may not be able to do it would not be wise if this becomes a matter for public debate. I do not think that hon. Members expect us to give replies to the various questions that were asked. I think the purpose of this discussion was more that we should know their mind and hear their suggestions. As hon. Members know, I held a meeting this morning with the Leaders of the Opposition which I hope to continue. We are as closely in touch with the happenings in East Bengal as is possible in this situation and I hope to keep closely in touch with the leaders of the Opposition as well as other Members who would like to come and meet us so that we can know their minds. We cannot always, I must admit, give our mind but we will certainly tell them as much as is possible in this situation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: Can she assure the House that the air space of India would not be allowed? (*Interruptions*)

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: I can assure the hon. Member and this House that there is no intention to resume the permission.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT ON MARCH 27, 1971 REGARDING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PAKISTAN

The Government of India cannot but be gravely concerned at the events taking place so close to our borders. We can, therefore, understand the deep emotions, which have been aroused in this House and in the entire country.

Honourable Members are, I am sure, fully aware of political developments in Pakistan since November 28, 1969 when the President of Pakistan announced his plan for evolving a democratic Constitution and for the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

The Government and people of India have always entertained the friendliest of feelings for the people of Pakistan. We had, therefore, hoped that a democratic evolution in Pakistan would follow its natural course and that the elected representatives would evolve a Constitution reflecting the urges of the vast majority of the people expressed through the elections held in December last year.

However, events have taken a different and tragic turn. Instead of peaceful evolution there is now a bloody conflict.

According to reports received, the Pakistan Army started taking action on the midnight of 25th and 26th March against units of the East Pakistan Rifles, the provincial police and the people. The reports are that casualties have been heavy. On the morning of March 26th, the Radio Station at Dacca was seized by the Army. Thereafter the Radio Station made an announcement of 15 new Marshall Law Regulations banning, among other things, all political activities, processions, meetings, speeches and slogans. Complete censorship of all news, Radio and Television programmes was imposed.

More than two regular Divisions of the Pakistan Army are deployed in suppressing the people of East Pakistan. Our hearts go out in sympathy to the people who are undergoing great suffering.

We naturally wish and hope that even at this late stage it would be possible to resume democratic processes leading to the fulfilment of the aspirations of the vast majority of the people there. We cannot but take not of the fact that such a large segment of humanity is involved in a conflict and that many people are suffering in the process.

Recently, when natural disaster overtook East Pakistan, the Government and people of India along with other members of the international community responded to bring relief to the sufferings of the people there.

We are prepared to make our contribution once again, in concert with the members of the International Community or International humanitarian organisations, concerned with bringing relief to innocent victims of conflict.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION MOVED BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA IN THE PARLIAMENT ON MARCH 31, 1971

"This House expresses its deep anguish and grave concern at the recent developments in East Bengal. A massive attack by armed forces, despatched from West Pakistan has been unleashed against the entire people of East Bengal with a view to suppressing their urges and aspirations.

Instead of respecting the will of the people so unmistakably expressed through the election in Pakistan in December 1970, the Government of Pakistan has chosen to flout the mandate of the people.

The Government of Pakistan has not only refused to transfer power to legally elected representatives but has arbitrarily prevented the National Assembly from assuming its rightful and sovereign role. The people of East Bengal are being sought to be suppressed by the naked use of force, by bayonets, machine guns, tanks, artillery and aircraft.

The Government and people of India have always desired and worked for peaceful, normal and fraternal relations with Pakistan. However, situated as India is and bound as the people of the sub-continent are by centuries old ties of history, culture and tradition, this House cannot remain indifferent to the macabre tragedy being enacted so close to our border. Throughout the length and breadth of our land, our people have condemned, in unmistakable terms, the atrocities now being perpetrated on an unprecedented scale upon an unarmed and innocent people.

This House expresses its profound sympathy for and solidarity with the people of East Bengal in their struggle for a democratic way of life.

Bearing in mind the permanent interests which India has in peace, and committed as we are to uphold and defend human rights, this House demands immediate cessation of the use of force and the massacre of defenceless people. This House calls upon all peoples and Governments of the world to take urgent and constructive steps to prevail upon the Government of Pakistan to put an end immediately to the systematic decimation of people which amounts to genocide.

This House records its profound conviction that the historic upsurge of the 75 million people of East Bengal will triumph. The House wishes to assure them that their struggle and sacrifices will receive the whole hearted sympathy and support of the people of India."

PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN LOK SABHA ON SITUATION IN BANGLA DESH, ON MAY 24, 1971

The following is the text of the statement of the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made in Lok Sabha on May 24, 1971, on situation in Bangla Desh:

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

In the seven weeks since Parliament recessed, the attention of the entire country has been focussed on the continuing tragedy in Bangla Desh. Honourable Members will recall the atmosphere of hope in which we met in March. We all felt that our country was poised for rapid economic advance and a more determined attack on the age-old poverty of our people. Even as we were settling down to these new tasks, we have been engulfed by a new and gigantic problem, not of our making.

On the 15th and 16th May I visited Assam, Tripura and West Bengal, to share the suffering of the refugees, to convey to them the sympathy and support of this

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

House and of the people of India and to see for myself the arrangements which are being made for their care. I am sorry it was not possible to visit other camps this time. Every available buildings, including schools and training institutions, has been requisitioned. Thousands of tents have been pitched and temporary shelters are being constructed as quickly as possible in the 335 camps which have been established so far. In spite of our best efforts we have not been able to provide shelter to all those who have come across, and many are still in the open. The district authorities are under severe strain. Before they can cope with those who are already here, 60,000 more are coming across every day.

So massive a migration, in so short a time, is unprecedented in recorded history. About three and a half million people have come into India from Bangla Desh during the last eight weeks. They belong to every religious persuasion - Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian. They come from every social class and age group. They are not refugees in the sense, we have understood this word since Partition. They are victims of war who have sought refuge from the military terror across our frontier.

Many refugees are wounded and need urgent medical attention. I saw some of them in the hospitals, I visited in Tripura and West Bengal. Medical facilities in all our border States have been stretched to breaking point. Equipment for 1,100 new Hospital beds has been rushed to these States, including a 400 bed mobile hospital, generously donated by the Government of Rajasthan. Special teams of surgeons, physicians, nurses and public health experts have been deputed to the major camps. Special water supply schemes are being executed on the highest priority, and preventive health measures are being undertaken on a large scale.

In our sensitive border States, which are facing the brunt, the attention of the local administration has been diverted from normal and development work to problems of camp administration, civil supplies and security. But our people have put the hardships of the refugees above their own, and have stood firm against the attempts of Pakistani agent-provocaturs to cause communal strife. I am sure this fine spirit will be maintained.

On present estimates, the cost to the Central Exchequer on relief alone may exceed Rs. 180 crores for a period of six months. All this, as Honourable Members will appreciate, has imposed an unexpected burden on us.

I was heartened by the fortitude with which these people of Bangla Desh have borne tribulation, and by the hope which they have for their future. It is mischievous to suggest that India has had anything to do with what happened in Bangla Desh. This is an insult to the aspirations and spontaneous sacrifices of the people of Bangla Desh, and a calculated attempt by the rulers of Pakistan to make India a scapegoat for their own misdeeds. It is also a crude attempt to deceive the world community. The world press has seen through Pakistan's deception. The majority of these so-called Indian infiltrators are women, children and the aged.

This House has considered many national and international issues of vital importance to our country. But none of them has touched us so deeply as the events in Bangla Desh. When faced with a situation of such gravity, it is specially important to weigh every word in acquainting this House, and our entire people with the issues involved and the responsibilities which now devolve on us all.

These twenty-three years and more, we have never tried to interfere with the internal affairs of Pakistan, eventhough they have not exercised similar restraint. And even now we do not seek to interfere in any way. But what has actually happened? What was claimed to be an internal problem of Pakistan, has also

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

become an internal problem for India. We are, therefore, entitled to ask Pakistan to desist immediately from all actions which it is taking in the name of domestic jurisdiction, and which vitally affect the peace and well-being of millions of our own citizens. Pakistan cannot be allowed to seek a solution of its political or other problems at the expense of India and on Indian soil.

Has Pakistan the right to compel at bayonet-point not hundreds, not thousands, not hundreds of thousands, but millions of its citizens to flee their homes? For, us it is an intolerable situation. The fact that we are compelled to give refuge and succour to these unfortunate millions cannot be used as an excuse to push more and more people across our border.

We are proud of our tradition of tolerance. We have always felt contrite and ashamed of our moments of intolerance. Our nation, our people are dedicated to peace and are not given to talking in terms of war or threat of war. But I should like to caution our people that we may be called upon to bear still heavier burdens.

The problems which confront us are not confined to Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and West Bengal. They are national problems, Indeed the basic problem is an international one.

We have sought to awaken the conscience of the world through our representatives abroad and the representatives of foriegn Governments in India. We have appealed to the United Nations, and, at long last, the true dimensions of the problem seem to be making themselves felt in some of the sensitive chanceries of the world. However, I must share with the House, our disappointment at the unconscionably long time which the world is taking to react to this stark tragedy.

Not only India but every country has to consider its interests. I think I am expressing the sentiments of this august House and of our people when I raise my voice against the wanton distruction of peace, good neighbourliness and the elementary principles of humanity by the insensate action of the military rulers of Pakistan. They are threatening the peace and stability of the vast segment of humanity represented by India.

We welcome Secretary-General, U Thant's, public appeal. We are glad that a number of States have either responded or are in the process of doing so. But time is the essence of the matter. Also the question of giving relief to these millions of people is only part of the problem. Relief cannot be perpetual, or permanent, and we do not wish it to be so. Condition must be created to stop any further influx of refugees and to ensure their early return under credible guarantees for their future safety and well-being. I say with all sense of responsibility that unless this happens, there can be no lasting stability or peace on this sub-continent. We have pleaded with other Powers to recognise this. If the world does not take heed, we shall be constrained to take all measures as may be necessary to ensure our own security and the preservation and development of the structure of our social and economic life.

We are convinced that there can be no military solution to the problem of East Bengal. A political solution must be brought about by those who have the power to do so. World opinion is a great force. It can influence even the most powerful. The Great Powers have a special responsibility. If they exercise their power rightly and expeditiously than only can we look forward to durable peace on our sub-continent. But if they fail—and I sincerely hope that they will not—then this suppression of human rights, the uprooting of people, and the continued homelessness of vast numbers of human beings will threaten peace,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This situation cannot be tackled in a partisan spirit or in terms of party politics. The issues involved concern every citizen. I hope this Parliament, our country and our people will be ready to accept the necessary hardships so that we can discharge our responsibilities to our own people as well as to the millions, who have fled from a reign of terror to take temporary refuge here.

All this imposes on us heavy obligations and the need for stern national discipline. We shall have to make many sacrifices. Our factories and farms must produce more. Our railways and our entire transport and communication system must work uninterruptedly. This is no time for any interplay of regional or sectional interests. Everything must be subordinated to sustain our economic, social and political fabric and to reinforce national solidarity. I appeal to every citizen, every man, woman and child to be imbued with the spirit of service and sacrifice of which, I know, this nation is capable.

STATEMENT MADE BY THE SHRAM AUR PUNARVAS MANTRI (LABOUR AND REHABILITATION MINISTER) ON MAY 24, 1971, IN THE RAJYA SABHA IN RESPONSE TO THE CALLING ATTENTION NOTICE, BY SRI D. D. PURI AND OTHERS REGARDING THE GRAVE SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE HEAVY INFLUX OF REFUGEES FROM EAST BENGAL TO INDIA

Following the internal strife in East Bengal and the subsequent unspeakable atrocities let loose by the Pakistan Army there from the last week of March, 1971, large numbers of refugees have been entering the border States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura. The influx was only nominal upto the middle of April, when it started gathering momentum. The pace at which the influx has built itself up will be evident from the following figures:—

(i)	Week ending	17—4—1971	1,19,566 Persons
(ii)	Week ending	24—4—1971	5,36,308 Persons
(iii)	Week ending	1—5—1971	12,51,544 Persons
(iv)	Week ending	7—5—1971	15,72,220 Persons
(v)	Week ending	14—5—1971	26,69,226 Persons
(vi)	Week ending	21—5—1971	34,35,243 Persons

Upto 21—5—1971, 34.35 lakh persons have entered India as refugees from East Bengal. Approximately 50 per cent of them are staying in relief camps, and the rest outside the camps with their friends and relations.

The Government of India have decided on humanitarian considerations to extend necessary relief assistance to these refugees in the shape of improvised shelter and food. In addition, arrangements have been made to provide medical assistance and steps have been taken to control epidemics. Supply of milk powder has also been arranged for children, preganant and nursing mothers and the sick. Other essential articles of daily use, e.g., clothes, utensils etc., are also being supplied in deserving cases. The extremely heavy expenditure involved in providing relief assistance to these refugees, whose number is mounting every day, is causing a severe financial strain on India's economy. The Government of India have, therefore, urged the United Nations and Foreign Governments, through Indian Missions abroad, to share the responsibility in tackling this vast refugee problem which should be the concern of the International Community.

The Government of India hope that these refugees will be able to return to their home-land within a period of 6 months or earlier, as soon as favourable conditions are available in East Bengal. Keeping this in view, the Government of India have prepared an estimate of about Rs. 132 crores which will have to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

be spent on giving necessary relief assistance to these refugees for a period of 6 months. These estimates have been conveyed to the UNHCR Delegation which recently visited India and made an on-the-spot study of the situation by going round the refugee camps in the border States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. On the basis of their study and these estimates, the United Nations have already issued an appeal to all Member countries for contributing liberally for relief operations among the refugees from East Bengal. It is hoped that the response will be favourable and other foreign countries will come to India's assistance in tackling this terribly tragic human problem which has assumed colossal proportions.

In order to cope with the immense problem of refugee relief, a Branch Secretariat of the Department of Rehabilitation has been set up at Calcutta with an Additional Secretary in charge. The Branch Secretariat is co-ordinating the efforts of the border State Governments and stepping up all work in providing relief. The Governments of our border States of West Bengal, Tripura, Assam and Meghalaya are all doing their bit and have the assurance of the Government of India of full support in their extremely difficult and taxing relief efforts.

FOREIGN MINISTER'S REPLY TO THE SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION REGARDING DEMAND FOR RECOGNITION OF BANGLA DESH IN RAJYA SABHA ON MAY 25, 1971

Mr. Deputy Chariman, Sir, the speeches that have been delivered by the hon. Members representing different political parties reflect the general sentiment that prevails in the country. This setiment is the natural and spontaneous expression of sympathy for those in Bangla Desh who have suffered so grievously and have faced the babarous atrocities and ruthlessness of the military regime. Historically the whole situation has been analysed in bits by the hon. Members who have participated in this debate.

Here is a situation which has arisen because the Awami League Leadership got such a solid majority. It appears that the fault of the Awami League was their support by the people of Bangla Desh and the result of the elections was so solid that it confounded the military regime. Although President Yahya Khan initiated some talks.

I agree with the analysis put forward by my esteemed friend, Shri Jain, that it appears, in retrospect, that when these talks were going on, military reinforcements were being moved from West Pakistan to East Pakistan and suddenly the talks were broken off and the military machine with its modern ruthlessness was unleashed against the unarmed people of Bangla Desh. The atrocities that have been committed have been testified to not only by the hundreds and thousands of unfortunate people who have sought shelter in India but by independent observers from various countries of the world. Groups of people who happend to be stationed in Bangla Desh at the time when the military action against the defenceless peoples started, they have given out their testimony, their evidence of the ruthlessness with which the military machine was swung into action against the people of Bangla Desh. Although the foreign correspondents some of whom happened to be stationed in Dacca, were swiftly asked to lave Bangla Desh and Dacca and therefore a veil of secrecy was sought to be maintained by the military regime even then those groups of foreign correspondents who visited Bangla Desh several days after the start of the operation that have come out with stories which have rocked the entire world and if I say so, the general public opinion in the world has been more alive and more responsive to the situation

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

than the cautions Governments of various countries. I would like to pay a tribute to the independent journalists and several other foreigners who have given faithful accounts of the happenings in Bangla Desh. It is because of the manner in which these accounts appeared in the British press and the American press and the European press and even in several countries of Asia that slowly the reality is coming out and it also appears that this is having some influence upon the Government leaders of the world. I would like here to share one piece of information with this hon. House. It is true that many Government leaders have not come out openly in criticism of the action taken by Prsident Yahya Khan's military regime in Bangla Desh but it is a fact that a fairly substantial number of world leaders in Government have assured us that they are aware of the happenings in Bangla Desh and they have further said that they are using whatever influence they have with the Pakistan Government to impress upon them the futility of the polity pursued in Bangla Desh.

As a matter of fact some of them have gone to the length of remarking that the policy pursued by the military regime of Yahya Khan, if it has achieved any thing, has created a situation where Pakistan after this military oppression against the people of Bangla Desh will never be the same Pakistan and all these steps are bound to embitter further the feelings of the people of Bangla Desh and no amount of suppression and oppression can subdue the will of the people and if the military regime and the Government of President Yahya Khan thinks that they can for all time suppress the voice of freedom raised by the valiant fighters in Bangla Desh then they are sadly mistaken. These fires of freedom, these flames, once they are lit, their intensity might be lowered but they never go off. That is the history of the world and the oppression and suppression undertaken by the military regime is not likely to subdue the forces of freedom and the forces that stand for democracy in Bangla Desh. In this situation we are faced with this sad spectacle where, as the Prime Minster pointed out in her statement in this House yesterday, the problem which was described all the time by Pakistan as an internal affair of Pakistan has now become our internal problem and it will be naive for anyone to suggest that this problem that is faced by Bangla Desh and by India is an internal affair of Pakistan. In the situation in which millions of people have found it necessary to flee from East Bengal for their safety and seek refuge in India for anybody to argue that it still continues to be an internal affair of Pakistan is something which cannot be accepted and we have categorically said so. The Prime Minister has very clearly said in her statement that this is a situation which cannot be tolerated on the ground that it is an internal affair of Pakistan. In this situation where such vast number of evacuees or refugees are in India we cannot accept the Pakistan position acquisced in and supported by certain other countries and somewhat in a subdued tone that this is an internal affair of Pakistan. This is some thing which is totally unacceptable to us.

It is in this background that we have clearly taken this matter up with other countries that this is a matter in which they must act in such a manner that Pakistan has the requisite pressure put on her to create conditions in which in the first place this situation of pushing out people comes to an end straightway. Secondly, conditions must be created under which all these people who have left Pakistan should feel secure that they can go back and they can live in that part of the world because they are citizens. Thirdly, we have made it absolutely clear that we cannot and we will not accept this as our permanent responsibility. This is as much the responsibility of the international community, and while it is true that India on account of its traditions of toleration would be prepared to give temporary succour and relief to these people, the burden must be shared by the international community because it is an international

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

problem, not a national problem of India. It is in this perspective that we have to view the entire situation.

In the first place it is not customary when we are dealing with such vital problems to disclose or to enunciate all the steps that should be taken if X does not come about or Y does not come about. It is neither wisdom nor is it practical. If you first say, well, this thing should be done by the international community and if it is not done, then what do I intend to do, even that has been said very clearly but with a great sense of responsibility by the Prime Minister in her statement where she has said that we appeal to the international community to see the reality of the situation that this is a matter which should be the concern of the entire international community, this burden of refugees; that this evacuation must come to an end and conditions must be created where these people can go back; in safety but if they do not succeed, then we reserve the right to take whatever action we might consider appropriate, and that is the important part of the Prime Minister's statement. It is very easy and perhaps I would say very catching to ask me as to what I will do or the country do if we do not succeed in that. These matters are not discussed in this open manner and we cannot proceed on this basis that Pakistan will be so intransigent or, if I may use the expression, so unwise that they would ignore easily the will of the international community, provided the international community can be mobilised to realise the seriousness of this problem, and it is in this direction that we have to concentrate our attention.

Mr. Varma with his experience of the functioning of Government and also experience of Parliaments knows fully well that no one can say anything about what has happened in the Cabinet, and it is idle for him to expect of me to say what are the opinions expressed in the Cabinet. The Parliament should not have any interest in what goes on inside the Cabinet because it is the Government that matters, and whatever may be the individual opinion of any individual member, so long as I say something I speak on behalf of the Government, not on my behalf or on behalf of anybody else. But I would at the same time like to take this opportunity to say that any suggestion of the type made by Shri Rajnarain and obliquely referred to by Mr. Varma is totally unfounded.

In this respect all the membes of the Government are of one mind and there is no difference of opinion. This is a favourite pastime of some friends who might be friendly to us but obliquely critical of us and also of some others to do some kite-flying in the hope that, well, somebody might contradict or confirm it. We do not fall into that trap. Because somebody says something, the responsibility should be cast upon me either to contradict it or confirm it, is a position which is totally unacceptable to any member of the Government. So long as Government decisions are there, Parliament should not at all be concerned about the discussions which precede the ultimate evolution of the decisions or the formulation of the final decisions. That should be accepted as Government policy.

I have given a great deal of thought to the problem that has been posed by hon. Members. It is a fact that will of the nation was reflected in the Resolution which was unanimously adopted in both Houses of Parliament in the March Session and there, after describing the situation, we had pledged our full sympathy and support to the people... (Interruptions from Shri Chitta Basu) Mr. Chitta Basu, we should treat this matter a little more seriously.

Do not interrupt please. Have patience.

Now, what is that Resolution? I would like to recall the Resolution because memoreis are generally short and sometimes we are prone to forget our own resolve. After describing the other things, we say—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Bearing in mind the permanent interest which India has in peace and committed as we are to uphold and defend human rights, this house demands immediate cessation of the use of force and of the massacre of defenceless people."

This was the unanimous demand of the House—

"This House calls upon all peoples and Governments of the World to take urgent and constructive steps to prevail upon the Government of Pakistan to put an end immediately to the systematic decimation of people which amounts to genocide."

That is, we have called for the cessation of the use of force and have also appealed to all the Governments of the world and to the people of the world. This we have faithfully carried out because we have taken it up with most Governments. We have taken it up in the United Nations and in the ECOSOC Social Committee; this matter of violation of the human rights has been taken up with them.

"This House records its profound conviction that the historic upsurge of the 75 million people of East Bengal will triumph."

We still continue to stick to this view that it will triumph.

"The House wishes to assure them that their struggle and sacrifices will receive the wholehearted sympathy and support of the people of India."

They have undoubtedly received the sumpathy and support of the people of India. So, there is no doubt, there should not be any doubt in the mind of anybody, that there has been any slipping on the part either of the Government or the people of India in the resolve unanimously expressed in this Resolution.

On this question of recognition of Bangla Desh so much has been argued and argued with a great deal of emotion and some honourable members have marshalled facts. This is a question about which we have not the intention to adopt a purely argumentative style. It is not the intention of the Government to try to reply to the various arguments. That does not mean that there are no counter arguments to some of the points that have been urged by honourable members. But we have to approach this problem from a rather bigger angle and we have already enunciated our position in reply to a question which was tabled in the Lok Sabha and a similar question is coming up for reply in this House tomorrow. We are clarifying our position. Our position in a nutshell is that the situation does continue to be fluid. We continue to give our thought to this aspect from time to time. We are constantly in touch with the situation and there is no fixed position in this regard. And if at any time we feel that it is in the interests of peace, it is in our national interest and it also helps the people who are fighting for their freedom, we will not hesitate to take the step even in regard to recognition. But this is a matter in which we have to take all aspects into consideration and as soon as the Government feels that a situation has been reached and a stage has been reached when we should formally recognise the Government, we will not hesitate to do that. There are certain norms that have to be carefully weighed although there are no hard and fast rules even according to international standards. But things like the extent of territory that might be under its control, the extent of support, the quantum of writ that runs, what it actually means, these are all factors which have to be carefully weighed before a formal decision of that nature is taken. We have also to carefully weigh the repercussions of it on our relations with even West

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pakistan because we have a long border with them, and if we recognise a part of another country which by the United Nations is accepted as one country. It is quite obvious that that country whose part is recognised as a sovereign, independent country, will react. It should be quite obvious to us and it need not be spelt out by me. All these are considerations which cannot be lightly brushed aside however strongly one might feel at an emotional level on an issue of this nature. I would not go into this matter any deeper. I would like to repeat what we have said on this issue that this is a matter about which we give a great deal of thought from time to time and if at any stage we feel that a step in the form of formal recognition is necessary, we will not hesitate to take that step. With these words, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I conclude. I do not want to detain this House any longer.

PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION REGARDING SITUATION ARISING OUT OF ARRIVAL OF REFUGEES FROM EAST BENGAL IN LOK SABHA ON MAY 26, 1971

Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I express my deep appreciation of the sentiments voiced on all sides of the House in regard to the struggle of Bangla Desh? I fully realise that even though some Hon. Members have used harsh words, they have done so out of deep emotion and feelings of concern. They have reflected the anguish which we and the entire country feels at the tragic and heartrending happenings in Bangla Desh. My Government and I share that anguish and deep concern.

It is only natural that with our own tradition of love of freedom, our involvement with the values of democracy and human rights, we should feel deeply concerned when these values are crushed.

We have heard much talk of democracy. The Allies claimed that the Second World War was fought to save democracy. But when democracy is so flagrantly and so brutally being destroyed, we do not hear much comment, nor do we see the sort of spontaneous strong responses which the situation warrants. Could there be a greater or a clearer expression of democracy than the one we witnessed in the elections in Pakistan? Let me remind the House that although the elections were held under the rules formulated by the military regime, immediately afterwards military repression was used mercilessly to halt the process leading to the formation of a democratically elected Government in Pakistan.

We are told by some countries that while they may disapprove of what is being done by the military rulers, they cannot be a party to the disintegration of Pakistan. Is it suggested that we wish the disintegration of Pakistan? Have we not, as many Members have pointed out, at every step tried not only for propriety in our relationship but also for friendship? If there is a struggle between the two parts of Pakistan, it is certainly not of our making but of the rulers of Pakistan. Is it anybody's contention that the methods being used today can achieve any integration or stability worth the name now or in the future?

The question of secession is also raised, if I may say so. This is a distortion of facts. It is conveniently forgotten that the majority of Pakistan's people live in the eastern region. In a democratic system, the majority does have certain rights. They cannot be accused of secession if they assert those rights. However, if today there is such strong feeling amongst our people, it is not merely because the democratic rights and liberties of 75 million people are being crushed but because of the damaging effect which this cruel tragedy is having on our entire country economically, politically and socially.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This is the reality of the situation. It is not propaganda or the figment of anyone's imagination. Our experience of the influx of refugees and the preposterous propaganda by Pakistan has reinforced the fact that what is happening in Bangla Desh does have many-sided repercussions on our internal affairs. That is why I have said that this cannot be considered merely as an internal problem of Pakistan. It is an Indian problem. More, it is a world-wide problem. The international community must appreciate the very critical character of the situation that has now developed. Any failure to do so may well lead to disastrous consequences. For what is happening in Bangla Desh is not just a political and economic problem. It is a problem of the very survival of the people of that whole area, the people of Bangla Desh.

It is a problem created by calculated genocide that is resulting not only in the murder of tens of thousands of men, women and children but also forcing many more to seek refuge and shelter in India. It is a problem that threatens the peace and security of India and indeed, of South-East Asia. The world must intervene to see that peace and security is re-established and maintained.

As Hon. Members know, yesterday, there was a similar debate in the other House. I had to sit there also for a part of the time, and so, I could not listen to all the speeches which were made here. I was sorry, however, to hear some hon. Members take even this opportunity to cast aspersions on our Foreign Office. I must deplore this tendency to try and find an easy way out by blaming the services. I do not say that we have not made mistakes or that all our representatives are always upto the mark. When there is a mistake, we should certainly find fault. But constant criticism is disheartening and demoralising. We should not blunt the instruments with which we have to function. Our work here and abroad has to continue. We do release that any help given to the rulers of Pakistan will be used against the innocent people of Bangla Desh. On this occasion our representatives abroad have worked hard and done have excellent work. They have been as effective as they could possibly be in the prevailing circumstances. Some Governments have set views and even if their sympathies are roused, they are not often willing to take a stand on a matter such as this. I would like to say that all our Services engaged in dealing with the present situation have shown fortitude and a sense of dedication.

If it gives some solace to Hon. Members to abuse the Government and blame them for lack of courage, for lack of direction and even of understanding, I certainly do not want to deprive them of this comfort. To some Members, guts are equated with voice-power and the use of passionate words. I wish life were so simple.

Now, this Government may have many faults; but it does not lack courage nor is it afraid of taking a risk if it is a necessary risk. As I have said many times over, we are not merely concerned with the legal aspect of this situation or, indeed, of any situation. We are concerned with one thing and one thing only—our own national interest and security and naturally that of the heroic people of Bangla Desh. That is why it is important to act calmly. The situation is far too grave for anything else.

The word 'recognition' has echoed from every side, as if recognition by itself could solve the many difficulties which confront the people of Bangla Desh or the many difficulties which our country faces especially our States on the border, that is, West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya. We have given deep and anxious thought to all aspects of this question. It is, as my colleague has said, constantly under review. We are not waiting to see what other countries will do in the matter. Whatever decision we take in this or other issues is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

guided by our own independent assessment of the situation and how our interest in the broadest sense are served.

Yesterday, I spoke in very deliberately measured words of our present difficulties and of the likely dangers and burdens, not because I am or ever have been afraid of burden or of danger, but because I want Hon. Members to think deeply about all these matters.

Danger can be faced only when one is prepared for it. This, as I said previously and I should like to repeat, is no time for party rivalry. We must stand together; we must help one another in the economic and other tasks which confront us. Communal tendencies must be curbed. All parties, I think, must help to ensure that the question of Bangla Desh and of the refugees is not reduced to a communal level but is kept on its true level which is a national and an international one. I shall continue to keep in touch with the Leaders of the Opposition and with other Members of this Hon. House on these question and developments, and I hope that Members will feel free to come to see me to express their views or whatever knowledge they have on the subject. In the meantime, there is not much else that I can say.

I would only say, let us not lose heart. Let us have faith in ourselves and in our people. Let us have faith in the courageous people of Bangla Desh and in their determination to fight for their rights. No great task is achieved without sacrifice. There is an old saying:

> "Is experience gained with a song?
>
> No, it takes all that a man has."

Sacrifice and hardship there must be for all who fight for freedom or for justice or for a great cause. But I have no doubt that the spirit of man and the spirit of freedom cannot be vanquished. We must face this entire problem with this confidence, and do what we have to do with calm and deep thought and with unity amongst ourselves.

It is true that there was an intrusion in part of Assam, and the Chief Minister had phoned to me. But we did send immediate help, and all the intruders were driven out. The situation is under control. They were driven out by five o'clock the day before yesterday.

Any case of spying is always treated with the utmost seriousness, whether in Assam or anywhere else in the country.

This point has been answered on many occasions.

The Hon. Member told me about this yesterday. We are looking into the matter.

So far as I know, all such entrants are being registered except some who manage to avoid registration. Although my colleague, the Minister for Rehabilitation, is doing all he can to provide tents, tarpaulins, etc., there is no doubt that we are not fully equipped to deal with such a large influx. So, there is bound to be discomfort and hardship which we are trying to minimise to the extent possible.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (VIDESH MANTRI) IN RAJYA SABHA ON JUNE 1, 1971, REGARDING THE REFUSAL BY THE GOVERNMENT OF U.K. TO SUSPEND AID TO PAKISTAN ON A SUGGESTION REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN BANGLA DESH

The Government of India has been in constant touch with foreign Governments including the British Government on the events in East Bengal. One of the points which we have emphasised is that those countries which are in a position to do so should use their influence with the Government of Pakistan to persuade the rulers of Pakistan to stop military action against the unarmed people of East Bengal and to solve the problem politically and not by the use of force. We have also been pointing out that economic help to the rulers of Pakistan to rehabilitate the shattered economy of Pakistan as a result of their military action in East Bengal would, in the circumstances prevailing in Bangla Desh, amount to condoning their oppression and will make them more intransigent and enable them to divert economic help for military purposes, thus prolonging the conflict.

It has been stated in the British Parliament that it is the British Government's objective to do everything possible to bring about a political solution and that it has been British policy to deal with aid regardless of the political aspects of a country's national life. It also believes that the reconstruction of the Pakistan economy cannot be undertaken till stability has been restored.

PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176 ON THE SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE INFLUX OF MILLIONS OF REFUGEES FROM BANGLA DESH INTO INDIA IN RAJYA SABHA ON JUNE 15, 1971

I am glad that my colleague, Shri Khadilkar, has been able to satisfy the hon'ble Member Shri Arjun Arora.

Sir, I had not expected to intervene in this discussion because we have made our policy very clear. I was rather astonished to hear from one of the Members that our policy is not clear. I think our policy is quite clear. I am astonished at the lack of confidence in our people, in our country, which our Members are constantly displaying. Are we citizens of a great country? Are we citizens who have confidence in ourselves or not? Listening to this debate, it seems to me that this is a far more important question than the question of what is happening to the refugees from Bangla Desh. Because if we have no confidence in ourselves, it doesn't matter what we say, we will not be able to implement it.

I speak here with tremendous confidence in my people and in my Government. I have no doubt at all that we can face the problem which has come upon us. What does this mean? Does it mean that no refugee will suffer? It cannot possibly mean that. When any country has to face a large influx—not an influx over a long period, but a sudden influx within a few weeks, of nearly six million people—it is not a joke; it is not a small thing. I would like to know from hon'ble Members: Do they know of any country in the world which has faced even one-tenth of this situation before? It is very easy to sit in this House and just criticize and criticize instead of trying to assess the realities of the situation. If even ten thousand refugees arrive in any European country, the whole Continent of Europe will be afire with all the newspapers, the Governments and everybody will be aroused. We are trying to deal with nearly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

6 million human beings who have fled from a region of terror, who have come wounded, with disease, with illness, hunger and exhaustion. And they have come to our country, which is one of the poorest in the world. We certainly have the fullest sympathy with these war evacuees or refugees, or whatever you would like to call them.

We are going to do our very best to look after them. Even if we have to sacrifice, even if we have to go hungry, I hope the Hon'ble Members will be the first to initiate a movement of missing a meal. But at the same time we have to see that our own poor people do not suffer, do not die. We have a double responsibility; a responsibility to our people and a responsibility to our friends from across the border.

One hon'ble Member spoke of our taking a begging bowl to other countries. Sir, I am not in the habit of begging. I have never begged. I am not begging now. And I have no intention of begging. If our emissaries go from this country to other countries, they are not speaking with a voice of weakness, they are not begging. We are sending them because this is an international responsibility. And we are not going to let the international community get away with it. They cannot avoid their responsibility. They may give help, or they may not give help. But they will certainly suffer from the consequences of whatever happens in this part of the world.

We must put this problem to them in its proper perspective. We certainly want help, and the more help we get, the better we shall be able to look after the refugees. But so far this help has been pitiable in proportion to what is needed. It is about one-tenth of what is actually needed so far as we have been able to assess. I hope that this help will increase. It is very important from the point of view of saving lives, of giving better nourishment to children and of giving better treatment to those who are suffering from cholera and other diseases. But the point is not the quantity of help. But our appeal is even more important from the point of view of putting this problem in perspective. What are we concerned about ? we are concerned the lives and the conforts of the refugees, but we are even more concerned about the problem of democracy, the problem of human rights, the problem of human dignity, which has now been brought into focus before us and the whole world in such a poignant and heartrending manner. And if our representatives have gone, whether they are Members of the Council of Ministers, whether they are non-official people or other people, it is with this end in view, namely that all the countries should be told about the reality of the situation, and I think that our efforts have succeeded in this in some measure. Today the world press is reacting more sharply and is devoting great space to this question. I think that we have had something to do with this change of attitude. So, we should not sneeze at all the efforts that are being made. As I said on a previous occasion, I can understand the emotionalism and the sense of sorrow and of helplessness which hon'ble Members and many people outside feel. It is understandable and I sympathise with it. But it should lead us to something more. It should not lead us to a dead end, a feeling that nothing is being done, that nothing can be done and that we are going to be engulfed. We are bearing a tremendous burden and as I said—I do not know whether the word is parliamentary or not; if it is not please strike it out, Sir—as I said in my meetings with the people even in the camps where I had gone, we will have to go through hell to meet this situation. But I have no doubt that we can emerge, and we will. It will hurt us in many ways, economically and in other ways, but we will get through if we have the courage, the determination and the endurance. I personally believe that our people do have these qualities and therefore we will be able to handle this situation. But it cannot be done cheaply either as regards the financial effort or the physical effort. The effort may hurt all sections of the people, all along the line. It may even effect some of our essential programmes. But this is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

something which we cannot avoid because, as I have said on an earlier occasion, what happens in Bangla Desh will have an impact on India. We are concerned with the general principle of democracy but we are more concerned here because Bangla Desh is so close to our border that its impact will be very much greater than if such a thing had happened at a distant place.

My colleague just now mentioned the much publicised reception centres opened by the West Pakistan Government in Bangla Desh. I do not know what these reception centres are going to do. So far nobody has returned from any of our refugee camps except a small number—about two thousand-who are reported to have gone back from a part of northern India for various reasons which had nothing to do with the opening of the reception centres in East Bengal.

So far as I remember, it was Shri Goray, or may be one of the other hon'ble Members—who asked something about what we meant by political settlement.

I think he will excuse me, he has put rather an extraordinary interpretation on that world. Does he for a moment believe that we would accept a political settlement which means the death of Bangla Desh, which means the ending of democracy or of those who are fighting for their rights? India could never accept such a state of affairs. When we talked of a political settlement, we meant that a political settlement must be arrived at with those people who are today being suppressed. I am not expressing a view whether such a settlement is possible or not, but clarifying what we have said at an earlier stage. If international pressure through whatever means available to the big powers and to other countries were be exerted, I think, that a political settlement would have been possible at an earlier stage. Now, of course, with each passing day this possibility has become more remote.

We are looking after the refugees on a temporary basis. We have no intention of allowing them to settle here nor can we allow them to go back merely to be butchered.

One hon'ble. Member said something about China having become free after us. I have not quite understood what this means. So far as I know, China has not been under foreign rule in the way that we have been. It has always been a free country. It is true that earlier on it did not have a communist government and now it has one. But it was a free country all along.

There is some confusion in the minds of hon'ble Members whether refugees are being removed or whether they are to be kept where they are. It is not easy to be clear on this matter because of the magnitude of the problem. Even if we want to remove the refugees, it is physically not possible to do so. Each train carries about 1,200; or it may be little more. But with the best will in the world, we can only move a small portion of them. We are trying to move them specially to land which belongs to the Central Government in different States but it is not an easy matter to do and however we may try to move them there still will be a tremendous burden on the States where they are today. And specially as you must have heard from Shri Khadilkar...

We have used trucks; we are using planes; we are using railway trains; we are using goods trains. But with all that—they are six million people—you cannot remove them easily or quickly.

In this country we have a shortage of practically everything which they need. We have a shortage of tarpaulins; we have a shortage of corrugated iron sheets; we have a shortage of every possible thing you can think of. We have tried to round these items from every part of the country; we are rushing them to the camps. But no matter what we do—I am sorry to say—we cannot keep the refugees on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

anything remotely resembling comfort because of the nature of the problem. And I am glad to say that wherever I have been the spirit in these camps has really been magnificent. They are living under extremely difficult conditions but they understand and anticipate our difficulties. So we should continue to try and do our best but we should always keep in view the long-term aspect of the problem and specially the aspect that it will mean tremendous hardship for all of us and for our people. We must all, as leaders or members of political parties, as citizens of this country prepare our people for this period of hardship because without it we can neither help the refugees nor deal with the larger problem.

This House has always shown a great deal of understanding. I know that it is necessary from time to time to have an opportunity to blow off steam and to work off emotions. This is natural and understandable but when all is said, I am grateful to the House for the understanding it has showed and for the co-operation which it gives. Thank you.

INDIA'S FOREIGN MINISTER'S ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, ON JUNE 17, 1971

Following is the text of speech delivered by Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh at the National Press Club of Washington, D.C., U.S.A., on June 17, 1971 :

I value and appreciate the invitation to address the National Press Club. There is a special reason for this. I have come here to seek, together with your leaders, a just, peaceful and enduring solution of a problem which has been reported upon so well and in such detail by your press. So, I am happy to have this opportunity to speak to this distinguished gathering of the representatives of the American Press who play such a vital role in shaping public opinion.

The tragedy of East Bengal looms large on the horizon of India today. It looms large on the horizon of Asia. It poses a grave threat to peace and progress in our region.

The facts of the situation in East Bengal are well known to you. But I wish to draw your attention to the dangerous potential of this problem for us and for our region. We should also consider the consequences that the world may have to face tomorrow, if today, due to a sense of indifference or helplessness, or out of some misplaced feeling of delicacy towards the perpetrators of the tragedy, we permit the situation to drift further.

The concern and anxiety which this situation in East Bengal causes to us in India are not ours alone. They are yours too. The character and the magnitude of the happenings in East Bengal are such that they are bound to have repercussions beyond the frontiers of Pakistan and be a source of concern to the international community.

Democracy brutally suppressed

Besides, our two countries have a common commitment to democratic principles and values. These same values and principles are being brutally suppressed in East Bengal.

The suppression of democratic principles by the army in East Bengal, I would remind you, cannot be defended on the ground that it is an attempt to deal with a secessionist movement. The elections took place in Pakistan in December last year for an assembly to frame constitution for that country. The Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, swept the polls on a programme demanding greater

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

control over state affairs in East Bengal within the union of Pakistan. The League's six-point programme was not a manifesto for secession or independence. The demand for independence of Bangala Desh came, it should be remembered, in the wake of the bloodbath which began on March 25. The case is therefore, clearly one of a minority, equipped with gifts of money and arms from abroad, trying to undo, through the use of brute force, the verdict of popular vote.

One of the results of this reign of terror unleashed by the army is that 6 million people have fled their homes in East Bengal and have sought refuge in India. There is no end yet in sight to this mass exodus. Each day some 100,000 East Bengalis are driven by the Pakistan Army across the border of East Bengal into our country. The dimensions of this exodus will, perhaps, be better understood if I say that we are receiving one refugee every second.

We offer these refugees such succour and relief as we can afford. In our states bordering on East Bengal, the schools of our children have had to be closed down to provide shelter for the refugees. Our health services are stretched thin and there are shortages of transport and tentage, food and medicine and other resources needed to cope with this grim tragedy. In the Indian State of Tripura today, there is one refugee from East Bengal to every two local inhabitants. West Bengal, already heavily populated, is groaning under the weight of this endless influx.

Clearly, the humanitarian task of providing food, shelter and medicines must have high priority. The cost of relief will run into hundreds of millions of dollars. We had made a token provision of 80 million dollars in our budget for the current year, but even this token provision represents 30 per cent of the additional tax burden which our people will have to bear this year.

While we are doing the best we can within our resources, the financial burden of looking after the refugees is beyond our resources. We have welcomed such assistance as has been forthcoming from foreign governments, from voluntary organisations and agencies and from private citizens. Even though these contributions may not be very large, our Government and people appreciate the sentiment behind them.

Nevertheless, the task is a very large one and we in India have our own pressing problems of poverty and unemployment to attend to. We, therefore, hope that the United States, a prosperous country of generous humanitarian instincts and, indeed, other countries of the world, may, before long, address themselves more adequately to the problems and needs of relief.

Military Action Must Stop at Once

But necessary as relief is, it is a palliative and not a solution to the problem which lies at the root of the situation. It is immediately necessary to stop further influx of refugees from Pakistan, and that will come about only if the military action in East Bengal is ended forthwith. The international community must persuade and pressurise the Government of Pakistan to that end.

Equally, conditions must be created for the return to East Bengal of those who were forced out of their homes and had to take shelter in India. The Government of Pakistan must be made to accept its proper responsibility for the rehabilitation of these refugees in their homes. In the meantime, their properties in East Bengal should be preserved and protected under international supervision pending their return.

The return and resettlement of refugees in their homes will obviously take a while and relief measures will be necessary and camps will have to be set up

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for the purpose. It seems to us that temporary relief camps should be set up in East Bengal itself and the refugees now in India should be transferred to those camps.

The Pakistan Government claims to have set up camps or reception centres in East Bengal, but refugees are not returning there, because they apparently do not trust the Pakistan Government's declarations of amnesty. It is, therefore, necessary to restore their confidence that they will be well treated on return, that they will enjoy safety of person and property and that bona fide measures will be taken to rehabilitate them and protect their rights and interests.

International Supervision

As a measure in that direction, an area in Pakistan may have to be set aside for temporary camps, to be administered by the refugees themselves under international supervision.

The basic problem is a political one, and it calls for a political solution. Without such a solution, the atmosphere of confidence and security, which is necessary for the return of refugees, will not be generated. There are two essential pre-requisites:

First, the necessary political solution must be found urgently, and

Secondly, the solution to be effective and enduring must be in accord with the wishes of the people of East Bengal and their elected leaders.

Any effort to set up a regime in East Bengal which is not truly representative will only prolong the agony, and harden attitudes and pose hazards to peace of the whole region.

Concern for Mujib

We feel great concern for the personal safety and well-being of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He is a leader of very high stature and rare human qualities, who commands the affections of the entire people of East Bengal. We hope that the international community will spare no effort to persuade the rulers of Pakistan to release Sheikh Mujib, and to join with him in search of a political solution acceptable to the people of East Bengal. He symbolises the urges, aspirations and hopes of 75 million people which were expressed as late as December last. These will not be extinguished by his incarceration.

We would urge the international community as a whole, and countries friendly to Pakistan in particular, to bring their influence to bear on the Pakistan Government for a political solution on these lines.

Our views with regard to the grant of military aid to Pakistan are well-known. A situation has now arisen in which even the grant of economic aid to that conntry, in present circumstances, is bound to be used for the suppression of the majority of Pakistan's people. It is, therefore, not out of any ill-will for the people of Pakistan, but in the desire that the agony of strife in Pakistan should end as quickly as possible, that we urge that all countries should suspend all military and economic assistance to Pakistan till a political solution acceptable to the people of East Bengal is found.

India Threatened

I hope that the people of this country will understand and appreciate our grave anxiety over the situation in East Bengal. We in India have been at the receiving end of the results of the reign of terror and killings that has gone on in East Bangal since March 25. The point has now been reached where the actions of Pakistan's military Government threaten to disrupt the economic, social and political fabric of our society and our state. These actions threaten to engulf our region in a conflict the end of which it is not easy to predict.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We have acted with patience, forbearance and restraint. But, we cannot sit idly by if the edifice of our political stability and economic well-being is threatened.

In the 23 years since our independence, we have struggled to give economic and social meaning to our political democracy. We have not succeeded in eliminating poverty and hunger and disease from our land, but the lives of our people are a little better than they were 2½ decades ago. We have doubled our food production, we have vastly expanded the availability of education, medical care and the opportunities of work to our people. The rate of annual increase in our exports touched a high of 7 per cent last year, and our growth rate has moved up to 5 per cent per annum. The United States has helped us in our endeavours, and, I am sure you share our pride in these achievements.

Crisis of Pakistan's Making

After our General Elections in February, which gave our Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, and our party, the Indian National Congress, a massive verdict of peoples' support for our programmes, we were getting ready for a powerful assault on our economic and social problems. And, then came this crisis of Pakistan's making, which threatens to wipe out our gains, and destroy the prospect of peace and progress for our children.

To any responsible Government, this would be an intolerable situation. Hence our anxiety that a political solution should be forged in East Bengal which is acceptable to the Bengali people and their elected representatives, so that peace may return to that troubled land, and the refugees who have come to our country should go back to their homes.

We face a grave situation, but we continue to have faith and hope that concerted and determined action of the world community will help a satisfactory solution, and lift the threat to India's stability and to the peace of the region. It was in that spirit that I undertook this tour which has brought me to Washington I have found here understanding of our apprehensions and sympathy with our objectives.

[*The above speech has been included in the U. S. Congressional Record at the request of Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher.*]

Following are the questions and answers after the speech :

Question : You stated last night that you are going to take care of 6 million refugees for 6 months. What happens if Pakistan refuses to take back these refugees ?

Foreign Minister : The question is important. What happens if there are additions to 6 million ? That is the precise reason that we are doubly anxious about this issue. Our first demand is that whatever else happens or does not happen, this further movement of refugees must stop. And, in this respect, even a change in the political situation is not absolutely necessary to put a stop to the movement of refugees. If those who happen to be now in charge of the administrative and military apparatus which can systematically push out people, if they start applying that machine and that apparatus in the reverse direction and produce conditions of confidence, at any rate cease to put pressure on these various sections of the East Bengali Community, this will result in stopping of movement. The conditions which are already so grave, if this does not stop, and I hinted in a portion of my speach that if this thing continues, we will not be able to watch helplessly this addition to our troubles and this increasing threat to our security and stability of not only our territory, but of the entire region.

Question : Why do you refer to East Pakistan as East Bengal ? Does this indicate eventual unification of West and East Bengal ?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Minister : I call it East Bengal, because originally it was East Bengal. Bengal was divided into two parts, the East and the West. And this also to a certain extent we use in order to satisfy the ideas of the people in East Bengal who 75 million of them, are engaged in the mighty task of ending the military domination and suppression of the Pakistan army, which is predominantly West Pakistani in its content and constitution.

The use of this expression does not mean that there is any risk of West Bengal, which is a State of the Indian Union, at any time thinking of joining East Bengal, even it becomes independent. They know the value of being equal partners in this great country of ours, India, where they have played a significant role in the political field, in the social and economic field; and thus I do not realize that there is ever any risk of people of West Bengal, a constituent State of India, ever thinking of opting out of India, whatever is the future of East Pakistan, whether it succeeds in attaining the type of autonomy which is contained in the 6-Point Programme of the Awami League or whether it emerges in the course of time as a state mostly on account of the continued oppression by military means of the wishes and aspirations of the people of East Bengal.

Question : President Nixon has not so far publicly condemned genocide in East Bengal. Did he condemn it in your private talks with him ?

Foreign Minister : I am sure this sophisticated audience will not like me to speak on behalf of President Nixon. You have, perhaps, better means of knowing what is in the mind of President Nixon. And, it is farthest from me that I should comment upon what he should or should not do. It is my duty to put across my view point as precisely, but as forcefully, as possible to you, as I have to President Nixon and other important leaders of your Government. And, it is for them to take up attitudes, public or private. I would not like to have any quarrel with them on that score.

Question : Your Excellency, what pressure, beside diplomatic protest, if any, could the United States bring to bear on the West Pakistan Government to force them toward humanitarian treatment of the Bengalis ?

Foreign Minister : I have no doubt in my mind that without even making a diplomatic protest—the expression used in the question—if the disapproval of the Government and people of the United States is expressed in a forthright manner, that will have a powerful impact upon the military rulers, even upon the people in West Pakistan, who, on account of rigorous imposition of various types of controls on the Press, are unaware of what is happening in East Pakistan. And, a forthright and clear expression of disapproval will go a long way in not only applying the necessary solace, giving confort to the sufferers, but will be a strong deterrent against the continued military action by the perpetrators of these heinous crimes against democracy and against liberal traditions.

Question : By saying India "will not sit idly by" if the refugee flow continues, do you mean India will declare war on Pakistan ?

Foreign Minister : There are other ways of enforcing our wish than declaring war. And, I hope we will not be compelled to resort to those other means, which perhaps you cannot expect me to spell out at this stage.

At the present moment we are engaged in the task of mobilizing public opinion, both governmental as well as private, to focus their attention on the basic issues, the moral issues, involved. I have no doubt that by paying a very small price at this stage, of expressing this assessment in a clear manner, and also applying such levers as there may be—some of it I have entered—the situation can be retrieved. It is our earnest hope and it is our fond hope, at any rate, that this situation can be corrected only if the international community, both at the official and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

non-official level, wake up to their responsibility and do not by their silence connive or acquiesce in the continued military action which will surely lead to much graver and much more disastrous results.

Question: Mr. Minister, why do you think that the Foreign Offices in the Western nations have had so little to say about the massacre in East Pakistan?

Foreign Minister: I wish I could speak on their behalf. But the hard reality is that they are reticent. The day has come when this conscience should be stirred, and they should speak out and should view the situation, in view of the gravity of the situation, in its proper perspective, and try to tackle the roots rather than touch the periphery.

Question: Should Hindu refugees also be asked to return to East Bengal? And, what do you think about a united Bengal, independent of India and Pakistan?

Foreign Minister: My reply to the first question is that no one will return merely because he is asked to return, be he a Hindu refugee, a Muslim refugee and, I would like to add for your information, that there are, besides these two communities, Christian refugees and Buddhist refugees also. They have been quite impartial in their acts of oppression of various communities.

The refugees will not return simply because they are being asked to return. They will return only if the crisis of confidence, which has overtaken the people there, is ended, and in its place, an atmosphere and a situation of confidence and hope is regenerated. This can come about not by asking an individual to go—not to go, but by induction to East Pakistan of an administrative set up which represents the ideals and aspirations of the people, so unmistakably demonstrated at the time of the last election giving 167 seats out of 169 to the Awami League. I think it is a record of success, by any standard in the world, in any part of the world.

So, it is really the establishment, the re-establishment, there of an administration which inspires the confidence of the people that the return of the refugees will be facilitated.

With regard to the second question, I have already touched upon it. I do not realize that in West Bengal, one of our valiant members of the great Indian community, who with their rich historical and cultural heritage have played such a significant role in the reconstruction and development of the country, and who have taken such prominent part in the mainstream of pubic life in India, after seeing what has happened to people in East Bengal, would ever dream of, or think of, opting out of the Indian territory, and would ever dream of taking a step which, to us, appears to be borne out of a complete misunderstanding and misjudgment of the situation.

Question: Your Excellency, would you please comment on a Radio Network report that your Government is preventing or hindering Press coverage of American airlifts of Pakistani refugees while allowing coverage of similar Soviet airlifts?

Foreign Minister: We are completely non-aligned between these two super powers. And, I would like to dispel any such feeling in any quarter that we are discriminating in the matter of coverage of C-130 planes as compared to AM-12 or AM-14 planes. I have myself seen a full and complete report of the stories undertaken by the American planes. I am sure that in India, which has traditions of a free press which most of the time is not too charitable to us even they have never complained that there has been any discrimination on this score.

Question: Do you feel confident that the Government of Pakistan would equitably distribute relief supplies given to it on a bilateral basis?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Minister: I have my grave doubts about their capacity to dole out even the least in an impartial manner. And, I have grave doubts if it will reach the real needy individuals. This concern of mine is broadly shared by the international community and by the U.N. circles. It is for this reason that they have been insisting on supervision, by the international community, the U.N. Organizations, of the distribution arrangements with regard to such relief that might be made available to the Government of Pakistan.

There is no substitute for experience. By now it is well known that even the relief that was given to the Pakistan Government for the relief of the sufferers of cyclone some months back—a good part of it has remained unutilized. And, I can say on good authority that the boats for relief work, which were given at that time to Pakistan authorities, came in very handy for the Pakistan military authorities when they were dealing with the freedom fighters.

Question: Mr. Minister, do you think it at all possible that the two sections of Pakistan can be continued under one Government?

Foreign Minister: I would not like to comment upon the future course of events. I would like to clarify our stand with regard to this issue, that we consider, and have taken the stand, that this is a matter between whatever may be the central authority of Pakistan and the people of East Bengal. It is for the people of East Bengal to work out their future. And, so far as we are concerned, we will be perfectly satisfied if the elected representatives who represent the wish of the people—almost unanimously—if they work out any arrangement. It is for them to take a view of the future course of events. And, the quantum of autonomy or the nature of relationship, whether it is independent or semi-independent, autonomous or whetever it is, it is their future and it's for those people to decide. We have not taken any fixed stand with regard to this issue.

Question: In response to an earlier question as to whether India might act to absorb East Bengal, you said that West Bengal would not want to quit India to form a new state of both Bengals. Can you answer the original question, please?

Foreign Minister: Can you repeat, Mr. President.

Question: Apparently someone was not content with the earlier question as to whether India might act to absorb East Bengal and would probably want you to comment further, if you will.

Foreign Minister: The East Bengal freedom fighters, whe are so keen to gain their own independence—I do not think that they will readily like again to become non-independent by becoming a part of India. This does not appear to be consistent with the ideas of freedom which today are swaying in such a powerful manner—almost unanimously—the people in East Bengal.

Question: Your Excellency, how much, in a specifie figure, India believes it needs in international humanitarian aid for the remainder of the year?

Foreign Minister: In this connection, I would like to state one or two points One, our view has always been, and continues to be, that in the first place, the care of the East Pakistani citizens who happened now to be temporarily in India—the entire responsibility is clearly that of the Government of Pakistan.

In the second place, it is the responsibility of the international community, and India will be prepared to contribute her share, even more than her *pro rata* share, in discharging this international obligation towards the victims of oppression.

And, if that aid is given to look after these refugees, we never regard it as aid to India. It might be aid to Pakistan, because, to that extent, partially it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

reduces the direct reponsibility of the Government of Pakistan to look after these refugees.

Now in the quantum thereof, we know that the amounts that have been indicated so far will meet only a small fraction of the entire expenditure that have to be incurred in looking after refugees. But the most important thing to be kept in mind is that the social, economic tensions that have been generated in our area, the element of instability and the long-range risk of this instability continuing, are factors which cannot be determined in terms of money. It is this aspect which has to be kept in mind.

And it is for this reason that we have always stressed and highlighted the importance of a necessary political corrective to be applied. Because, there is no use dealing with a symptom if you don't deal with the root cause.

We are conscious of the fact that even the most generous response of the international community is likely to reach only a small fraction of the total burden that we will have to carry, even in terms of money; but we still value it, because of the thought behind it, rather than the actual quantum thereof.

Question : What is your assessment of the effect of Chinese support of the Government of Pakistan's actions in East Pakistan on China's credibility and influence in the world ?

Foreign Minister : Surely any support that Pakistan military rulers might get from any quarter, which gives a pat on their back, will encourage them in their intransigence. And to that extent, this support from the Government of the People's Republic of China is something which encourages them to continue in their path of repression, and to that extent is definitely a negative factor in the entire situation.

Question : Mr. Minister, what is the cholera situation among refugees and others ?

Foreign Minister : There were cases of cholera. And, I think that, by and large, action taken so far has resulted in halting the spread of cholera. In our vast country, where we deal with such vast numbers, the steps that our health organizations have taken in controlling cholera have, by and large, been successful. And, we would not like the international community to feel too much concerned about the spread of cholera. We have sometimes an uneasy suspicion that highlighting cholera may have been hit upon as one of the methods of diverting attention from the core of the problem, and we would like you to concentrate on the core of the problem, rather than be too much obsessed by this risk of an epidemic spreading.

Question : Has Communist China issued any warning to India with regard to any future conflict between India and Pakistan ?

Foreign Minister : For once I want to reply with one word, and that is, no.

Question : What, if any, economic expenditure will India cut back to finance refugee relief ?

Foreign Minister : I think it is quite obvious that the entire expenditure on refugees will be non-productive. And, it will definitely cut into our expenditure which had been earmarked for development purposes, and it is from that point of view the impact of this upon our advance on the economic front which is the source of concern.

Question: Mr. Minister, How can Indo-American relations be improved at this point ?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Minister: It is difficult to answer that. But one method is that if all of you support me in this, they will be very greatly improved.

Question: A questioner wants to know, candidly, what percentage of your people go to bed hungry every night? Is your country making maximum use of fishmeal to provide needed protein in the diet of your people? And, do you view the population explosion as the leading problem facing the world community of nations today? And, on the same subject, what can you tell us about the progress of birth control in India?

Foreign Minister: Several questions have been rolled in to one. Perhaps a full-dress debate on our economic planning and development will be initiated or triggered off if I deal with these matters in any great detail.

But, I will try to answer as briefly as I can. The first question is as to how many people sleep without a meal. My reply is none, because our food production last year crossed a 100 million ton mark. And in cereal, our position is fairly comfortable. We have drastically reduced our food imports. We are importing some small quantities to build up a reserve than for current consumption.

The second question is about utilisation of fishmeal, or what is it?

Question: Yes, Sir. Is your country making maximum use of fishmeal to provide needed protein in the diet of your people?

Foreign Minister: Well, we haven't got enough of fish, and we want to catch more. And, we are prepared to go even to troubled waters for that.

We have no inhibitions in consuming fish. If you have served it and have watched the Indians handing their fork in relation to fish, you probably would have got the answer for this. What is next?

Question: Do you view the population explosion as the leading problem facing the world community of nations today?

Foreign Minister: I agree. And it is for this reason that we also urge in all international forums that just as peace is indivisible, it should be increasingly realized that poverty also is indivisible. And, therefore, a great burden lies on the affluent society to watch this situation very carefully and to willingly contribute their share in ameliorating the lot of the people. Otherwise an increasing number of bodies in comparatively poorer countries surely will create a problem for those countries. But those countries, who are having all the good things of life and abundance, will not remain unaffected by this increasing difference between the levels of standard of living of peoples.

And, we on our side are fully convinced of taking effective steps for controlling the population. I would like to share this thought with you that there is no resistance in India to this. It depends on the methods and the wherewith all that will enable us to push ahead in a more effective manner our population control programme.

Question: Your Excellency, you have been talking of political problem. The U.S. Government has been talking of relief and money and aid. Is this a dialogue of the deaf?

Foreign Minister: If it were a dialogue of the deaf, then probably nothing would be heard. And it requires two deaf people to block a dialogue. I do not think that the two attitudes are inconsistent. The United States Government have been mentioning the relief measures that they have taken. We welcome them.

We have also pointed out to them the necessity of dealing with the root problem and not touching only the symptom, I will not be reporting faithfully if I were to say all this fell on deaf ears.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chair : Your Excellency, before asking the final question, I would like to present you with a certificate of appreciation to commemorate your visit with us today.

Foreign Minister : Thank you very much.

Chair : As well as the official necktie of the National Press Club, which I'm afraid you'll have to wear with Western dress.

Foreign Minister : Thank you very much.

Question : The final question, Sir, is it true that you once presented Ambassador Ken Keating with an alarm clock ?

Foreign Minister : An Alarm Clock.

Chair : I don't know the significance.

Foreign Minister : This is a very pleasant subject that has been raised. First of all, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for your thoughtfulness in screening the questions and trying to 'club' them in as presentable and palatable form as possible. And, I greatly appreciate your thoughtfulness and your consideration.

In the second place, I greatly value these souvenirs which have been presented to me. They will be a constant reminder of a very pleasant function in which I had a dialogue and I could see the Free Press in action. I was missing this for some time, because I have been away from my Parliament and my Press for now over ten days. And, this perhaps was very hospitable to what is awaiting me when I return to my own country. These will be very valuable reminders of the very excellent opportunity that I had to put across my viewpoints and the viewpoints of my country.

The last question is about presentation of an alarm clock to Ambassador Keating. I would like to say that Mr. Ambassador Senator Keating is one of the most loved and respected ambassadors in our diplomatic corps. And, I would like to acknowledge tha he has been doing excellent work for improving relations between our two countries, strengthening them, and trying to consolidate the areas in which there has been fruitful collaboration and co-operation. I would like to assure you that, as people, we are reasonbly courteous, and we do not embarrass any person by presenting such ridiculous items as alarm clocks.

And, Mr. Keating is so alert that he doesn't require the chime of a clock to awaken him. He seldom sleeps on important issues, and, therefore, he need not be subjected to the agony of the ticking or the chime of the clock to wake him up. Because, on all important issues he is wide awake all the time.

And, may be, perhaps, I will purchase some sleeping pills for him here.

But I would like to say that Mr. Keating is coming up to the highest traditions of American life. And, it's my pleasure to say that he's doing very excellent work.

But, still there is room for frivolity in framing this question or putting out a news item of that type.

Thank you very much.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN LOK/RAJYA SABHA ON JUNE 24, 1971 REGARDING THE SHIPMENT OF AMERICAN ARMS TO PAKISTAN

Government appreciate and share the concern of all sections of this House about the reported shipment of certain items of military equipment from the United States to Pakistan recently. The New York Times' report of June 22 about two ships, "Sunderbans" and "Padma" flying the flag of Pakistan, having sailed from New York on the 8th of May and 21st of June respectively, with cargo, of the United States military equipment seems to be substantially correct. Our Ambassador in Washington took up the matter immediately on receipt of this report with the Under Secretary of State on the evening of 22nd June. The matter was also taken up with the U. S. Embassy in New Delhi on 23rd June. According to the U. S. Government, no foreign military sales to Pakistan have been authorised or approved since March 25, and no export licences have been issued for commercial purchases in U. S. since March 25; nor have export licences been renewed since that date. The U. S. Government has further stated that the *New York Times* article is incorrect in stating that such shipments included eight aircraft. According to them, no aircraft are on board these vessels. The U. S. Government have, however, admitted that it is possible that foreign military sales items authorised or approved prior to March 25, have been delivered to the dock-side since that date and may be aboard the two ships referred to in the *New York Times*. They have further stated that it was also possible that commercially purchased items where export licences were required and were issued before March 25, may be aboard these ships. Further, there are some items for which export licences are not required. So it is possible that some such items are also on the ships. They have stated that it is thus probable that these ships do carry items of military equipment resulting from actions taken prior to March 25.

The Under Secretary of State has appreciated our concern and expressed regret that this loophole regarding past authorisations had not been brought to our notice. He has further explained that full facts regarding what had been covered by export licences issued in the past, the shipments of which have not been effected, were still not known and he could not, therefore, say that there would be no further shipments yet to be made. He has however added that up to the moment they had not come to any conclusion on this subject and they were examining the matter.

We have pointed out to the U. S. Government that any accretion of military strength to Pakistan, particularly in the present circumstances when military oppression and atrocities are being let loose on the un-armed and defenceless people of Bangla Desh, would not only pose a threat to the peace and security of this sub-continent but the whole region. What is more, it would not only amount to a condonation of these atrocities, but could be construed as an encouragement to their continuation. We have stressed that this is not merely a technical matter but a matter of grave concern involving social, economic, political and security considerations. We have, therefore, urged the U. S. Government that they should try to stop the two ships which have already sailed, from delivering military items to Pakistan and, in any case, to give an assurance that no further shipments of military stores will be allowed even under "past authorisations". The United States Government have promised to give urgent consideration to this matter and we are awaiting their response.

We hope that the U. S. Government which cherishes the principles of democracy and freedom, will not encourage the wanton violation of these principles which is taking place in Bangla Desh today by the shipment of any kind of military

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

weapon, spare parts, etc., as long as the military authorities o Pakistan do not stop theis military atrocities and come to a peaceful political settlement with duly elected representatives of Bangla Desh and thus bring about stoppage of the further influx of refugees and the safe and early return, under credible guarantees, of the large numbers of refugees who have already carossed over into India.

STATEMENT IN THE LOK/RAJYA SABHA ON JUNE 25, 1971, BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON HIS RETURN FROM VISITS TO MOSCOW, BONN, PARIS, OTTAWA, NEW YORK, WASHINGTON D. C. AND LONDON FROM 6TH JUNE, TO 22ND JUNE 1971

Between 6th and 22nd June, 1971, I visited Moscow, Bonn, Paris, Ottawa, New York, Washington and London, in that order. In each of these capitals I had detailed discussions, with the head of Government and the Foreign Minister. At the UN Headquarters I had discussions with the U N Secretary-General U-Thant and his colleagues. I also met in every capital a number of other Government Leaders, Legislators, Editors, Social workers and Leaders of public opinion.

In these discussions the focus of attention and emphasis was all along on the grave and serious situation created for India by the influx of 6 million refugees from East Bengal and the continuing crisis caused in our region due to the massive killings by the West Pakistani military machine iu East Bengal.

In Moscow, Bonn, Paris, Washington and London statements were issued at the end of my visits, on behalf of the respective Governments, in consultation with us and these indicate the general line of the reaction of host Governments. In Ottawa Foreign Minister Mitchell Sharp made a statement in the Canadian House of Commons which indicates their general line.

Copies of all these Statements are being laid on the Table of the House.

As a result of my talks with the Governments of countries visited by me, the following areas of agreement emerged:-

(i) That there could be no military solution and all military action in East Bengal must stop immediately.

(ii) That the flow of refugees into India from East Bengal must immediately stop.

(iii) That conditions must be created enabling the refugees to return to their homes in peace and security, and that this could happen only if the refugees could be assured of a secure future in their respective homes in East Bengal.

(iv) That a political solution acceptable to the people of East Bengal was the only way of ensuring a return to normalcy.

(v) That the present situation was grave and fraught with serious dangers for the peace and security of the region.

It was generally agreed that the burden placed upon the resources of the Government of India by this massive influx of 6 million refugees into this country from East Bengal, a process crowded into just a few weeks, was intolerable, and that the international community must give assistance in this effort, both in cash and in kind.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I made it clear in each capital that any assistance to the refugees from East Bengal was essentially an assistance given to Pakistan, for they are nationals of that country, uprooted through deliberate and wanton action on the part of their own Government. I also clarified, and it was by and large accepted, that any military assistance to the Military rulers of Pakistan at the juncture would have the effect of encouraging and sustaining them in their anti-people activity; and any economic assistance to them would be tantamount to condoning their deplorable actions in East Bengal, so fully and so irrefutably documented by eye-witness accounts which have been appearing in the world press all these weeks. I pointed out also that, in fact, any economic assistance, excepting that given on humanitarian considerations to the victims of oppression in East Bengal under international surveillance would have the effect of maintaining in power the military machine of the minority now engaged in oppressing the majority of the people of that country, and thus would constitute an unfortunate form of interference in their internal affairs.

I found in all these capitals great appreciation for the generosity displayed by the Government and people of India in looking after this large influx of refugees, which was recognised as an unprecedented one in human history, a man-made calamity for the people of East Bengal, and also for this country. The gravity of the situation, the enormity of the burden-placed on us, for no fault of ours, and the serious repurcussions for the people and security of this entire region if the present situation was not brought under control speedily, was recognised everywhere.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN LOK SABHA ON JULY 6, 1971, REGARDING THE REPORTED SUPPLY OF ARMS TO PAKISTAN BY THE USSR AND FRANCE AND THE REACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT THERETO

Government have seen Press reports to this effect. Government have been in touch with the Governments of the USSR and France both in New Delhi and their respective capitals.

The Soviet Ambassador has told us that the Press reports about USSR Government having supplied arms to Pakistan after the military action in Bangla Desh are incorrect.

The French Government had informed us that they have not entered into any new contracts for the supply of arms to Pakistan after the military action in Bangla Desh. They had also informed us towards the end of June that they would not make any deliveries of arms even on old contracts. We have, however, expressed our grave concern to the French Ambassador about the reported supply of arms to Pakistan. We have asked our Ambassador in Paris and the French Ambassador in New Delhi to take this matter up with the French Government.

In view of the prevailing practice of clandestine sale of arms through private parties in Western Europe, the possibility of Pakistan acquiring arms through such sources cannot be ruled out.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN LOK SABHA ON JULY 12, 1971, REGARDING THE REPORTED DECISION OF U.S.A. TO SUPPLY ARMS WORTH 35 MILLION DOLLARS TO PAKISTAN UNDER PERSONAL ORDERS OF PRESIDENT NIXON

Government have seen the text of the statement made by Senator Church on July 17, 1971, that an estimated $ 35 million worth of military equipment is still in the arms pepeline for delivery to Pakistan. On 8th July, 1971, a State Department Spokesman stated that "the average approximate figure over the last five fiscal years has been in the order of $ 10 to 15 million".

Senator Church is a well-informed Senator and has been taking great interest in the question of arms supply by USA to different countries. It is possible that his figure may not be far from correct. In any case, amounts in dollars do not give a clear indication of the nature and quantum of military equipment involved. Equipment purchased from certain governmental sources is valued much below the normal market price. Also spare parts which may cost very little can reactivate deadly weapons.

Government shares the concern of all sections of the House about the continued supply of military equipment by USA to Pakistan. I would like to assure the House that our views on the subject have been conveyed in unequivocal terms to the US Government.

Government feel that supply of arms to Pakistan by any country in the present context amounts to condonation of genocide in East Bengal and encouragement to the continuation of the atrocities by the military rulers of Pakistan. It also amounts to an intervention on the side of the military rulers of West Pakistan against the people of Bangla Desh. We have left US Government in no doubt about the dangerous implications of such a policy on the situation in Bangla Desh and on the peace and stability of the sub-continent and the region as a whole.

DEFENCE MINISTER SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM'S STATEMENT ON JULY 12, 1971

Following are excerpts from Defence Minister Shri Jagjivan Ram's reply to the debate on Budget Demands of the Ministry of Defence, on July 12, 1971.

I was talking about the tragic developments in Bangla Desh. The resurgence of sentiment for Bangla Desh after the brutal intervention by West Pakistan's military forces has exposed in all its nakedness the colonialist designs of the present regime in West Pakistan. It has further proved that the root of democracy is too deep and too strong to be snapped by a military rule of nearly a quarter of a century. The people of Bangla Desh are manfully resisting the efforts of Pakistani Junta to suppress freedom and democracy. The terror which has been unleashed on Bangla Desh has stirred the conscience of the world. The bravery and heroism of those engaged in this struggle is widely admired and applauded. The House has expressed the support and sympathy for our friends in distress.

A significant percentage of the population of Bangla Desh has been forced out and has sought shelter in India. It is clear that the Pakistan Army is engaged in a ruthless genocide of the people of Bangla Desh and is, in the process, mounting a threat to our economy, our society, and on the basic principles which our Constitution enshrines.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The values we cherish and the commitments we have made for our own social and economic development are in jeopardy. Government are alive to their responsibility to meet this threat.

The House is aware of the intrusions that have been attempted by the Pakistan Army our eastern borders. The House is also aware of the reports which have appeared in the Press in regard to the preparations which are being made by Pakistan on our western borders, more particularly across the cease-fire line.

The House is aware of the frantic attempts which are being made by the Pakistani military junta to raise new regiments, to conscript their youth, and to procure military hardware, arms and ammunition stealthily or through the agency of their friends in some countries. All these preparations are being made with a view to extinguish the flame of freedom and democracy on this sub-continent. We hope that those who are helping them in this effort are conscious of their responsibilities are aware of the purposes for which these death-dealing weapons are being procured.

We have had occasion to discuss these threats to our security in this House. I can only say that we keep reviewing these matters from day to day, and I can assure the House that vigilance has been strengthened all along the eastern and western borders and every precaution has been taken to defeat all possible manoeuvres on the part of our adversaries. Our security forces have instructions to deal firmly with infiltrators and other hostile elements which may attempt to intrude into our territory.

Our people on the borders, whether it is in Kashmir, Jammu, Nagaland, Meghalaya or anywhere else, are conscious of the stakes. The brutal methods employed by the Pakistan Army in Bangla Desh have strengthened their determination to resist and defeat Pakistan manoeuvres.

Mukti Fauj

The demand for the early recognition of Bangla Desh by Government has been reiterated by various sides of the House. We are aware of the feeling in the country on the question of recognition of Bangla Desh. Our Prime Minister has explained Government's stand on the matter on more than one occasion in the House and outside. There is nothing to add to what the Prime Minister has said on the subject. One thing, however, is clear. The indomitable courage of the freedom fighters of Mukti Fauj will ultimately succeed in establishing Bangla Desh. The reports trickling from across the border indicate how manfully freedom fighters are harassing the Pakistan Army. One guerilla, one commando, of the Mukti Fauj is worth many marauders of the imperialist army of Pakistan. With the ever increasing activities of the freedom fighters, it is clear that the military junta will not be permitted to continue their exploitation of the people of Bangla Desh and perpetuate their colonial rule there. In their determination to establish a democratic order in Bangla Desh, freedom fighters have all our sympathy and support.

Army

There has been insistent demand for improving our defence preparedness. For obvious reasons, caution has to be exercised in disclosing details of our strength and our preparedness. I can, however, safely say that in every arms and in every role, we are more than a match for our adversary. The House has naturally not been apprised of the enormous exertions our armed forces have made to improve their skill in the use of the equipment given to them. Every effort has been made to enhance the mobility of our land forces, to increase the fire power of the infantry and artillery and of our armoured units. Our anti-tank capability has been enhanced by the introduction of missile units. New methods of weapon training and battle inoculation have been introduced. Altogether, the defensive capability and striking force of the Indian Army cannot but cause serious concern to our adversaries.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Air Force

It is true that Pakistan has acquired Mirage-IIIE aircraft, Our Air Force has fully taken into account the increase in Pakistani air power. The strength and capability of our holdings are superior to Pakistani acquisitions. Our fighter bomber squadrons have been progressively modernised. We have recently carried out a reorganisation of Commands in the Air Force. Operational exercises including Weapon Meets are being continually conducted to ensure a state of operational readiness. Heavy repair and depot maintenance facilities have been modernised and augmented. I have every reason to hope that, as a result, the rate of serviceability of our aircraft will improve. The measures which have been taken do not merely increase the striking power of our Air Force: they also ensure the most effective co-ordination of air operations in support of actions on land and on high seas.

Navy

Some concern has been expressed in regard to the strength of our Navy. It is true that Pakistan has acquired new capabilities in the field of submarine warfare. We also have improved our capabilities. Our Navy has now a submarine arm. Its anti-submarine role has been strengthened by acquisition of modern anti-submarine aircraft. The Navy also holds and operates missile carrying crafts. The dockyard at Bombay is being modernised. A new dockyard is under construction at Vishakhapatnam. The Navy too has streamlined their provisioning procedures and maintenance facilities. I am sure, our Navy is in a state of readiness to give a good account of itself.

Civil Defence

Our anti-aircraft defences have been modernised and strengthened. We now have surface-to-air guided weapon complexes installed in vital areas. Steps are also being taken to activate our civil defence measures. The Central Government is meeting the greater part of the expenditure on these measures. A large number of persons has volunteered for manning civil defence services.

Defence Procurements

The possibilities of procurements from abroad are somewhat limited for us. But I would like to assure the House that we are not neglecting these possibilities. Our main reliance, of course, is on ourselves. Our ordnance factories and defence undertakings are working to capacity to meet the requirements of the Services. Several new types of weapons and equipments have been developed and are being manufactured. The Defence Research and Development Organisation has made a commendable contribution. Our scientists and their associates in the Defence Research and Development Organisations are making commendable efforts to make us self-reliant in our requirements.

While no country is completely self-sufficient, most advanced countries endeavour to develop a technological viability so that they are able to establish mutually beneficial relationships with other countries. These nations thus acquire a certain freedom of action because of their ability to develop equations and engage in a give and take exercise with other nations. This viability, or to put in other words, this scientific, industrial and technological maturity reinforces self-reliance. We are expecting that such viability or maturity will be achieved by our scientists and technologists, particularly those working on our Defence laboratories and establishments, at not too distant a date. I can only assure the House that we will not allow their work to be hampered for lack of funds.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I would like to remind the House that National security goes beyond deployment of Armed Forces or preparedness to meet threats to our borders; it is interwoven with our national objectives, our National interests, and our National capacity. In the quest of National Security, it will be Government's endeavour to take all these factors into account. I am sure, our people led by this august House will participate in these efforts and lend their full support to them.

Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy

In this connection, I have noted carefully the wish of many Hon'ble Members for our Defence Forces to acquire nuclear capabilities. We have discussed this matter in this House on a number of occasions. Our present policy is to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. In our view the possession of nuclear weapons is no substitute for our capability in the use of conventional weapons. I would like to remind the House that our military capabilites must be based on the advances we are able to make in the field of science, technology and industry. The House is aware of the position India occupies in the field of nuclear science. The House is also aware of the plans and programmes for making further advances in this field. The House I am sure, will not wish me to say more on this subject or to lose my sence of perspective in dealing with it.

International Peace-Keeping

Apart from the defence of our borders, our Defence Forces have certain other responsibilities also. The House is aware of the responsibilities discharged by our defence forces in the past in a peace keeping role assigned to them by the United Nations on a number of occasions.

On April 6, 1971, while we were engrossed in our own problems, we received an urgent request from our friendly neighbour, the Government of Ceylon. Similar requests had been made by that Government to other countries. Our response was prompt. We agreed to provide all assistanee that was possible within our resources. We made our helicopters available. Our naval ships assisted the Ceylonese Navy in patrolling Ceylon's coasts. Our personnel did not deal with insurgency: they provided relief for the Ceylonese personnel and assisted them in surveillence and patrol duties only. With the completion of their task, the small forces made available to the Government of Ceylon were withdrawn.

We have also supplied some items of equipment and stores needed by the Ceylonese Defence Forces. At the request of the Ceylonese Government, we have agreed to provide training facilities to their officers. Our co-operation in this field, the House will be pleased to know, has been mutually satisfactory.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN RAJYA SABHA ON JULY 19, 1971, REGARDING THE CONTINUED ARMS SUPPLY BY THE GOVERNMENT OF U. S. A. TO PAKISTAN AND THE IMPLICATIONS THEREOF

I regret to inform the House that since the issue of shipment of American arms to Pakistan was discussed last in this House, there has been no change in U.S. policy. On the contrary, it has come to our notice that U.S. military equipment still in the pipeline for delivery to Pakistan may be even more than has been publicly admitted by the U.S. Government. While the U.S. State Department spokesman mentioned on July 8, 1971 that the average approximate annual figure for the last five years of supply of arms to Pakistan has been in the order of $ 10 to 15 million, Senator

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Church quoted an estimated figure of $ 35 million, in respect of military equipment still in the pipeline. We have reason to believe that his figure is nearer to the correct one. In any case amounts to Dollars alone do not give a correct picture. As we know, Pakistan has been in the past obtaining equipment from certain governmental sources at throw-away prices. Spare parts which may cost very little can reactivate deadly weapons.

I would like to assure the House that our views on the supply of arms to Pakistan have been conveyed in unequivocal terms to the United States Government. We have explained to them the adverse impact it could have on the peace and stability of the sub-continent. It could have an impact on Indo-US bilateral relations as well. It is surprising that the US Government which has been counselling restraint to us should have itself taken a measure which will aggravate the situation.

The supply of arms by any country to Pakistan in the present context amounts to condonation of genocide in Bangla Desh and encouragement to the continuation of atrocities by the military rulers of Pakistan. It also amounts to intervention on the side of the military rulers of West Pakistan against the people of Bangla Desh.

REPLY BY SARDAR SWARAN SINGH, MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, TO THIS DEBATE ON BUDGET DEMANDS, ON JULY 20, 1971

Replying to the Debate on Demands for Grants for the year 1971-72 of the Ministry of External Affairs in the Lok Sabha on July 20, 1971, the Minister of External Affairs Sardar Swaran Singh said :

Mr. Chairman, I have heard with great attention the contribution that has been made by Members in the present debate. Although, at the present moment, there are some very vital and immediate problems, about which our attention has to be concentrated, it is a healthy sign that, besides these immediate problems, some general problems about the world situation, the problems of peace and war, of disarmament, nuclear bomb, question of space and several other matters of general importance to the international community have been highlighted, and comments have been offered on these important aspects of international life.

I am also conscious of the fact that a very large number of Members of this House have participated in this debate — as many as 34 members have already spoken. Much as I would have liked to reply to all the points that have been raised, it may be appreciated that it is not possible to do so. I will, however, endeavour to say something about some of these important points, and will not try to answer each and every point that has been raised. I would, at this stage, assure the Members that what they have said will be very carefully examined in the Ministry and by me. We will go into the suggestions that have been made, and we will examine with the greatest care the observations and opinions that have been expressed by the Members on the floor of the House.

Relations With Neigbhours

Before I come to the current matters of interest, first of all, I would like to say something about some matters which have been raised in the course of the debate, particulary in relation to our neighbours, and our general policy about them and about our success in establishing friendly relations with them. Although some comments have been made and some of them not well-informed,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I would like to say that our relations with our neighbours, excepting two, are friendly and close, and there is a great deal of understanding and goodwill between India and her immediate neighbours. Our relations with Burma, Nepal, Ceylon and Afghanistan, which are our immediate neighbours besides Pakistan and China, have been traditionally friendly, and there is a great deal of understanding, goodwill and friendship between India and these neighbours. We may not always agree with their policies and they may not always agree with our policies and this is not uncommon. But, basic friendship and understanding do exist between us, and I would appeal to the Members not to lose sight of this. This we have been able to achieve by pursuing consistently a policy of befriending our neighbours.

Burma

With our neighbour Burma our relations have been extremely friendly and close. There has been co-operation in several fields. Aa a result of an agreement arrived at between India and Burma about the demarcation of the boundary, more than 700 miles of boundary has already been demarcated, and the work is proceeding in a satisfactory manner. I would also like to remind the Members that in several other fields also there are close co-operation and complete exchange of information about matters in which we are vitally interested and the Government of Burma are also vitally interested: particularly, in their northern part and in our north eastern part there is very useful exchange of information between our two governments.

Ceylon

With Ceylon, we have friendship; and it is good that we were able to resolve a matter which had been outstanding between us since the time Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was Prime Minister. I am glad the agreement has been arrived at, because that was one matter which stood in the way of closer relations between India and Ceylon in the economic and several other fields. I have no doubt that when this agreement is implemented and both Governments have expressed their determination to implement this agreement—The relations will become even more close. We have very good economic relations with Ceylon, and we will continue to co-operate to our mutual benefit in the economic field, and in the technical and cultural fields. This is a development which should receive the blessing of the House.

Nepal

With Nepal, we have very close relations, and we have participated in the development efforts of Nepal in a very significant manner. The extent of aid that we have given in the development efforts of Nepal in helping them to build their infrastructue, in helping them to open up their road system and in helping them to establish several projects of benefit to their people, is a record of which any country can rightly be proud. The treaty of trade and transit has been a subject matter of some difference of opinion between the two countries, but I would like to remind the House that, although the treaty had expired several months ago, we took special care to ensure that all the essential supplies from India reach Nepal so that the people of Nepal may not suffer, and I have also every reason to believe that this treaty will be finalised before long. Already there has been consultation between the appropriate organisation in Nepal and our Ministry of Foreign Trade, and I would also like to recall that Government leaders in Nepal have made statements saying that they are anxious to conclude this treaty in a manner satisfactory to both countries, and I have every reason to hope that before long this treaty will be concluded.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Afghanistan

With Afghanistan, we have traditional friendship. Afghanistan has got its own problems, problems of trade and transit—being a land-locked country. And the logistics and means of communications are such that it has to depend, to a very large extent on Pakistan for movement of most of their goods into Afghanistan and also out of Afghanistan. Notwithstanding this dependence on Pakistan, our relations with Afghanistan have always been very friendly and very close. I visited Afghanistan some months ago and was greatly impressed by the goodwill expressed by the Government leaders of Afghanistan to the people and Government of India. And this is the basis upon which there has been a great deal of not only understanding but co-operation in several fields, educational, cultural and economic, and our efforts to still further strengthen these relations will continue unabated.

I would like to say that although our relations with these four countries—which are our neighbours—have been good, unfortunately our relations with our two other neighbours—Pakistan and China—have been uneven, have been either hostile at times of indifferent or tense.

I would like however to clarify that this is not of our seeking, and if we find that our relations with these two neighbours on the west, east and north have been of this nature, we have to see the background.

Pakistan

The hostility that Pakistan has always entertained for India is the result of the basis upon which India was partitioned. And, subsequently, Pakistan was fed by several outside powers in the belief that it was in Pakistan's interest to continue the policy of confrontation; and Pakistan, in this respect, had been receiving a great deal of encouragement, not only moral and political, but substantial in the sence of economic aid, military aid and all manner of support—even for causes which appeared to be, on the face of it, absolutely unjust. We have, therefore, to frame our attitude and our policy, knowing this background.

China

In relation to China, the matter has been explained on several occasions and I do not want to go over the entire history. But, even before the Chinese attack in 1962, their attitude was taking a certain shape which smacked of hostility and friction against India.

It is in this background that we have to see as to whether the policy that we have been pursuing in relations to our neighbours—both those who are friendly, as well as those who, for no fault of ours, are not friendly to us, but are actually hostile to us—is the correct policy to be pursued.

Non-Alignment

A great deal of effort has been put in by several Members to show that our policy of non-alignment, the policy that we have pursued so far, has not yielded result. I had, however, been very careful and attentive to find out if any alternative was suggested by any Member to the policy of non-alignment that we had been pursuing. So, what could be the alternative of the policy of non-alignment? Can it be a policy of aligning ourselves with any of the power blocs? Obviously, no one has suggested this, and no one can, in any seriousness, suggest this.

A Member: Independent, nationalist policy?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sardar Swaran Singh : Independent, nationalist policy is precisely the policy of non-alignment, and it is that policy that we have been pursuing so far.

I agree with those Members who have said that this policy of non-alignment means that we decide ourselves what our attitude should be in any particular situation; not that others should take steps or action as a result of which we would find that we have to adopt a particular policy or oppose a particular policy. If we have not subscribed to any of the defence pacts, if we have not aligned ourselves with any of the power blocs, it has been with a view to ensure independence of our action and independence of our approach in any situation.

I was amazed when some Members propounded a strange theory that if we get any arms from any country then we become aligned with that country. That is a proposition which is very dangerous; that is a proposition which we can never accept and should never accept. I have said on more than one occasion that where our own national interests are involved, where our own security is involved when we stand in need of any military equipment of a sophisticated nature or of a type which we do not manufacture in our country, I shall have no hesitation in getting that equipment or that material from any source whatsoever, and I do not see why there should be any objection to that.

A Member: How is Pakistan different?

Sardar Swaran Singh: Pakistan is a member of actual defence pacts, and, therefore, they are getting arms from those countries with whom they are allies and are members of defence pacts. This is an entirely different situation as compared to the situation of a non-aligned country like India getting arms from any source whatsoever. To suggest that we can be deflected in the pursuit of our independent policy merely because we acquire arms from one source or the other is a wrong idea, and I think that those Members who made that suggestion are playing into the hands of those who want to malign India by saying that because India is getting arms from a particular source, therefore, they are aligned to that country. That is a great error and pitfall, and I would warn Members not to fall into it.

We have pursued this policy; we will continue to pursue that policy because that is the best policy that is in our interest, and I have no hesitation in saying that we will pursue it and we will get help and equipment from whatever source it may be available. I have no inhipitions whatsoever in that respect, and I do not see why we should not have confidence in our own country to see that merely getting help from any other country does not in any way compromise us.

Colonialism

I would like to say that there are other matters of important to the world community such as the questions of war and peace, questions of disarmament, questions not only of the remnants of colonialism in whatever form they exist, but of ending the apartheid and racist regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia etc. These are matters on which we have always lent our full support in all forums; whether it be the conference of non-aligned countries, whether it be the United Nations in its various organs or committees, or bilaterally in the forum of the Commonwealth, we have steadfastly adhered to the pursuit of the policy where our opposition to colonialism in any form has been clear, forthright and unequivocal. We have steadfastly stood for helping freedom fighters engaged in the task of freeing themselves from colonial clutches of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique; also, our sympathy and support has always been for those who are fighting against the apartheid regime in South Africa and the racist regime in Rhodesia. Our pre-occupation with our problems does not mean that we can

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

adopt an attitude of isolation from the contribution we must make in the affairs of the world. We have always pursued a policy where we have made our position absolutely clear, and have used all our influence in order to further those causes and the causes of those who are suffering.

United Nations

At this stage, I would also like to say that it was farthest from me to say anything which might have the effect of denigrating the U.N. organisations or the international community or the various organs in which we function. That was not my object, but we must be realistic in this respect. It is a hard reality that these U.N. organisations are political bodies where governments of countries are repvrsented. I am also conscious of the fact that the U.N. did a great deal of admirable work in focussing world attention on problems of colonialism and several other matters; and it was mainly on account of the pressure built up in U.N. organs that the colonial powers found it difficult to hold on to their colonial empires, and progressively country after country became free and independent. But we must also keep this in mind that the U.N. being a body in which Governments are represented, for getting support for any particular proposition which we want a particular U.N. organisation or group to adopt, we must first have sufficient support in the capitals of the countries represented in the appropriate U.N. body: It is with this object in view that we have been mobilising support in various capitals and also through their representatives in U.N. headquarters at New York, at the U.N. organisations headquarters in Geneva, also here in Delhi, by having contacts with the representatives of the countries concerned; also, sometimes, even by special missions, not always of Ministers, but of experts, sometimes of professors, lawyers and other knowledgeable people to convince those Governments of the correctness and justice of our case.

We have already raised the question of Bangla Desh in ECOSOC, and depending on the response we get, and also depending on whether it will serve our purpose and interest, we will certainly raise it in the other appropriate organisations of the U.N.—provided we are assured of sufficient support for any formulation or proposition we expect that particular organ of the U.N. to adopt.

Recognition of G. D. R., D. R. V. N., etc.

The question of recognition of certain countries has again been raised by several members—recognition of G.D.R., D.R.V.N., the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Viet Nam, etc. I am afraid, I have nothing to add to what I said the other day when a non-official Resolution—precisely in relation to this—was debated on the Floor of the House. This matter was discussed here and I made my observations and clarified Government's stand as best as I could.

Normalisation of Relations With China

Several members have made suggestion that we should take some step to normalise our relations with China. Several members have expressed this desire. Some have even suggested that some concrete action should be taken. I would like to say a few words about this matter.

Some members have suggested that we should defuse our relations with China. I entirely agree that we should not only defuse, but try to normalise relations with China. However, normalisation does not depend upon one party alone. There has to be a mutual normalisation. If and when the Government of the People's Republic of China is willing and ready to take concrete steps towards normalisation, we shall be equally ready and willing to do so. It must, however, be clearly understood that normalisation can take place only on the basis of mutual respect for each other's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

integrity and sovereignty, and on the principle of non-interference in other's internal affairs. We welcome the change in the style of China's diplomacy which has been in evidence of late, and we hope that it will also lead to a change in substance.

Sino-American Detente

Something has been said, and quite rightly, about the new development that has taken place according to which it has been announced that President Nixon will visit Peking. President Nixon's Adviser, Dr. Kissinger, has already visited Peking in a secret, clandestine manner. I have made some comments already on this development when I was replying to the debate on the non-official resolution about recognition.

I should like to make some comments on the Sino-American process of *detente*. In this connection, I should like to recall that I have already made a statement on 16th July. While we welcome the rapprochment between Peking and Washington, we cannot look upon it with equanimity if it means the domination of the two powers over this region or a tacit agreement between them to this effect. We maintain the right of each and every country and people to decide their own destiny without any interference from outside.

This applies as much to Bangla Desh as to Vietnam or the Palestine problem. We shall not allow any other country or combination of countries to dominate us or to interfere in our internal affairs. We shall, to our maximum ability, help other countries to maintain their freedom from outside domination, and their sovereignty. We have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, but this does not mean that we shall look on as silent spectators if third countries come and interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, particularly our neighbours. as our own national interest could be adversely affected.

I sincerely hope that any Sino-American *detente* will not be at the expense of other countries, particularly in this region. However, we cannot at present totally rule out such a possibility. It can have repercussions on the situation in this subcontinent, as well as in this region. We have, therefore, for sometime been considering ways and means of preventing such a situation from arising, and meeting it if it should arise.

In this, we are not alone, and there are other countries, both big and small, who may be more perturbed than we are. We are in touch with the countries concerned and shall see to it that any Sino-American *detente* does not affect us or the other countries in this region adversely.

Several observations have been made about the motives that may have been the mainspring for the development of the Sino-American *detente*, Several points have been suggested that one party may be motivated by this aspect and the other country by another motive. Whatever may be the motives, this is a very important and very significant development. We shall have to watch very carefully the effects of this, and we shall have to take every possible step to safeguard our own interests.

I know that several countries have already given their reactions. Some of them have been critical. Some have expressed their fears. But there is no doubt that in the months to come this will be the most important event of the year, and a great deal of thought will have to be given to the after-effects of this, and how it unfolds itself. We need not rush to any conclusion straight away, We have to be careful and watchful, and take adequate steps both political and otherwise in the international field and inside our own country to safeguard our interests.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

President Yahya Khan's interview

Several Members have made reference to the press report of an interview given by President Yahya Khan. I should like to remaind the Members that the report in this case is from Mr. Maxwell who put forward the theory of India's war in relation to the Sino-Indian conflict. It is very difficult to make any comment upon a press report of that nature, but there are some points in that statement which require notice. I would like to take this opportunity to state Government's viewpoints with regard to some of the matters which have been highlighted in the press report and the statement attributed to President Yahya Khan.

President Yahya Khan is reported to have said that if india made any attempt to seize any part of East Pakistan, he would declare war and Pakistan would not be alone. Pakistan has been trying for sometime to mislead the world into thinking that Pakistan's problem is with India and not with the people of Pangla Desh. It is the military regime's own action, the burtallties committed by the Pakistan army in Bangla Desh, that have landed Pakistan in a morass in East Bengal, and only a settlement with the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh will enable it to extricate itself from this morass. So long as Pakistan does not recognise this, the activities of the Mukti Fauj are bound to continue and increase. If the Mukti Fauj succeeds in liberating the territory in Bangla Desh, and Pakistan uses it as a pretext for an attack on us, then I must make it clear that we are ready to defend ourselves.

President Yahya Khan talks about his willingness to meet our Prime Minister in response to efforts of mediation. That is also mentioned in that statement. I would like to make it clear that this is not a problem between India and Pakistan, if mediation is required, it should be between President Yahya Khan and the people of Bangla Desh. The people of Bangla Desh have in an unequivocal manner demonstrated their faith in the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League by winning as many as 167 out of 169 seats. So, those friends of Pakistan, who want to do any mediation, would be well-advised to carry on their mediation efforts between the military regime, that is President Yahya Khan, and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the leaders of the Awami League. There is no use in diverting the attention of the world by saying or by suggesting that there should be mediation between President Yahya Khan and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. This is a fight which is going on between the people of Bangla Desh and the military rulers.

I would like to say very categorically that these efforts to divert the attention of the international community and to project this liberation fight that is being carried on in a relentless manner by the freedom-fighters—this we have to scotch; and we have made it absolutely clear to all important countries that this is a matter between the Awami League, between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the military rulers, and any attempt to divert the attention of any international community by projecting this as an Indo-Pakistan dispute is something which is totally unacceptable to us.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

I would like to say about the report that has come out about Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The report says that there is a proposal to try Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Even if he should be tried as it is—as mentioned in some reports—by a military court in which they say he may have a lawyer, but not a foreigner as a lawyer—all this shows, if any proof was required, that there (in Pakistan) is no judicial system of the type with which we are familiar. Any trial of that nature will be a farce. It is not a legalistic matter, or a matter in which we should devote so much time to these procedural matters, whether it is *in Camera* or not. It is obviously a political matter in which we have taken a consistent stand that the military regime having

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

embarked on these atrocious activities against the unarmed people of Bangla Desh, they have to reverse that trend, stop military action, and have discussions with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League. That is what we have been implying when we talked of giving up military means and trying to find a political settlement, which means a settlement acceptable to the people of Bangla Desh, acceptable to the Awami League, and to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who is the undisputed leader of the Awami League and the people of Bangla Desh. Any attempt, therefore, to take any action against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will be follow-up action on the statement that President Yahya Khan made on 28th June, which has paved the way completely for the emergence of an independent Bangla Desh. Any further action of this type will be a mad action, which will result only in making the freedom-fighters more determined in the pursuit and realisation of their objective namely, freedom for Bangla Desh and for the people of Bangla Desh. So, we would like to warn that any action taken against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who is the elected leader of the people of Bangla Desh, and any continuation of these atrocities, and any steps taken to pursue this mad policy and continued military action against unarmed people—this is something which will make the freedom-fighters even more determined, and if I may say so, it is the determination and the effectiveness of these freedom-fighters which appear to have rattled President Yahya Khan, and he is now trying to find excuses by saying that if any area is liberated, then he would declare war. It is obvious that now that he feels the pressure of the activities of the freedom-fighters, he has tried to divert the attention of the international community in another direction.

Our attitude has been made clear from time to time. This Parliament has unanimously adopted a resolution pledging sympathy and support, and we are pursuing that resolution in the best possible manner, and we are doing everything possible to lend support to the freedom-fighters.

So far as the foreign office and our missions abroad are concerned, I would like to assure you that they know fully well the implications of this issue. Let us not forget that this is a matter which is very vital for us, which is vital for our existence and for our survival. Therefore, we have to take major steps, we have to exercise all the wisdom, but still, in a relentless manner, pursue our objective, the objective being the will of the people of Bangla Desh expressed in such over-whelming manner by returning Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League, and giving him such massive support. Unless an administration and Government which is controlled by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League is installed there, I do not see any hope of these refugees going back, because it is not by statements alone that any confidence can be installed into the minds of these refugees to enable them to return to their homes and hearths. There is no substitute for experience, and the experience that they have had before they fled for their lives is an experience which cannot be wished away merely because somebody is making a statement that these refugees are welcome and they can return. What was the effect of the statement that President Yahya Khan made ? After that, 3½ million more refugees crossed into Indian territory. So, this is the response to the statement made by President Yahya Khan. Therefore, their confidence cannot be restored by statements or assurances by the U.N. people. It is very strange that they think that if they merely establish camps these refugees can be induced to go into those camps. That again is not likely to happen. Therefore, they will not go unless the root cause is tackled, unless the basic problem is solved, and the basic problem is the fight between the people and the democratic forces on one side and the military regime on the other. In this, we are committed to support the freedom-fighters and that is the objective that we have to realise.

Thank you very much.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN RAJYA SABHA ON JULY 21, 1971, REGARDING THE REPORTED THREAT OF THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN TO DECLARE WAR ON INDIA AND THE REACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT THERETO

President Yahya Khan is reported to have said that "if India made any attempt to seize any part of East Pakistan" he will declare war.

2. Pakistan has been trying for some time to mislead the world into thinking that the situation in Bangla Desh is a matter between Pakistan and India whereas in fact it is a matter between the military rulers of West Pakistan and the people of Bangla Desh. It is the Pakistan regime's own actions, and the brutalities committed by the Pakistan Army in Bangla Desh, that have landed Pakistan in a morass in Bangla Desh. Only a settlement with the already elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh Which will enable the military rulers of Pakistan to extricate themselves from this morass.

3. So long as Pakistan does not recognise this, the activities of the Bangla Desh freedom fighters will continue and increase. When the freedom fighters succeed in liberating territory in Bangla Desh and Pakistan uses it as a pretext for attacking us, then I must make it clear that we are ready to defend ourselves.

4. We have no desire "to seize any part of Pakistan". President Yahya Khan is either trying to mislead his people and the world at large or preparing them for an aggression against India by making such unwarranted and baseless statements.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN LOK SABHA ON AUGUST 9, 1971, REGARDING THE REPORTED STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN OF PAKISTAN THAT SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN MAY BE EXECUTED

Government view with grave concern press reports of President Yahya Khan's statement that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would be "court martialled" and that he could not say whether or not the Sheikh would be alive when the socalled Pakistan National Assembly meets. President Yahya Khan himself had, in one of his earlier statements, referred to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as "the future Prime Minister of Pakistan". As the leader of the Awami League Party which won 167 of the 169 seats to the National Assembly from Bangla Desh and thus had a clear majority of votes in the National Assembly of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman held a unique position as the acknowledged leader not only of East Pakistan, but of the whole of Pakistan. What happened after the 25th of March this year is known to the whole world. The denial of the verdict of the people and letting loose of military oppression and trampling on the fundamental human rights of the people of Bangla Desh stand self-condemned. Instead of respecting the verdict of the people and acknowledging Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the elected and undisputed leader of Bangla Desh, the Pakistan Government has launched a reign of terror and carried out a calculated plan of genocide, the like of which has not been seen in recent times. To stage a farcical trial against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a gross violation of human rights and deserves to be condemned by the whole world.

We have repeatedly expressed concern for the safety and welfare of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family who are under house arrest or in prison. We have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

conveyed our concern to foreign governments and asked them to exercise their influence on the Government of Pakistan in this regard. Should any harm be caused to the person of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or his family and colleagues, the present situation in Bangla Desh will be immeasurably aggravated and the present Pakistani rulers will be solely responsible for the consequences. We share the concern expressed by about 500 Members of Parliament in this regard. We appeal to the conscience of humanity to raise their voice against the action that the President of Pakistan proposes to take. We express our condemnation of the proposed action and warn the Government of Pakistan of its serious consequences.

PRIME MINISTER MRS. INDIRA GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ON AUGUST 10, 1971

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, addressed the following message to Heads of Government on August 10, 1971:

Government and people of India as well as our Press and Parliament are greatly perturbed by the reported statement of President Yahya Khan that he is going to start secret military trial of Mujibur Rahman without affording him any foreign legal assistance. We apprehend that this so-called trial will be used only as a cover to execute Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. This will aggravate the situation in East Bengal and will create a serious situation in India because of the strong feelings of our people and all political parties. Hence our grave anxiety. We appeal to you to exersise your influence with President Yahya Khan to take a realistic view in the larger interest of the peace and stability of this region.

FOREIGN MINISTER SARDAR SWARAN SINGH'S MESSAGE TO U. N. SECRETARY-GENERAL, U THANT, ON AUGUST 10, 1971

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh, sent the following message to the UN Secretary-General, U Thant, on August 10, 1971 :

We are distressed and shocked at the announcement made in Rawalpindi that they propose to commence Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's trial from tomorrow. This announcement comes in the wake of the several categorical statements which have lately emanated from President Yahya Khan about Sheikh's culpability in waging war against Pakistan and in having indulged in treasonous activities. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is an outstanding leader of his people, much beloved and much respected. His victory at the polls in December 1970 was perhaps the most magnificent one, in any similar election anywhere in the world, in recent years. Our people, press, Parliament and Government are all convinced that the problems which have been created for us by Pakistani action in East Bengal will be multiplied ten-fold if the Government of Pakistan do something precipitate and extreme in the context of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's life and welfare. We would like to appeal to Your Excellency to take urgent steps to request Government of Pakistan not to take this action which is certain to make their difficulties and ours very much worse. Anything they do to Mujib now will have grave and perilous consequences.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STATEMENT BY DEPUTY MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN RAJYA SABHA ON AUGUST 12, 1971, REGARDING THE TRAIL OF SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES OF PAKISTAN, AND THE THREAT GIVEN BY PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN THAT THE SHEIKH MAY BY EXECUTED

According to reports, the trial by court martial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has started tn West Pakistan on the 11th August for "waging war against Pakistan". This trial is being held in camera without allowing any foreign legal assistance to him.

Earlier, in the course of several statements, President Yahya Khan had warned hat the punishment could include death penalty and that he could not say whether or not the Sheikh would be alive when the so-called Pakistan National Assembly meets. Government view with grave concern these developments, President Yahya Khan himself had, in one of his earlier statements, referred to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as "the future Prime Minister of Pakistan". As the leader of the Awami League Party which won 167 of the 169 seats to the National Assembly from Bangla Desh and thus had a clear majority of votes in the National Assembly of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman held a unique position as the acknowledged leader not only of Bangla Desh but of the whole of Pakistan. What happened after the 25th of March this year is known to the whole world. The denial of the verdict of the people and letting loose of military oppression and trampling on the fundamental human rights of the people of Bangla Desh stand self-condmned. Instead of respecting the verdict of the people and acknowledging Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the elected and undisputed leader of Bangla Desh, the Pakistan Government has launched a reign of terror and carried out a calculated plan of genocide, the like of which has not been seen in recent times. To stage a farcical trial against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a gross violation of human rights and deserves to be condemned by the whole world.

We have repeatedly expressed our concern for the safety and welfare of Sheikh Mujibur Rehmah and his family who also are under house arrest or in prison. We have conveyed our deep anxiety and concern to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and foreign governments and asked them to exercise their influence on the Government of Pakistan in this regard. Should any harm be caused to the person of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or his family and colleagues, the present situation in Bangla Desh will be immeasurably aggravated and the present Pakistani rulers will be solely responsible for the consequences. We share the concern expressed by all members of Parliament in this regard, We appeal to the conscience humanity of to raise its voice against the action that the President of Pakistan is taking. We express our condemnation of the action and warn the Government of Pakistan of its serious consequences.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

No current conflict in the world is so costly in terms of human lives and none so full of dangerous potentialities for stability and peace in Asia as the one in East Bengal. The developments in that unfortunate land since March 25, 1971, have shaken the entire sub-continent of nearly seven hundred million people and there is no hope yet of an early end to the crisis. Meanwhile, about half a million, people are reported to have lost their lives and over eight million, who have been evicted from their homes, have sought refuge in India. Life in the entire eastern region of the sub-continent has been dislocated as a result of these events and a hundred and fifty million people in that area are undergoing sufferings in varying degrees. Never before in recent history did the brutal massacre of a civilian population by an organized armed force occur on this scale; nor is it easy to recall another case in recorded history of such large-scale eviction of people from their homes and lands.

The problem of providing relief to this vast number of refugees in India is apparently formidable. The financial burden that this mass influx of refugees has imposed is beyond the existing resources of the Government of India. The cost of maintaining a single refugee has been estimated at Rs. 3 per day and the Government of India has already spent over Rs. 1,200 million for the relief of the refugees. The present rate of influx has been estimated at about 60,000 per day and it is feared that the total number of refugees may go up to 12 million before the end of the year. The above mentioned cost does not include such items as the cost of transportation of goods for purposes of relief nor does it include the expenses incurred by India in organizing the administration required to provide shelter and sustenance to the destitutes.

These staggering figures do not provide a full measure of the burden that India is carrying. For, apart from the financial cost, there is the more long term problem of the social and economic consequences that the influx of such a large number of people into one of the most turbulent and problem-ridden regions of India would imply.

Again, the problem of refugees who have sought shelter in India is only a part of the total human problem created by the conflict in East Bengal. A large number of inhabitants of that country are reported to have become homeless in course of the ghastly events of the last few months. Foreign observers have also expressed the fear that conditions of famine may soon result in further aggravation of the misery of the population in East Bengal.

It is now widely recognized that the human problem of the refugees in India and the destitutes in East Bengal cannot be tackled without a solution of the complex political problem which has brought about this situation. It is, therefore, important to understand the roots of the present crisis in the sub-continent in order to bring about a satisfactory solution of the problem of East Bengal and to end the present uncertainties. How did such a disaster take place? What were the origins of this conflict? Where does the blame lie for this great man-made calamity of our time?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The documents presented in the foregoing chapters attempt to provide answers to some of these questions.

The roots of the crisis in Pakistan lie in the very structure of this unique state. Separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory, East and West Pakistan were united under a single political authority when the partition of India was agreed upon, following a sudden outburst of communal violence and the consequent strengthening of religious loyalties in the sub-continent. There was, however, little in common between the peoples of the two wings of Pakistan except their religion. The fifty-six per cent of the people of Pakistan that lived in East Bengal were racially, culturally and linguistically very different from the forty-four per cent that lived in West Pakistan. The task of integrating the two diverse wings could have baffled even the most astute political leadership. A number of developments further complicated the situation and made the problem of maintaining the unity of Pakistan even more acute than what the facts of geography had already destined it to be.

The early attempt to define the identity of Pakistan in terms of negative anti-Indian sentiments only prevented the required emphasis on the cultural, social and economic integration of the people of Pakistan. The process of constitution-making was spread over a period of nearly ten years and even before the first constitution of the country was formulated, authoritarian tendencies had made deep inroads into the democratic structure of politics in Pakistan. The spirit of continuous and adjustment and compromise between conflicting interests on which democracy rests was eroded by the introduction of the army and bureaucracy as two major components of the power structure in that society.

The superficial stability created through authoritarian methods permitted the emergence of certain tendencies which resulted in the accentuation of the long-term problems of the unity of Pakistan. East Bengal had meagre representation in the bureaucracy and the army of Pakistan, which together gradually relegating the political parties and leaders to positions of insignificance in the public life. After 21 years of the creation of Pakistan, Benglis accounted for barely 15 per cent in the Central Government services and less than 10 per cent in the Defence services. In the upper echelons of the army and the civil service, the representation of East Bengal was almost non-existent. Thus, the imposition of military rule and the end of democratic politics in 1958 appeared to the Bengalis as the institutionalization of the dominance of those elements in the State apparatus which were totally foreign to East Bengal.

This relegation of the majority of the people of Pakistan to a State of powerlessness occurred simultaneously with the exacerbation of the economic disparity between the two wings of Pakistan. In 1949-50, the per capita income of West Pakistan exceeded that of East Pakistan by only 9 per cent. The figure rose to 30 per cent by 1959-60, 40 per cent by 1964-65 and 60 per cent by 1969-70. In the first 17 years of independence, the per capita gross financial product in East Bengal recorded an annual rise of 3 per cent whereas West Pakistan recorded a growth rate five times faster than that in the eastern wing. In the twenty years preceding the 1970 elections in Pakistan, East Bengal had only one-third of the total development expenditure incurred by the Central Government. Over 80 per cent of the foreign aid was spent in West Pakistan. That wing had also the lion's share of the imports into the country whereas the foreign exchange earnings were mostly on account of the products of East Bengal. Over 20 years, West Pakistan had imported goods worth more than Rs. 3,000 crores as against its own foreign exchange earnings of barely Rs. 1,300 crores.

The political and economic discrimination against East Bengal was made more painful for the people of that region by the persistent attempts on the part of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Government of Pakistan to mutilate the distinct culture of the proud Bengalis. It took several years of occasionally violent agitations on the part of the people of East Bengal to have their language accepted as one of the national languages of Pakistan. Even after formally accepting Bengali as a national language, the leaders of West Pakistan repeatedly expressed their view that East Bengal could never become a fully integrated part of Pakistan unless the people there could be made to evolve a different language than what existed and to sever their cultural links with the people of West Bengal. Even the recital of Tagore's songs and poems was at one stage banned and ingenious ideas for the need for the introduction of Arabic and Persian words into the Bengali language on a large scale were often propagated by the highest authorities.

It is in response to these colonial policies and discriminating practices of the Central Government of Pakistan that the movement for autonomy had begun to take shape in East Pakistan. The patriotic leaders of East Bengal deserted the All-Pakistan Muslim League in the early fifties and formed their own political parties to struggle for the legitimate rights of their people. A united front of these parties dealt a death blow to the Muslim League in the Province when it was completely routed in the provincial election of 1954. The popular ministry formed after this election was dismissed soon afterwards by an executive fiat from the centre and the hopes of the East Bengali people that they could achieve their aspirations through established institutions were dashed.

The imposition of Martial Law in the whole country in 1958 further aggravated the problems of East Bengal. Power was now concentrated in the hands of a few military leaders of the country, none of whom was a Bengali. The constitution which President Ayub designed for Pakistan in 1962 was totally unacceptable to the people and the democratic movement in East Bengal had to be ruthlessly suppressed through the use of force. When the resentment against the Ayub regime became uncontrollable, the rulers arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League on charges of conspiring to topple the government and to turn East Bengal into an independent country with the active help of India.

The Sheikh had already emerged as the symbol of the struggle of the people of East Bengal for their democratic rights and this attempt to discredit him infuriated the Bengali people. They had earlier witnessed the fact that similar false charges were levelled against the other popular leaders of East Bengal. For example, both H. S. Suhrawardy and A. K. Fazlul Huq were at one time branded as "Indian agents" although one of them was later to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the other its Minister for Interior. Naturally, the baseless charges against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman further alienated the people of East Bengal and it was only after a prolonged political struggle towards the end of 1968 that the Government of Pakistan agreed to yield and free the Sheikh and withdraw the case against him. President Ayub Khan convened a round table conference of the political leaders of Pakistan in March 1969 to which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was also invited. The leader of the Awami League had made it clear at the conference that "the adoption of the federal scheme presented in the Six-Point Programme is an essential pre-requisite for the achievement of a political solution for the problems of the country".

President Ayub Khan abdicated in March 1969 after continued agitation against his rule in both the wings of Pakistan. His successor, President Yahya Khan, immediately promised to the people of Pakistan that power will be transferred to the elected representatives of the people and it was to redeem this pledge that the elections of 1970 were held. The elections were organised by the Martial Law authorities and were described as free and fair by the Government of Pakistan and regarded to be so by the people of Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Awami League fought the elections on the basis of the Six-Point Programme and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman left no one in doubt that restoration of democracy and the attainment of provincial autonomy were in fact the crucial issues on which his party would fight the elections. In his election broadcast, dated October 28, 1970 the Sheikh had said: "The Awami League's Six-Point Programme...presents a, rational solution to the problem of regional injustice...Elections will serve as a referendum on basic national issues, particularly that of autonomy on the basis of the Six-Point Formula".

It was not the policy of the Awamy League to seek independence for East Bengal. But, as the Sheikh had said in that broadcast, the only way to preserve the unity of Pakistan was to re-establish democracy in that country and to concede autonomy to East Bengal. He had warned the rulers of Pakistan that "the different people who make up Pakistan can only live together within a democratic framework. Any attempt to destory democracy would in the process destory Pakistan. Justice between region and region must be ensured by granting full regional autonomy to the federating units, the basis of our Six-Point Formula".

The Government of Pakistan took no objection to such an election platform and allowed the Awami League to fight the elections. The results demonstrated the overwhelming support that the demand for autonomy had among the people of East Bengal. The Party won 167 out of 169 seats from the Province in a house of 313. It also secured over 80 per cent of the popular votes cast. This victory had made the Awami League the party with a clear majority within the National Assembly of Pakistan.

The story of the post-election negotiations between the Government of Pakistan, the Awami League and the other concerned parties has been succinctly related in the statement of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad, Prime Minister of Bangla Desh dated April 17, 1971 (*see* Document on page 291). The postponement of the session of the newly elected National Assembly, which was scheduled to meet on March 3, 1971, created deep resentment in East Bengal as the National Assembly was the only forum where it could assert its voice and political strength. The people of East Bengal launched a massive non-co-operation movement which demonstrated once again the tremendous popular support for the policies and programme of the Awami League.

As Mr. Ahmad has said: "Not only was the non-co-operation total but the civilian administration and the police had positively pledged their support to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and put themselves under his orders". Thus the legitimacy of the authority of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League over East Bengal was established twice at first through the elections of 1970 and then through the unprecedented demonstration of loyalty to them in March 1971.

Faced with this situation, the Government of Pakistan went through the motions of carrying on negotiations with the Awami League. Efforts were however being made by it to prepare for the onslaught on the people of East Bengal. At no stage during the negotiations was there any breakdown in talks; nor did the authorities of Pakistan indicate to the Awami League that "they had a final position which could not be abandoned." But as the people of East Bengal were hoping that a political settlement was in the offing, the military rulers of Pakistan were getting ready to launch what has turned out to be a program, and a calculated genocide of the peaceful and unsuspecting population of the major cities and towns of East Bengal. Subsequently, death and destruction have been carried by the army to even the remote villages of that country and numerous reports of armed actions against the civilian population are still pouring in every day.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Faced with this "act of treachery unparalleled in contemporary history", the Popular leaders of East Bengal had no option but to declare independence and repudiate their association with Pakistan. An overwhelming majority or the elected representatives of the people of East Bengal, who had been able to escape the Pakistani military authorities, constituted themselves into a Constituent Assembly and declared Bengla Desh to be a Sovereign People's Republic on April 10, 1971. This declaration confirmed a similar declaration made by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Dacca on March 26, 1971, a day after the Pakistani authorities had declared their war on the people of East Bengal.

It is the view of the Government of Bangla Desh that their country is at war since "it has been given no choice but to secure its right of self-determination through a national liberation struggle". "Pakistan", according to Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmad, "is now dead and burried under a mountain of corpses. The hundreds and thousands of people murdered by the army in Bangla Desh will act as an impenetrable barrier between West Pakistan and the people of Bangla Desh. By resorting to pre-planned genocide, General Yahya must have known that he was himself digging Pakistan's grave".

The declaration of independence by the elected representatives of East Bengal and the formation of the Government of Bangla Desh has been welcomed by almost all the known political parties, groups and organisations in East Bengal. Among those who have supported this decision fully are the leaders of the National Awami Party and the Communist Party of East Bengal (*see* Statement by Maulana Bhashani, Leader of the National Awami Party, on page 303).

The Bengali battalions of the East Bengal Regiment and the East Pakistan Rifles have constituted themselves into a liberation force and are carrying [illegible] against the armed forces of West Pakistan. An ever-increasing number of young men of East Bengal are making themselves available for recruitment to this force and there are signs of a growing resistance struggle by the high-spirited soldiers of the liberation force. The more the Government of Pakistan attempts to crush the people of East Bengal through brutal might, the greater is the will and determination of the *Mukti Bahini* to achieve their objective.

The conflict in East Bengal has not only resulted in unprecedented misery within that country but also imposed an impossible burden on India. The entire Indian nation had watched with great hope the progress of Pakistan towards political democracy. Normal and fraternal relations with Pakistan had always been desired by the people of India and it was their expectation that the popularly elected leaders of Pakistan would find it possible to reverse the trend of calculated hostility towards India which the non-democratic leaders of that country had chosen to initiate. The onslaughts on the people of East Bengal and the consequent reversel of the process of history, therefore, created deep anguish and concern among all sections of the people in the whole of India. The Parliament of India, reflecting these sentiments, adopted a resolution on March 31, 1971 expressing its profound sympathy for and solidarity with the people of East Bengal in their struggle for a democratic way of life.

What was initially a matter of India's sentiments has since then become a matter of India's own progress and of the survival of her own social and political institutions. The carnage in East Bengal and the deliberate policy of evicting peoples from their homes and lands have resulted in the influx of over 8 million refugees into India. This has imposed a heavy strain on India's scarce resources, which were urgently needed for development programmes. The sheer problem of accommodating such a vast number of people in the turbulent eastern region of India can also have serious implications for the future of Indian society itself.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India has refrained from taking any action to redrees this situation and has scrupulously observed all the internationally prescribed codes of conduct. She has always been dedicated to the maintenance of peace in the sub-continent and to the promotion of friendly relations among the countries of the region. India has, therefore, chosen to bear this impossible burden, hoping that conditions will soon be created within East Bengal for safe return of the refugees to their homes and lands and to the exercise of their fundamental human rights.

Meanwhile, the Government of Pakistan has indulged in talks of war and conflict with India and adopted threatening postures. As the situation in East Bengal worsens and as the total political bankruptcy of the Government of Pakistan is exposed, the bellicosity of the rulers of that country towards India increases. Thus, the situation poses a threat to peace in the sub-continent.

The international community has already become aware of the ghastly crimes against humanity committed in East Bengal. Newspapers and other media of mass communications all over the world have objectively reported the events and perceptive analysts have drawn attention to the background and causes of this crisis. A number of important Governments in the world have also expressed their grave concern at these developments and urged the Government of Pakistan to stop the carnage and seek a political accommodation with the people of East Bengal. Sensitive writers, intellectuals, scientists and public men all over the world have felt compelled to exprees their indignation at these developments and give vent to their feelings of sympathy with the people of East Bengal in this hour of their agony.

It has been India's hope that world public opinion will influence the Government of Pakistan and that the international community will find it possible to persuade it to seek a peaceful political solution of this problem. Unfortunately, chere is no indication so far that the Government of Pakistan has in any way been responsive to the world-wide criticism of their actions and there is little hope as yet of an early and peaceful end to this crisis.

Meanwhile, the brutal repression of the people of East Bengal goes on. So does the struggle of the people of that land. The refugees continue to pour into India, not attracted by conditions of life here but only to be able to live. Have the views and opinions of the international community become so ineffective as to be unable to compel the Government of Pakistan to bring to an immediate end to this great tragedy of our times?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

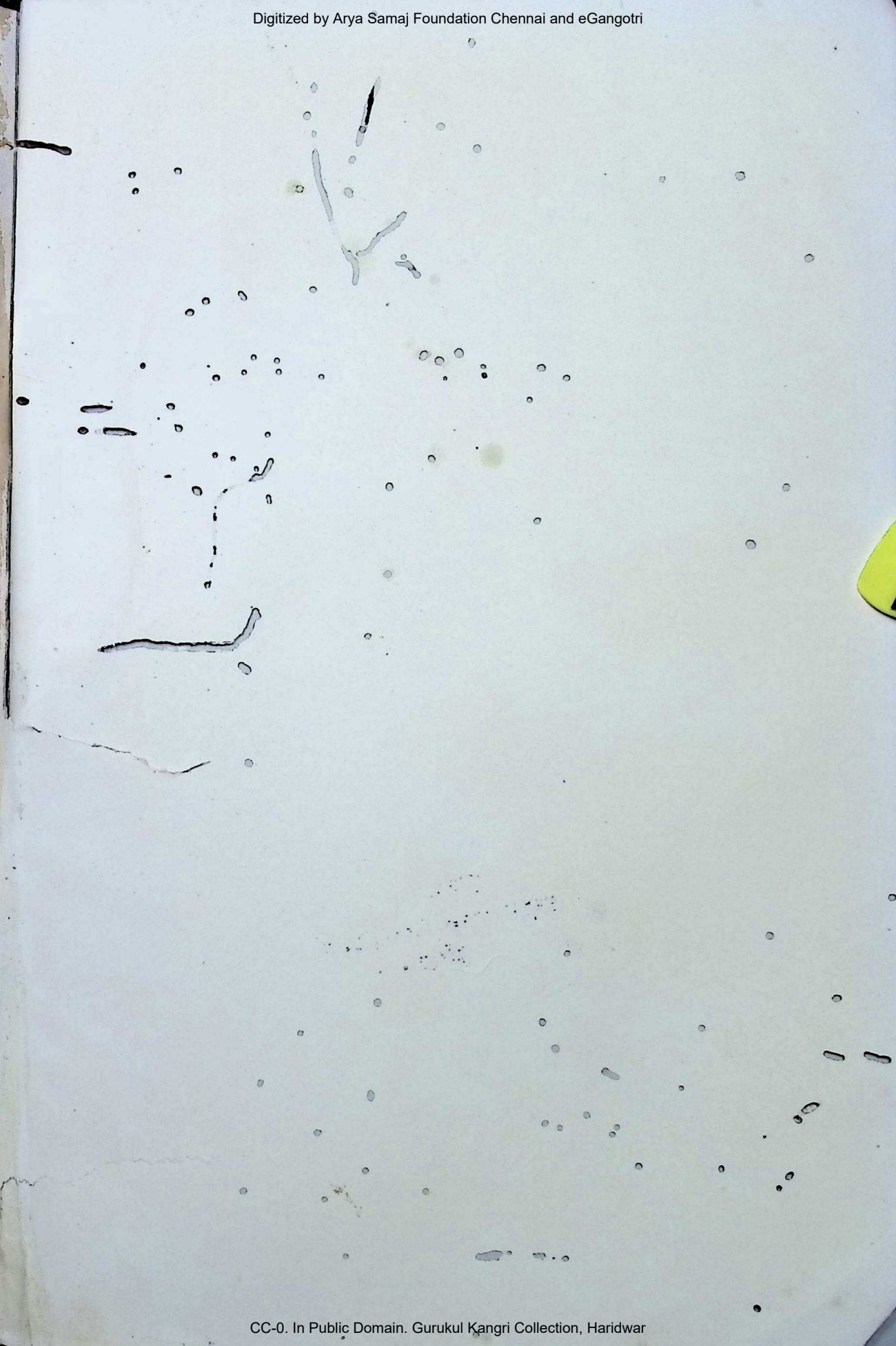
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

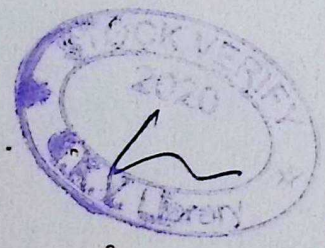
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar